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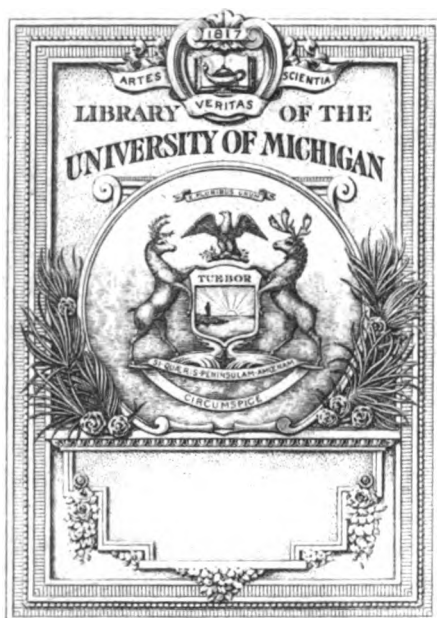
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LES PROPHECIES DE MERLIN

EDITED FROM MS. 593
IN THE BIBLIOTHEQUE MUNICIPALE OF RENNES

BY

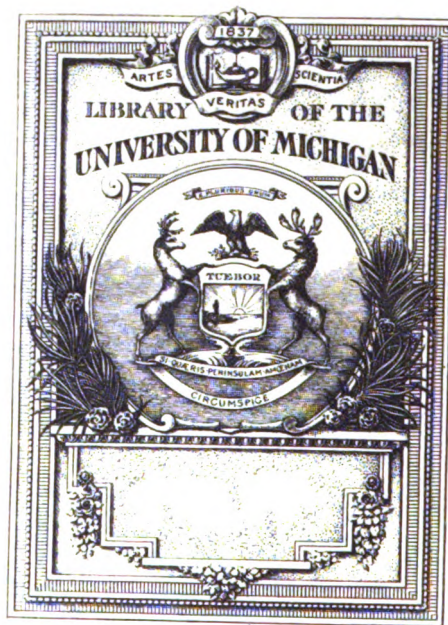
LUCY ALLEN PATON

PART TWO
STUDIES IN THE CONTENTS

Published for the Modern Language Association of America

NEW YORK, D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY
LONDON, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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The Modern Language Association of America
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*Approved for publication in the Monograph
Series of the Modern Language Association of
America*

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT
ROBERT HERNDON FIFE
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CONTENTS

I. THE PROPHETIC MATERIAL IN THE "PROPHECIES".....	I
II. LES BONS MARINIERS.....	34
1. <i>Les Bons Mariniers</i>	34
2. <i>Les Troiens qui eschaperont de l'occision d'Atile</i>	36
3. <i>Anteris and Orbanse</i>	48
4. <i>Hera and Chastel E</i>	54
5. <i>Le grand destorbier d'Anconne</i>	58
6. <i>Les Bons Mariniers, les Toscains, et les Aufriquens</i> ...	62
III. LES GUERRES ES PARTIES DE JHERUSALEM.....	72
1. <i>Le Champion de Gaulle</i>	72
2. <i>La sainte cite de Jherusalem</i>	82
3. <i>Les Bons Mariniers et la grant paenie de T</i>	85
4. <i>L'empereur de Rome qui s'en ira es parties de Jherusalem</i>	86
5. <i>L'espee qui descendra ou champ de Burtumble</i>	89
6. <i>Les Bons Mariniers et les Pelerins</i>	93
IV. LA MARCHE AMOUREUSE.....	104
1. <i>La Marche Doulereuse</i>	104
2. <i>Marmor</i>	106
3. <i>Danemarche and Maiolce</i>	109
4. <i>Le felon seigneur de la grant cite de la Marche Doulereuse</i> .	114
5. <i>La destruction de la Marche Doulereuse</i>	117
6. <i>La grant guerre des Bons Mariniers por la Marche Doulereuse</i>	120
7. <i>Le grant domage de la mestre cite de la Marche Doulereuse</i> .	122
8. <i>Les traitres Brisans</i>	125
9. <i>La mort du roi de Patanie</i>	128
10. <i>La ville qui departie sera en trois parties</i>	131
11. <i>Les. ii. feus desus le Pau</i>	136
V. THE VENETIAN ORIGIN OF THE "PROPHECIES".....	143
VI. JOACHISM IN THE "PROPHECIES".....	155
1. <i>La mauvese euvre des clers</i>	155
2. <i>Le Dragon de Babiloinne</i>	192
3. <i>The Question of a Franciscan Authorship</i>	222
VII. THE DIDACTIC MATERIAL IN THE "PROPHECIES".....	229
VIII. THE ARTHURIAN MATERIAL IN THE "PROPHECIES".....	240
IX. THE SCRIBES OF MERLIN.....	301
X. MAISTRE RICHART D'IRLANDE.....	328
XI. THE COMPOSITION OF THE "PROPHECIES".....	346
INDEX.....	353
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.....	401

CHAPTER I

THE PROPHETIC MATERIAL IN THE *PROPHECIES*

The most striking characteristic of the *Prophecies*, even at a first reading, is the pronounced division of its contents into prediction and romantic narrative. In this respect it is unique, for no other collection of prophecies is extensively combined with Arthurian episodes, and no other Arthurian romance consists chiefly of prophecy. Interspersed, however, with the prophetic and romantic portions are others that are didactic in character, and still others that are specifically devoted to traditions of Merlin. The subject matter, in fact, falls naturally into four groups, — prophetic, episodic, and didactic material, and elements from the Merlin legend. No one of these divisions can boast deep inherent interest, but each belongs to a recognized and important class of mediaeval literature. The *Prophecies*, therefore, though itself dim and often obscure in meaning, is connected with planets of a wider orbit and principally for this reason deserves consideration. It throws its own far from brilliant light upon certain phases of mediaeval thought and especially upon the conditions that gave prophetic expression a conspicuous place in the middle ages. Owing almost entirely to its larger aspects it justifies examination, and they alone save the study of its details, often in themselves of slight consequence, from degenerating into empty pedantry. In such a study the prophetic sections are those which first attract the attention, not only because of their preponderating bulk, but also because they form the logical approach to the solution of many of the more important problems connected with the entire work. What was its date, its provenience, its purpose? These are inevitable questions that we have the right to expect the prophecies, which presumably have an historic basis, to answer for us.

As soon as we turn to this branch of our inquiries, we are brought face to face with the complicated subject of historical prophecy as a literary type, a subject that, even if limited to the mediaeval field, which is all that concerns us here, is far too extensive to be treated in chapters that are merely supplementary to a production

in itself voluminous. But a few simple facts in regard to it should be borne in mind, if our text is to be read intelligently. We should in the first place recognize that historical prophecy is bred or in the heart or in the head. On one hand it is born of desire or apprehension, incorporates human aspirations or fears, and forecasts an unknown, even though perhaps faintly descried future. On the other hand, it may spring from knowledge, and be delivered *ex post facto*, when either for purposes of record, admonition, or encouragement, or perhaps for the sake of winning by a tacit appeal to the known greater credence for the would-be prophet, it depicts in more or less veiled language past scenes or deeds as if they were to come; "prophetia rerum futurarum, gesta praesentibus miscet rebus," says Isidore of Seville,¹ "ut ita credantur illa futura, quemadmodum ista cernuntur esse completa." These two principles of literary prophecy are fundamental and universal, and are peculiar to no one time or people. Familiar mediaeval illustrations of both are found in our greatest compendium of thirteenth-century thought, the *Divina Commedia*. Dante's predictions of an imperial deliverer for Italy were the fruit of his own ardent longing for the coming of "l'alto Arrigo," while those that he put into the mouths of Ciacco, Vanni Fucci, Cunizza, and Cacciaguida — not to multiply well known instances — recount in prophetic form past conditions which for one reason or another he desired to recall to his reader's mind. Naturally the extent to which prophecy is employed at any time and is regarded as authoritative depends upon the mental attitude of the age in which it is promulgated. Both its use as a form of expression and its content are in themselves significant of the emotions and the cast of thought as well as the relative importance assumed by individual past events in the period for which the prophet is the spokesman. Not that all mediaeval predictions should be unreservedly accepted *au grand sérieux*; every age has its follies, and empty oracles were heeded long before the ouija board became popular. But the greater part of the predictions that have come down to us from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when historic prophecy was widely current, may reasonably be utilized as one of the means at our disposal for bringing the life of the period more vividly before us. Because of this consideration the prophecies that we are about to examine are worth studying, and they repay the labor of analysis chiefly

¹ Migne, P. L., LXXXIII, 577 (*Sententiae*, I, xviii, 8).

because to a degree they represent the hopes or fears, the pride or shame of the community from which they emanated.

We must also remember, indeed we can rarely forget, in studying prophecy that obscurity is one of its essential characteristics. Purposely cryptic, mediaeval predictions must necessarily often elude interpretation today ; the Veltro is not the only prophetic figure in the *Commedia* that still remains a subject for conjecture. Yet the utterances of a seer, to have commanded attention at all, must at the time when they were delivered, have been at least vaguely intelligible. Fra Salimbene, for example, after quoting certain important *praesagia* attributed to Michael Scot, some of which have baffled modern explanation, implies that it is unnecessary for him to interpret them, for their truth will be easily recognized by everybody, and he adds that with few exceptions he has himself seen them fulfilled¹. We may be sure that Merlin's words, although they leave us often sighing with Maistre Antoine, " Ha Dieux, comment tu me vas travaillant et boutant hors de mon sens², " are in the main not to be dismissed as utter mystifications in their own day. No age seeks to perpetuate, as the *Prophecies* in its varied forms was perpetuated, a composition which it finds well nigh meaningless. We must not forget that a thirteenth-century author could assume as popularly familiar a series of facts and traditions which have now faded from men's view, even as the sculptor who decorated a great cathedral could presuppose on the part of his contemporaries an acquaintance with the important themes of Scripture and of hagiography, which are practically unknown to the younger generation of today. Many a poet could rely upon his readers' familiarity with romantic stories that he did not choose to recount quite as confidently as Chrestien de Troyes, when he excused himself from narrating details in Erec's report of his adventures to Arthur : —

Cuidiez vos or que je vos dis
Queus achoisons le fist movoir ?
Naie ; que bien savez le voir
Et de ce et de l'autre chose,
Si con je la vos ai escluse³.

¹ Salimbene, p. 362 ; cf. Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 349 ff.

² 1498, fol. 22a.

³ Erec, 6478 ff. Cf. Ogle, *Romanic Review*, IX, 2.

If we would read the *Prophecies* with an ease at all approaching that of the people for whom it was designed, we must with the help of contemporary records reconstruct the background of the picture in which it is for the moment the point of interest to us. In order to discover the meaning of Merlin's historical vaticinations we should view them in the light of contemporary or nearly contemporary chronicles. Biased and inaccurate these may often be, but with their reliability we are not concerned here ; what is of importance for us is that they show us the historical perspective in which distant occurrences were viewed by the writers, and also how immediate events were regarded and interpreted by some of those men who lived through them or were separated from them by a relatively short interval. Only by such an examination can we discover the sentiments and interests that animate — if we dare employ so vivid a word — the *Prophecies* as a whole, and ascertain its date and purpose.

Before turning to the individual predictions we shall do well to have clearly in mind such first-hand knowledge in regard to the date of composition as we possess. We have seen reason to infer that *X* must have been written before the latter years of the thirteenth century¹, but our direct information may be summed up in a few words. The sources agree that the *Prophecies* was written by Maistre Richart d'Irlande at the request of the Emperor Frederic II, and two texts, *C* and the Italian manuscript, Pal. 949, in a statement that demands further support, add 1228 as the year of composition². The sources, then, at all events, place the date of the work in the reign of the Emperor Frederic, and hence between 1212 and 1250. They also incidentally lead to the important conclusion that the contents must have been acceptable to the emperor. For surely among mediaeval writers of prophecy the motives were not exceptional that led Giraldus Cambrensis to suppress certain prophecies of Merlin, a translation of which from the British tongue, with a comment of his own, he had intended to include in the third book of his *Expugnatio Hibernica* ; he barely begins them, however, when he abruptly breaks off : " hujus etenim tertiae Distinctionis editio et nova vaticiniorum interpretatio suum adhuc saniori consilio tempus expectet ; quia nondum venit hora ejus, " and his added statement that the truth, which

¹ See I, 17, 18.

² For a further discussion of these passages see below, pp. 310, 330.

might be dangerously offensive to men of high estate, had best not be brought to light, shows that he was of no mind to run the risk of incurring the displeasure of Henry II¹. Thus, *mutatis mutandis*, it is safe to believe that if the prophecies of Merlin prove to be such as would have made uncongenial reading for the Emperor Frederic, there is reason to question the statement of our sources in regard to their composition. It remains for us, accordingly, to test the correctness of the dating by a study of the contents. It is fortunately a study upon which we may enter without prejudices, for beyond Ward's brief statement² that the predictions have chiefly to do with events in Italy during the reign of Frederic II, the waters have remained practically untroubled. There are no preconceived theories to be supported or disproved. We have merely to let the book tell its own story.

For convenience in treatment many of the prophecies may be grouped together. As a preliminary to the systematic consideration of these groups and in order to familiarize ourselves with the point of view from which they should be regarded, it will be advantageous to examine a few predictions, which are so typical of the entire number that from them we may logically deduce certain principles in regard to the form in which historic material is presented throughout the work. This form is influenced by conventions which we must understand if we would not go astray in our interpretations³ as inevitably as if we tried to comment upon the poem of a troubadour with no knowledge of the laws imposed by the system of courtly love, or to play a game without having learned its rules. The following prophecies — a mere drop, it is true, from an ocean — have been selected as characteristic of the large majority.

1. Or met en ton escrit que il aura du tens d'un champion qui mourra en contumance un buisart qui bien cuidera este un fauconnel, et au tens que il cuidera estre un fauconnel et fuis d'uns faucons, metra el Mouthen a grant martire et tout le pais environ. Et ancois que son pere dechie du tout, le prendra li Romagnos de [la cite de .B.] et le tendra presque tout son aage en la geole. — Quant sera-ce ? fet mestre Antoinne. Et Merlin dit, Au tens que la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jherusalem aura trespasse
^c
mil.ii.xlviii. [*M*, 1498, .m.cc.xlviii.] ans et demi⁴.

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, V, 404 ; cf. p. xli.

² *Catalogue*, I, 371, 372.

³ Chapter LXXXVI. There is excellent ground for believing that this prophecy

Even without the gloss in *M*¹, — “ De Medina et de Bonnomia et de Rege Enzo,” and the passage from Thomas the Tuscan quoted below it is not difficult to recognize that the subject of this prophecy is Enzo, King of Sardinia, the natural son of the Emperor Frederic II, whose personal gifts and protracted captivity in Bologna from 1249 until his death in 1272 have made him a figure of romantic interest ever since the thirteenth century.

In the year 1249, Bologna, which was strongly Guelph, was at war with Modena, at that time under Ghibelline rule ; the opposing forces met at Fossalta, the Modenese under the command of Enzo. The Bolognese were victorious, took Enzo prisoner, and carried him to Bologna, where he spent the rest of his life in captivity². Of the many accounts of his fate given by contemporary chroniclers the most apposite for comparison with the prophecy is that by Fra Salimbene of Parma³, who after mentioning his capture “ cum maxima multitudine Cremonensium et Mutinensium et Theutonicorum ” by the Bolognese in 1249 continues : —

Erat autem rex Hencius, qui est Henricus, naturalis, id est non legitimus, filius Friderici imperatoris condam depositi, et erat valens homo et valde cordatus, id est magnifici cordis, et probus armatus et solatiosus homo, quando volebat, et cantionum inventor, et multum in bello audacter se exponebat periculis ; pulcher homo fuit, mediocrisque stature. Hic quando captus fuit, habebat dominium Reggii, Cremonæ, et Mutinæ. Huc per multos annos tenuerunt Bononienses in carcere in communis palatio usque ad ultimum diem vite sue.

In the prophecy, then, the “ champion qui mourra en contumace ” is the Emperor Frederic II, who, excommunicated and re-excommunicated, was finally deposed at the Council of Lyons in 1245 by Pope Innocent IV and died in 1250 still plotting against

had a place in *X*, for it appears in all the French sources except *Add.*, where its absence is due to a gap in the manuscript, and the short versions, 15211, *Reg.*, and 98 ; it is also in all of the Italian texts except *S.* In *M* and 1498 it is given twice (see I, 43, note 2).

¹ Fol. 45c.

² *Annales Veronenses* (Parisius de Cereta), *M.G.H.*, XIX, 13 : — “ 1249. Rex Encius filius imperatoris Frederici existens apud Mutinam pugnavit cum Bononiensibus, et in dicto bello idem rex subcubuit et captus est, et in vinculis aureis in Bononia captivatus est... et statim Mutinenses dederunt et submiserunt se Bononiensibus propter confictum receptum ab eis. ” See also Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, III, 56, 57, as well as the passages referred to below, p. 9, note 4.

³ P. 329.

the Papacy. The "buisart qui cuidera estre un fauconnel et fins d'un faucon" is Enzo, whose reign brought Modena and the surrounding peoples "a grant martire," since it led to the war with Bologna which ended in their defeat. The expression "anchois que son pere dechie du tout" is explained by the fact that the disaster took place in the year before the death of Frederic. Bologna, being included in the Romagna in the thirteenth century, "li Romagnos¹ de la cite de .B." are plainly the Bolognese.

A passage that is peculiarly interesting in connection with this prophecy is found in the chronicle of Thomas the Tuscan, or Thomas of Pavia as he is sometimes called, the *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificorum*, a work which he was engaged in writing in the year 1278, and which there is excellent reason to believe that he completed in 1279. After giving a brief account of the life of Enzo he adds² :—

De isto Hentio talis Merlini prophetia processit : *Erit falconellus quidam filius pugilis, qui in contumacia morietur. Hic ob superbiam suam a Romagnolis de Bononia capietur eritque in caverna usque ad ultimum vite sue. Pugilem secundum consuetudinem sui libri imperatorem appellat, eo quod imperatores pugiles ecclesie esse debent. Pugil autem in contumacia mortuus fuit Fredericus in excommunicatione defunctus. Falconellus dictus est Hentius, quia ad omnia expeditus, corpore levis erat. Bononienses autem, licet audire recusent, Romagnoli dicuntur, quia Romagnola a Lombardia dividitur per Folliam flumen et Renum.*

The nomenclature, which Thomas explains, is significant. The application of the term "fauconnel" to Enzo would at first glance seem to put this prophecy into the same class as the vaticinations of Merlin in the Seventh Book of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, where animal symbolism is extensively employed³. In the *Prophecies*, however, it is rare to find examples of this type, and, in fact, in our prediction "fauconnel" is far more a figurative than a symbolic designation, — a metaphorical name, as Thomas the Tuscan implies, that the daring and energy of Enzo

¹ Cf. the variants, I, 142, notes 9, 10, 11; the verbs in *B*, which gives the better reading, it will be noticed, are plural. See also *Purgatorio*, XIV, 99, 100 :—

*O Romagnoli tornati in bastardi!
Quando in Bologna un Fabbro si ralligna?*

² *M.G.H.*, XXII, 515; for the date see *ibid.*, p. 484; on Thomas see Salimbene, pp. 429, 430; *Neues Archiv*, VII, 641.

³ See Taylor, *Political Prophecy*, p. 4.

in battle might justly have won for him¹. The phrase by which Frederic II is indicated, "un champion (which Thomas translates *pugil*²) qui morra en contumance," illustrates the character of the vast majority of the designations employed in the *Prophecies*, which are little more than veiled descriptions, sometimes ornamental, sometimes conveying a statement of actual deeds or conditions. This method places them distinctly in the large class of mediaeval prophecies which continue the literary traditions of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, the ultimate source of a vast body of prophetic conventions current in the middle ages³. In the Sibylline oracles not only this method of prophetic nomenclature was employed, but also that from which the common mediaeval practice in prophecy of designating a personage by the initial letter of his name was directly derived, although with a certain difference. The Sibylline prophecies frequently referred to an individual by the initial letter of his name expressed by the letter's numerical value reckoned, of course, in the Greek numerotation; but after this method was adopted in the West, where the Greek system of numbers was not familiar, the initial letter, with no numerical value attached to it, came to be employed alone. The use of "B." for Bologna is accordingly an inheritance from this system, of which we shall find many other examples in the *Prophecies*.

The passage from Thomas the Tuscan is also of value for us, because it is the only instance, so far as I am aware, where a chronicler cites the *Prophecies*⁴. That the prediction was not one of the

¹ The name is found elsewhere applied to a bold warrior where no disguise, such as is common in prophecy, is intended. Martino da Canale (II, cccxxxviii, cccxl, pp. 698, 700, 776, note 458), for example, speaks of the Conte di Montefeltro as "li faucons qui abat li orgueil" of Bologna, quite as probably with reference to his bravery in the field as to the fact that his castle was situated high on a mountain top.

It is noticeable that the animal nomenclature of the passage is not used in 1498. This difference doubtless indicates a redactor's hand.

² See Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, s.v., "Campiones." *Pugil ecclesiae* is a term not infrequently used of the champions of the Church by the chroniclers; it is applied, for instance, by the Guelph chronicler, Ferreto Vicentino (col. 948) to Charles of Anjou, who is called "Ecclesiae athleta et Fidei pugil" by Saba Malaspina (col. 864), and "campione di santa chiesa" by Giovanni Villani (VI, lxxxix). On the original language of the *Prophecies* see below, pp. 148 ff.

³ See Alexandre, *Oracula Sibyllina*, 1841-1869, II, 287 ff.; Kampers, *Kaiserprophetien und Kaisersagen im Mittelalter*, 1895, pp. 199 ff.; Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

⁴ Ehrenfeuchter, the editor of the chronicle of Thomas for the *M. G. H.*, was unac-

floating Merlinesque sayings such as are occasionally quoted by Salimbene and other mediaeval writers¹, but was known to Thomas in the *Prophecies* itself, is evident from his reference to the *liber* of Merlin in which the emperor is customarily designated as *pugil*, the natural rendering of the French *champion*, Merlin's habitual designation of the emperor in the *Prophecies*². We therefore see that the *Prophecies* existed in a form that included this prediction at the time when Thomas wrote the *Gesta Imperatorum*, which is attributed to the year 1279.

But the prediction is especially important because it casts doubt upon the reliability of the statements in regard to the date of the *Prophecies* which have been mentioned above. No prediction that would have been so unpalatable reading for Frederic would have been accorded a place in a work that was designed to give him pleasure. The defeat of Modena was a proud victory for the Guelph cause and especially for Bologna, " quapropter Bononienses sunt usque ad sidera elevati," according to the *Chronicon Estense*³. " Or vuel je que vos regardes a li orgueil de Boloigne," says Martino da Canale, who as a Venetian is not friendly to the Bolognese, " que premierement s'enorgueilli de sor son signor li Enpereor ; il disconfist son fils, li rois Ens, que Rois coronez estoit ; et le prist et le mist in une jaiole, et le tint tant en prison, que il mori dou mau de la mort⁴. " The disaster was a serious loss to the imperial party and a grievous blow to Frederic, whose favorite son, if we may believe the chroniclers, Enzo was⁵. " Non poterit non esse," Salimbene declares⁶, after having mentioned the capture of Enzo in a list of the misfortunes of Frederic which he deserved for his offences against the Church, " quin imperator doloris gladium habuerit de filio suo tali tempore ab hostibus capto. Tunc enim ablata est omnis spes victorie sue. " In the second place, since the battle of Fossalta took place in 1249 and Frederic died in 1250, we may be

acquainted with the *Prophecies*, for he says in a note on the text that he has not found this passage among the vaticinations of Merlin ; see also Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 379.

¹ See below, pp. 147, note 2, 153 ff., 190.

² " Champion " is not used exclusively of the emperor. See, below, index, s. v., " Champion. "

³ P. 21.

⁴ II, cccxl. See also *Annales veteres Mutinensium*, R. I. S., XI, 63 ; *Annales S. Justinæ*, col. 161 ; Dandolo, X, v, 45 (col. 358) ; Jacopo da Acqui, III, 1588.

⁵ Cf. Salimbene, p. 471.

⁶ P. 344 ; cf. Pipino, cols. 583 ff.

sure that a prophecy which represents Enzo as passing "presque tout son aage" in prison, and especially one that foretells Frederic's death in contumacy was not written in the lifetime of the emperor. Finally we may also be certain that it was not written before the captivity of Enzo was ended by his death in 1272.

We have here then a prophecy that keeps close to historical fact even in its date, to a limited extent follows Sibylline conventions, and employs merely a slight disguise for its leading personages; it was not written with the desire to gratify Frederic II, and was certainly composed between 1272 and *ca.* 1279. Since it is contained in the sources deriving from X it shows that X must have been written at some time between those dates.

2. Or met en ton escrit, ce dit Merlin a mestre Antoinne, que une si grant mellee sera en mi la mer au tens que la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jerusalem aura mil.^cii.xxxviii. ans. — Ou sera ce ? fet mestre Antoinne. — Ce sera, ce dit Merlin, entre .P. et .G.. — Et qui en aura le pieur ? fet mestre Antoinne. — Je vneil que tu metes en escrit, ce dit Mellin a mestre Antoinne, que cil de .P. vaincra pour [vaincra par] l'aide du champion qui finira en contumance¹.

The initials "P." and "G." at once suggest Pisa and Genoa, whose bitter rivalry for the control of the sea, was one of the many causes of disturbance in thirteenth-century Italy. "Quis enim," Salimbene laments, "sine tristitia et magno fletu referre potest vel etiam cogitare, qualiter ille due nobiles civitates, ex quibus nobis Ytalice omnium bonorum copia veniebat, mutuo sunt destructe ex ambitione tantum et pompa et vana gloria, qua una aliam superare volebat, quasi mare navigantibus non sufficeret?... Et nota, quod, sicut inter homines et serpentes, canes et lupos, equos et grifes naturale est odium, sic inter Pisanos et Ianuenses²."

In 1241 the Pisan and Genoese fleets met off the islands of Giglio and Monte Cristo in a battle which is sometimes erroneously spoken of as the battle of Meloria from a confusion with the famous engagement known by that name fought in nearly the same waters in 1284, when the Genoese completely shattered the power of Pisa. The immediate occasion of the earlier battle was the action of the Genoese, who in obedience to papal orders had undertaken to convey in their galleys the prelates from the north, who had as-

¹ Chapter LXXXVI.

² Pp. 534, 535.

sembled at Nice on their way to a General Council convoked in Rome by Gregory IX, but had been forbidden by Frederic II to pass through his territories. Pisa, being ardently Ghibelline, on learning of the plan of the Genoese, sent envoys to oppose the passage of the fleet. The Genoese proceeded with their preparations; the two fleets met, and the Pisans, supported by Frederic, utterly routed the Genoese and captured the prelates; whereupon both Pisa and the emperor were excommunicated.

The support that the Pisans received from Frederic is emphasized by both their own and Genoese chroniclers, the latter naturally being willing to remember that their rivals were not unaided in inflicting upon them a defeat that rankled in their memory¹. The chroniclers also unite in regarding the Pisans as guilty of sacrilege in their insult to the Church in the persons of the prelates, and the later battle of Meloria is declared, even by the Pisan Marangone², to be a retribution upon them for this sin: — " E così in quel luogo, che e' Pisani... avevono parte presi e parte annegati e' Prelati della Chiesa Santa furono annegati, e presi la quantità, che appresso si dirà de' Pisani, a causa, che in nel medesimo luogo facessino la penitenzia, dove avevono fatto el peccato. " The Florentine, Giachetto Malespino³, denominates it a " giusto giudizio di Dio, " as indeed almost any disaster suffered by the Pisans appeared in Florentine eyes. The battle, in short, was so famous in thirteenth-century history that it is no surprise to find Salimbene⁴ referring to it as a well known event not requiring explanation: — " *Pisana civitas* ...xxx. annis sine ecclesiastico offitio fuit, pro eo quod Pisani ceperunt cardinales et alios prelatos in mare. " It is also one of the few incidents in the long struggle between Frederic II and the Papacy to which Brunetto Latini accords a specific mention in his account of the period, which does not deal with details but is of the nature of a sketch⁵.

Thus the prophecy agrees with facts known to have taken place in 1241, and emphasizes those features which were considered by

¹ Marangone (*Croniche*, col. 501) points out the serious effects of their deed upon the Pisans: — " così ne nacque il principio della guerra de' Genovesi e Pisani, ed in ultimo fu la rovina di Pisa. " On the battle and the events leading to it see Roncioni, pp. 500 ff.; Sardo, p. 87, xxxv; Scriba, cols. 194-197; Andrea Dei, col. 26, note 19; Giustiniani, I, 365 ff.;

² Col. 568.

³ *Historia fiorentina*, R. I. S., VIII, 1040 (ccxxi). Cf. Villani, VI, xix.

⁴ P. 312.

⁵ *Li livres dou tresor*, ed. Chabaille, 1863, p. 93.

chroniclers to be the most memorable; the sole discrepancy is in the year, 1238, (variant 1228). In this respect it illustrates an often recurring situation, since frequently a prophecy is inaccurate only in the date, for which no manuscript gives a correct reading. Such a variation is in reality not disturbing, for nothing is more subject to copyists' errors than a series of Roman numerals, and the unreliability of mediaeval manuscripts in transmitting dates is too well known to require comment¹. In identifying the events to which the prophecies refer, therefore, we may practically disregard inaccuracies in the given dates when in other particulars the prophecy is in accord with fact or tradition.

This prediction appears in the same sources in which that relating to Enzo is found, and like it is contained twice in both *M* and 1498². Here in its first occurrence and also in the Italian versions it directly follows the prophecy concerning Enzo, from which in the other texts it is separated by a prediction of events that took place at Ancona in 1172³. Probably the latter is an interpolation, and the original order is preserved in the Italian versions, *M*, and 1498, for not only do both prophecies relate to Frederic II, but the events mentioned in them had a distinct connection in the minds of contemporaries, the captivity of Enzo being one of the misfortunes that Frederic was believed to have merited for his contumacy and especially for his action against the prelates. This is evident from the words of Salimbene to which reference has already been made: — "Nonum eius infortunium fuit quando filius eius rex Hencius a Bononiensibus captus fuit; quod fuit dignum et iustum, quia prelatos ceperat in mari qui ad concilium ibant Gregorii pape noni⁴."

It is interesting to observe the difference in tone between this prophecy and one occurring in a series of verses that sometimes pass under the name of Michael Scot, which foretells the same event, but in a tone of exultation as a great Ghibelline triumph. The Council will have received its quietus and Frederic will rule in peace: —

Gaudeat imperium, quantum gaudere licebit,
Cuius ad imperium dominatrix Roma iacebit.

¹ See, e. g., *Chronique de Morée*, (§ 2, note 1), where so assured a date as that of the First Crusade, 1096-1099, is given as mil.ciiil. ans. See also the variants for the date of the Third Crusade, *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, I, 5: 1187, 1180, 1177.

² *M*, fols. 36a and 45b; 1498, fols. 58d and 71b.

³ See below, pp. 58 ff.

⁴ Salimbene, p. 344.

Papa, stupor mundi, bursa Simonie, stupebit,
 Cum nichil afferri solito sibi more videbit.
 De prelatorum captura papa dolebit,
 Sed de iactura rerum cruciamen habebit.
 Per mare, per terras papam casura docebit,
 Quam formam pacis guerarum finis habebit.
 Garula concilii de rota lingua silebit,
 Et puer Apulie terras in pace tenebit¹.

The intense Ghibellinism in the spirit of these verses contrasts with the quieter note of our prophecy, which foretells that, although the " champion " will aid in achieving the victory, he will be in a state of contumacy when his end overtakes him. Holder-Egger points out that the metrical prophecy was undoubtedly written between the battle and the death of Pope Gregory IX in 1241 ; Merlin's words were written after the death of Frederic in 1250, not inconceivably in intentional contrast with the Ghibelline verses.

This prophecy, then, illustrates the same prophetic methods that we have seen employed in that foretelling Enzo's captivity and death ; it uses a slightly veiled and initial nomenclature, and it, too, although its chronology admits of its having been written in the lifetime of Frederic II, in its allusion to his end shows that it was not composed before 1250. It suggests, furthermore, that the author was not a Ghibelline.

3. A celui tens², ce dit Merlin, istra de la bouche a l'apostolle de Romme une escommunion et ce sera em Perone [*M, Perose*], dont il alumera le feu dont Jerusalem sera deguerpie et lessiee es mains des poiens, et la guerre en sera commenciee si cruelle et si fellonnesse que toute la crestiente en sera en aventure. Et se savoir voules a combien elle sera finnee, ce dit Merlin en son livre, je le vous [dirai]. Sachies certainement que avant que pes en soit fete en seront occis mil hommes, et le chief de monsaingneur [saint] Pere et celui de monsaingneur saint Pol en chaceront lors environ Romme, et les gens de la chrestiente s'en iront fors la greigneur partie esgares et essillies parmi le monde³.

Two well known events are here foretold, one occurring at the beginning, the other shortly before the end of the great conflict between Frederic II and Pope Gregory IX. The excommunication

¹ Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 364 ; for a discussion of the verses see *ibid.*, pp. 349 ff. Cf. below, p. 153.

² Namely, when signs of the end of the world shall appear.

³ Chapter cccviii.

that Gregory pronounced against Frederic in 1227, when on the plea of ill health he turned back from his already often postponed crusade to the Holy Land, not only left Jerusalem in the hands of the pagans, but marked the beginning of the war, "cruelle et fellonnesse," that with few intermissions he waged with the Pope until the end of the latter's reign in 1241. The denunciations of 1227 launched against Frederic by Gregory, shortly after his accession to the papal throne, were met by counter-denunciations from Frederic, which were merely the first steps toward open hostilities. "Ex hac itaque imperator perturbatione commotus," Matthew Paris writes¹, "excitavit contra dominum Papam et Romanae ecclesiae patrimonium² seditionem gravissimam invadens eius civitates et occupans castella." At the time of the excommunication the pope in a letter to Archbishop Stephen Langton bitterly laments the fate of the Holy City left by the impiety of Frederic in pagan hands³, yet when the emperor some months later led his crusade to Jerusalem Gregory used means to let it be known that he was still under the papal displeasure, and thus so lessened his prestige as to retard the progress of his expedition³; furthermore, it was the necessity of defending his territory from papal aggression that brought Frederic back to Italy before he had attained substantial results from his success at Jerusalem. Thus the failure of the crusade was employed by each side as a reproach to the other, and the early part of the prophecy might have equally well emanated from an imperial or a papal supporter. The second half, however, is written so distinctly from a Guelph point of view that it is reasonable to interpret the first sentences as referring rather to the situation created by the conduct of Frederic that called forth the excommunication, which kindled the war and so made a successful crusade under the auspices of the Church impossible, than merely to the period after he had reached the Holy Land, when both he himself and Ghibelline chroniclers complained that the papal ban was hindering his efforts to reach Jerusalem. At this latter period (1228-1230), it should be said, the Pope was chiefly at Perugia (Perouse)⁴; when he excommunicated Frederic in 1227 he was at Anagni, and later he made the public

¹ *Chronica Majora*, III, 154.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 145 ff.; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1747 etc., I, 593, 594.

³ See Matthew Paris, *ibid.*, p. 159; Richardus de S. Germano, *R. I. S.*, VII, 1012; Kington, *The History of Frederick the Second*, 1862, I, 311 ff.

⁴ See Potthast, I, 707 ff.

pronouncement at Rome¹. This slight inaccuracy in the prophecy may easily be due to a lapse of the author's memory.

The second part of the prediction refers to the device adopted by Gregory for the frustration of the emperor's plans to take possession of Rome in 1240, when after having reduced Viterbo, Montefiascone, and other neighboring strongholds of the Church, and won for himself many adherents in Rome itself, he was rapidly advancing to her walls. The scene within the city is dramatically described by the chroniclers, and the animated account of the *Chronicon de rebus in Italia gestis*² is the best comment on the prophecy : —

Interea dominus papa erat in Urbe ad quem imperator multos ambaxatores mandavit, et omnes Romani clamabant, " Veniat, veniat imperator et accipiat Urbem! " Unde papa audiens vociferationem eorum timuit valde, et congregatis Romanis extrasit foras reliquias Beatorum Petri et Pauli³ dicens : " Ecce reliquie pro quibus civitas vestra veneratur; ego autem non possum facere magis altero homine, " et alia verba consimilia, extrahens coronam de capite suo et imposuit super reliquias dicens, " Vos, sancti, defendite Romam si hominis Romani nollunt defendere. " Qua propter maior pars Romanorum ibidem incontinenti levaverunt signum crucis in defensionem Ecclesie. Et videns imperator nichil ibi posse facere, motus exinde equitavit in Apuliam, dimittens comitem Simonem cum .cccc. militibus in custodia Viterbii.

There can be no question about the historical facts foretold in this prophecy, yet it contains a slight inaccuracy in one unimportant particular, and shows a somewhat oracular exaggeration in the terms in which the great war and its results are mentioned. Recalling, too, a papal action that led to the crushing of the emperor's cherished hopes of becoming master of Rome, it is quite certainly not the pronouncement of a Ghibelline prophet, nor one to be expected in a work that Frederic desired to place in the hands of " chevaliers et le autre gent laies. "

4. ... Merlin dit que apres quant ce sera venu⁴, croistra un

¹ See Id., I, 695 ; *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, M. G. H., XVIII, 469.

² *Chronicon Placentinum et Chronicon de rebus in Italia gestis*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, 1856, p. 182 ; see also *Vitae Papae Gregorii IX*, R. I. S., III, i, 586. For the events mentioned above see *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. cit., pp. 77, 149 ; R. I. S., III, i, 576 ; ii, 571 ; VII, 1003 ; Bower, *History of the Popes*, 1844, II, 553 ff., 557 ; Kington, *op. cit.* I, 287 ff. ; II, 160 ff.

³ R. I. S., III, i, 586 : " reverenda Beatorum Petri et Pauli capita. "

⁴ I. e., an event predicted for 1362, 1262.

lingnage qui toute Toscane metra au desous ses pies, et un d'euls en sera coronnes a rois en Sene, et celui roiz sera en vie .xv. [B, .xx.] jours entiers, et au .xvi. [B, .xxi.] jour l'occira un chevalier tres devant son lignage en la cite meismes. Et lors sera illecques une bataille commenciee que toute Sene en sera destruite et mise en cendre. Li fuis du champion au chief d'or sera couronnes apres la mort de son pere, et s'en ira en Toscane pour radrecier le pais que tuit seront a celui tens en guerre. Il sera si dous et si debonnaire que entre lui et l'apostolle i metront la pes, et des lors en avant sera en Tosquane la pes, et durra jusques au juisse¹.

The long rivalry between Florence and Siena became in the thirteenth century the hostility of Guelph and Ghibelline². After the battle of Montaperti in September, 1260, when Siena, which was Ghibelline, routed the Florentine Guelphs, the Ghibelline party gained control of all the important strongholds of Tuscany with the exception of Lucca, which was the refuge of the defeated Guelphs³. In the following years of the Ghibelline supremacy the most powerful Siennese was Provenzano Salvani, recognized as leader not only in his own city but in all Ghibelline Tuscany, and virtually lord of Siena itself. "Questo messer Provenzano fue potente uomo in Siena nel suo tempo e, dopo la vittoria, che ebbono i Sanesi a Montaperti, e guidata tutta la Città a parte Ghibellina di Toscana, faceano capo di lui⁴." Siennese and Florentine chroniclers alike support Dante's words, "colui.. Toscana sonò tutto," although the former resent his implication and that of other Florentines that Provenzano "was presumptuous in bringing all Siena to his hands⁵." Malavolti, a sixteenth-century Siennese historian, protests that Dante's use of the word *sire*⁶ as a designation of Provenzano leads to the false inference that he was *signore* in Siena, "il che non fu mai," and asserts that already before Montaperti he had been sent from Siena on important embassies and after the battle was made *podestà* of Montepulciano, an office which, if he had held a political position of great importance in Siena itself, he would never have accepted. Malavolti, however, does not attempt to deny that the personal characteristics of

¹ Chapter CLXXVI.

² Cf. G. Rondoni, *Sena Vetus*, 1892, pp. 39 ff.

³ Ricordano Malespini, col. 993. Cf. Villani, VI, lxxxii; Malavolti, *Historie de' fatti e guerre de' Senesi*, 1599, Pte. II, ii, 25b.

⁴ Ricordano Malespini, col. 1015; Villani, VII, xxxi.

⁵ *Purgatorio*, XI, 109-114; 121, 122.

⁶ See on this subject B. Aquarone, *Dante in Siena*, 1889, pp. 109 ff.

Provenzano won him a vast influence¹, and his criticism of Dante savors of the captiousness of a Siense in regard to any statement from a Florentine source, for his own account of Provenzano later in his *Historia* represents him as a great and influential Ghibelline lord of Siena².

In June, 1269, after their party had been dealt two heavy blows by the defeat of Manfred at Benevento and of Corradino at Tagliacozzo, the Siense Ghibellines met the Florentine Guelphs at Colle di Valdelsa, about ten miles north-west of Siena, and were defeated by them with the aid of forces of Charles of Anjou³. In this battle Provenzano was slain by a Siense Guelph, Messer Cavolino da' Tolommei, and his head was borne in triumph on the point of a lance through the camp⁴. In the battle of Colle di Valdelsa, according to Andrea Dei, more than a thousand Siense were killed and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners; according to Malespini Siena received as deadly a defeat here as Florence had received at Montaperti⁵, — a statement that Malavolti⁶ declares to be false.

Whatever the relative carnage of the two battles may have been, the Ghibelline cause in Siena and indeed in Tuscany certainly suffered its final blow at Colle di Valdelsa. After the battle the exiled Guelphs were recalled to Siena, the government passed from the hands of the Ghibelline Ventiquattro into those of the Trentasei,

¹ *Op. cit.*, Pte. II, i, 14b.

² *Op. cit.*, Pte. II, ii, 38a: — "... essendo di spirito altiero, e desideroso di gloria; era (come era stato ancora molto tempo dopo la giornata di Montaperti) capo della fazione Ghibellina di Toscana, e di più autorità e potere che alcun altro, e ben lo dimostrò in mantener col suo consiglio la sua patria tanto tempo libera dalla potenza del Re Carlo, e della parte Guelfa, quando fuor che Pisa tutte l'altre Città di Toscana havevan mutato reggimento. "

³ For a spirited account of this battle see Piranesi, *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, XV, fasc. 3, 185 ff.

⁴ Andrea Dei, col. 36; Ricordano Malespini, col. 1015; Villani, VII, xxxi; Malavolti, *op. cit.*, Pte. II, ii, 38b.

⁵ Cf. also the words of Sapia, *Purgatorio*, XIII, 115 ff.

⁶ *L. c.*: — "dalle quale [rotta] non si legge che risultasse effetto di molto momento, perchè la Città di Siena, tornate che furon le sue genti, non conoscendo haver ricevuto maggior danno che la morte di M. Provenzano, non fece alteratione alcuna, e andò continuando, nel medesimo reggimento della parte Ghibellina, come era stata lungo tempo, il che non harebbe potuto fare, trovandosi per la potenza del Re Carlo e de' Guelfi senza speranza alcuna di soccorso, se la rotta, c'haveva ricevuta fusse stata (come dice Ricordano Malaspina, dalli scritti del quale l'hanno tolto il Villani e l'Arcevescovo Antonino) simile a quella c'hebbeno i Fiorentini a

who represented the Guelphs¹, while the powerful Ghibellines were banished, and continually sought to find a stronghold outside the city from which they could annoy their Guelphic fellow-townsmen. They selected Montepertuso, "onde incitati i Sanesi Guelfi che governavan la Città," says Malavolti, "vi mandaron l'essercito.... e lo disfecero come anco il castel di Resi e altre piccole Fortezze ivi u cive. Havevano nel medesimo tempo fatto disfare in Siena le Torri ed i Palazzi de' Guinisi, e de' Salvani, delle quai rovine fù Commessario M. Deo Tolomei, al quale erano stati disfatti i Palazzi, e le Torri dal reggimento de' Ghibellini quando erano in Siena²." In the same year, 1270, the castle of Poggibonsi, an outpost of Siena and long contested ground between Siena and Florence, passing in the course of the struggle now into Guelph, now into Ghibelline hands, was reduced to ruins by the Florentines³.

In the light of these facts we find an explanation for the prophecy. The "lignage" that will control all Tuscany is the Ghibelline party after Montaperti. The "roi" of Siena, who will be slain by "un chevalier tres devant son lignage" is Provenzano Salvani, "sire" of Siena, who was killed in sight of his followers by Cavolino de' Tolomei. "Days" is sometimes used for "years" in prophetic language⁴, and the mere fifteen (or twenty) days during which the "king" is to reign may indicate simply the brevity of Provenzano's power, which was at its height only for the nine years that elapsed between the battle of Montaperti and his fall at Colle di Valdelsa. In any case the variant in the numeral leaves it unreliable. "Dans la cite meismes" may be interpreted as a phrase of Delphic vagueness for Colle di Valdelsa, which was only ten miles distant from Siena, or it may be accepted as clearly an inaccuracy. The predicted misfortunes of Siena may refer to the destruction of Ghibelline dwellings and towers within the town, to the razing of Poggibonsi to the ground, or even in a more general sense, to

Montaperto, l'effetto della quale fù che i Guelfi di Firenze... abbandonaron la Patria, lassandola a discrezione de'nemici."

¹ See Paoli, *Nuova Antologia*, Ser. 3, XXXIV, 406.

² Pte. II, iii, 41b ff. See also for the documentary record (February, 1270) of the payment made by the Commune for the destruction of the towers and palaces of the Salvani, Rondoni, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note; C. E. Norton, *Church Building in the Middle Ages*, 1902, p. 134, note.

³ See Andrea Dei, col. 36; Ricordano Malespini, cols. 1016, 1017; Villani, VII, xxxvi. Cf. Mazzi, *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, V, 87 ff.; Rondoni *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴ See below, p. 339.

the disturbances that still assailed Siena after Colle di Valdelsa.

It is not without interest to recall here the familiar story that Provenzano had been forewarned of his death by the devil before the final battle, and that his fate was recognized by contemporaries as the fulfilment of a prophecy. " E bene s'adempìe la profezia e rivelazione, " Villani says, " che gli avea fatta il diavolo per via d'incantesimo, ma non la intese ; che avendolo fatto constringere per sapere come capiterebbe in quella oste, mendacemente rispuose, e disse : anderai e combatterai, vincerai no morrai alla battaglia, e la tua testa fia la più alta del campo ; e egli credendo avere la vittoria per quelle parole, e credendo rimanere signore sopra tutti, non fece il punto alla fallacie, ove disse : vincerai no, morrai, ec. E però è grande follia a credere a sì fatto consiglio come quello del diavolo¹ ". Of this prediction we seem to hear an echo in our text.

We have here, accordingly, an example of a class of prophecy which in the main outline, but not in all the details, conforms to historical record, and where the inaccuracies are explicable on the ground either of simple ignorance or carelessness on the part of the writer, or even perhaps as the outcome of his desire to produce a greater effect of mystery². In such a case we must either reject the agreements between fact and prophecy as without significance, and pronounce the entire prediction the vague fancy of an idle brain — an opinion that is not supported by the prevailing character of the work, — or we must believe that the prophecy foretells the given events, and in regard to the undeniable discrepancies must attribute to the author either greater or less knowledge than our own, or the intentional lack of precision character-

¹ VII, xxxi. Cf. Marangone, col. 548 ; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1747 etc., III, 255.

² For a similar situation see below, p. 163.

It should be said that if it were not for the account of the death of the " roi couronne " the prophecy would apply quite as well to Corradino as to Provenzano. Corradino, the last of the Hohenstaufen family, the sovereign to whom the Ghibellines gave their eager support throughout Tuscany, was urged to come to Italy by Siena and Pisa, both persistently loyal Ghibelline cities, and was received by all Tuscan Ghibelline towns with honor, but with especial festivities and rejoicings by Siena, the object of his peculiar favor, where he passed a month of the last fatal summer of his eighteen years. These facts are all too familiar to require references ; see, however, Andrea Dei, col. 35 ; Malavolti, *op. cit.* Pta. II, li, 36a ff. But Corradino, taken prisoner after the battle of Tagliacozzo, was executed at Naples by the order of Charles d'Anjou. This last well known event makes it impossible that the prophecy should refer to him.

istic of a seer. It is surely not reasonable to demand of Merlin that he be more unfailingly exact than our avowed chroniclers of the thirteenth century, and that they sometimes, like Homer, are caught napping needs no proof.

As has been pointed out above, the battle of Colle di Valdelsa marked an important point in the ultimate triumph of the Guelph cause in Tuscany under Charles of Anjou, who was its greatest champion. It is scarcely necessary to recall the familiar events that led to the general pacification of Tuscany under his leadership and to the extension of his power in Italy¹. Coming to Rome at the behest of Pope Clement IV in 1265, crowned king of Apulia and Sicily in St. Peter's in 1266, appointed by the Pope Imperial Vicar of Tuscany in 1268, by his defeat of Manfred at Benevento and of Corradino at Tagliacozzo he brought to an end the rule of the Hohenstaufen in Italy. He at once is suggested as the hero of the second half of our prophecy, — an identification that is confirmed by contemporary records, which not merely in fact but in spirit correspond with Merlin's words. Villani², for example, extols Charles as "figliuolo del re di Francia e fratello del buono re Luis, il quale era il più sofficiente principe di prodezza d'arme e d'ogni virtù che fosse al suo tempo, e di sì possente casa come quella di Francia, e che fosse campione di santa Chiesa e re di Cicilia e di Puglia." The term "champion au chief d'or," by which the father of the pacifier of Tuscany is designated is a not uncommon synonym in the *Prophecies* for the King of France³. Charles of Anjou, accordingly,

¹ See Villani, VII, xx-xxii, xlii; Le Nain de Tillemont, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. de Gaulle, 1851, VI, 92 ff.

² VI, lxxxix; see Ricordano Malespini, col. 997.

³ The name is definitely applied to a king of France, who is evidently St. Louis, in a prophecy in 1498 (fol. 7a, see above, I, 461: — "[ung bon roy] qui sera en Gaulle... que l'on appelle .Lr. Et celui sera champion au chief d'or."

The term may be simply a metaphor for "the king with the golden crown," but it is more probably used to express the high estate of the king of France. This interpretation is altogether in accord with mediaeval thought, to which the figurative meaning of the image with the head of gold and the breast of silver in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar (*Daniel*, II, 31 ff.) was familiar, the silver signifying the inferior character of the kingdom that was to follow the golden of Nebuchadnezzar. Cf. the application of the figure to Charlemagne by the Monk of St. Gall (*Gesta Karoli*, I, 1, in *M. G. H.*, II, 731): — "Omnipotens rerum dispositor ordinatorem regnorum et temporum, cum illius admirandae statuæ pedes ferreos vel testaceos comminuisset in Romanis, alterius non minus admirabilis statuæ caput aureum per illustrem Karolum erexit in Francia"; the application by Pope Gregory IX to the Franciscan order under the rule of Frate Ella (*Chronica*

as the son of Louis VIII is naturally spoken of as the son of the champion with the head of gold. Since Louis VIII died in 1226, Charles was crowned forty years " apres la mort de son pere." The coronation was a notable occasion, for only emperors and popes had previously been crowned in St. Peter's; the brilliant ceremony is described at length by contemporary¹ chroniclers who were sympathizers with the claims of Charles, and was so striking an event that the mere mention of it in the prophecy would doubtless have revealed him as the subject.

The offices of Charles in putting an end to the disturbances of Tuscany were recognized by Guelph annalists with even greater enthusiasm than Merlin displays and stirred Saba Malaspina², an ardent supporter of the Papacy against the Empire, to turgid but apparently sincere eloquence : —

Verum Ecclesia Romana nondum suae viduitatis consolata gemitibus,... dum metuit velut navis in pelago sine remige, quamvis aura tranquillitatis aspiret, constituit Regem Karolum Vicarium Imperii in Thuscia generalem. Hic nempe sedatis cuiuslibet amaritudinis fluctibus, regnoque disposito in statu summae tranquillitatis et pacis, ad reprimendos Gibellinos Thusciae nondum domitos, sed contra partem Ecclesiae plus solito superbos suae sedulitatis vota direxit..... Verum inexcruabile Divinae iustitiae libramentum Ecclesiam suam non patiens radicitus omnino convelli, sed disponens eam taliter, quod semper radices contrahat in temporis amaritudine firmiores, Ecclesiae athletam et Fidei pugilem destinavit; misit Karolum sicut fulmen, qui montes constructos ad demoliendam Ecclesiam... una hora fulminet et subvertat... Tandem Regi sub vexillo Ecclesiae in Thuscia Vicariae aggredienti officium tota fere Thuscia tamquam Vicario Imperii se submisit .

It is still more evident from the letters of Pope Clement IV that

Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, in *Analecta Franciscana*, III, 231) : — " Et cum pulcre statuum Danielis incipiendo a capite aureo, beato Francisco, usque ad pedes fictiles declarasset, subiunxit, Credabamus, quando istum fecimus Generalem, quod Ordini placeret : sed nunc videmus quod turbat Ordinem et destruit manifeste " ; also the woman with a head of gold and breast of silver in a vision of St Francis (Thomas de Celano, *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula*, ed. E. d'Alençon, 1906, p. 232), in which, according to the explanation of Fra Pacifico, the woman is the soul of St. Francis, the head of gold is *contemplatio et sapientia aeternorum*, the breast and arms of silver are *eloquio Domini corda meditata et opere adimpleta*. Cf. P. Sabatier, *The Speculum Perfectionis of Frate Leo*, 1898, p. lxxx, note 1.

¹ Saba Malaspina, col. 819 (i) ; *Chronique de Morée*, p. 168 (§ 434).

² Cols. 863 ff. (vi, vii). See also *ibid.*, col. 863.

Charles was especially distinguished as the pacifier of Tuscany. "Tu quies ecclesiae, tu pax fidelium turmarum, securetas et tranquillitas regionum," the pope writes to him in 1266¹, and in a later letter to the Florentines² written in 1267, urging them to aid Charles against Corradino, he tells them that, sending his forces in advance, "tamquam pugil ecclesiae singularis,... ut pacis exturbatores exturbet et viros sobrios et pacificos in multitudine pacis faciat delectari," he will come to them as a "paciarius generalis" to teach men to live justly rather than by despoiling others. "Ceterum nullus timeat quod se faciat panciarium quem paciarius nominamus, communem etenim cum omnibus esse volumus, qui vitam tranquillam eliget et quietam, et eidem obedientium officio tali fungetur."

From these and many other words of Pope Clement³ it seems less improbable that a Guelph writer might describe Charles "as dous et debonnaire" than would appear either from the chroniclers whom even a strong partisan bias does not betray into ascribing to him *douceur* as a characteristic⁴, or from the contemporary statue of him in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, which is far from conveying an impression of *débonnaireté*. Yet it is to be noted in regard to the blackest stain that rests on his name, the execution of Corradino, his prisoner after the battle of Tagliacozzo, that although it awoke general disapprobation at the time even among his partisans, some of the Guelph chroniclers pass it by in silence or fail to condemn it⁵, while the *Chronique de Morée*, which is highly favorable to Charles, shifts to the "gentil gent de Naples," whom it holds responsible for the murder, any blame that might attach to the deed⁶. We may still less hesitate to believe because of these

¹ Martène, *Thesaurus*, II, 369 (Ep. 332).

² *Ibid.* 456, (Ep. 450).

³ See *ibid.*, cols. 499 (Ep. 492), 512 (Ep. 512), 591 (Ep. 625).

⁴ See, e.g., Villani, VII, i, xcvi; *Chronique de Morée*, p. 161 (§ 416); Mannucci, *L'anonimo genovese*, 1904, p. 173, note 3. On the character of Charles, see Le Nain de Tillemont, *op. cit.*, VI, 80 ff.; Saint-Prest, *Histoire de la Conquête de Naples (s. a.)*, II, 11 ff.; Lanzani, *Storia dei comuni italiani dalle origini al 1313*, 1882, pp. 516 ff.; De Cherrier, *Histoire de la lutte des papes et des empereurs de la maison de Souabe*, 847-1851, IV, 25 ff.; E. Jordan, *Les origines de la domination Angevine en Italie*, 1909, pp. 410 ff. For the diverse contemporary opinions of the character of Charles see Merkel, "L'opinione dei contemporanei sull'impresa italiana di Carlo d'Angio," *Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 1888, pp. 275 ff., especially pp. 375-435 for the opinions in Italy.

⁵ Salimbene, p. 599; Le Nain de Tillemont, *op. cit.*, VI, 126 ff.

⁶ P. 190 (§ 488).

epithets that Charles is the subject of the prophecy, when we read what Saba Malaspina¹ has to say about him later: " Iam requie data certa laboribus, Rex Karolus... ramum verisimiliter olivae paciferae manu gestans et viam studens subiectis variis laboribus aperire Regali mandat edicto, ut Officiales ubique per regnum merita causarum in statera iustitiae metiantur; et exhibens singulis gratum sermonis exenium et dulce verborum omnibus blandimentum quasi modo regni coronam acceperit eminentioribus contextam titulis dignitatum, se totum in alveum sanctae meditationis includit. "

The above interpretation of the prophecy is confirmed by a metrical prediction² composed by Cardinal Albuis (or Albanus) in the year 1256, which, evidently referring to Charles of Anjou, predicts the coming of a king, " mitis et absque dolo, " who will put an end to the rule of the Sicilian house. The following verses are entirely in accord with the spirit of Merlin's prophecy: —

Cuncta reformabit que trux Fredericus et eius
Subvertit suboles saeva, sususque sequax,
Hic sub Apostolico Romanos ponet in artum,
Vim dantes Rome sic patientur onus³.

The similarities between this prediction and the passages in the *Prophecies* that we have been examining are not by any means sufficient to give ground for assuming that the former was the basis of the latter, nor is it at all probable that the few lines in the *Prophecies* would have given rise to the longer independent poem, even supposing that there were no chronological difficulties in the way. The point of interest is that the coming of Charles had already at a date surely anterior to that of Merlin's prophecy been made the subject of Guelphic prediction in similar terms, which may therefore have somewhat influenced those employed by Merlin.

To sum up in conclusion what we have learned from this prediction of Merlin's: — in spite of its veiled language it would have been clearly understood in thirteenth-century Italy; it would have been odious to a Ghibelline and acceptable to a Guelph; it

¹ Col. 861.

² See for the text with a discussion Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 380 ff.; XXXIII, 104; see also Lami, *Deliciae Eruditorum*, 1737, III, 322, note 1; Von Döllinger, pp. 278, 279.

³ On the popularity of Charles in Italy and the conception of him as a continuator of the traditions of Charlemagne see Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiserides*, pp. 93 ff.

was written surely after 1269, and possibly after the destruction of Poggibonsi in 1270; it accordingly, like the prediction concerning Enzo, puts the introductory paragraph of *R* and Group II on the defensive, for it certainly was not written before the death of Frederic II in 1250, and with equal certainty it never had a place in a collection of prophecies "translated" at his behest.

5. Or vueil je que tu dies au Sage Clerc, fet Merlin, que je sai que il vit Albernauge et vit le moustier de nonnains qui est devant la cite. Et si vueil que il mete en escrit que en celui moustier ira uns abbes et se couchera avecques l'abeesse de leans et engendera un lyoncel. Celui croistra merueilleusement, et quant il sera en l'aage de .xxv. ans, uns anemis d'enfer, qui toutes voies sera avecques lui, le fera si sages que il osterà toz ceus de celui pais de droite creance, et les fera contredire et croire en autre maniere, et encore fera il contredire a tous que ils ne croient la Trinite, et fera porter les espines et les ronces devant les portes des eglises pour ce que l'en n'entre dedens. — Quant sera ce? [ce dit] Meliadus. — Ce sera quant la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jerusalem aura ^{c xx}.m.ii.iii. et .xi. ans, fet Merlin. Et droitement a celui tens se couroucera l'apostolle de Rome a lui, et fera semondre le rois de Gaule et le rois d'Espaigne et le rois d'Arragone, et mains autres barons que il s'en aillent cele part. Et tele en sera la fin que plus de mil hommes et plus de mil fames en seront ars en celui pais, mes cheus qui eschaperont s'en iront en Lombardie et en la Marche et i trouveront ases de compaignons. Dont je vueil que li Sages Clerc mete en escrit que il devendront pires que Sarrazins, et feront si granz malices et seront si traitres que l'un ne pourra croire l'autre, et l'un traira l'autre par roetes d'argent et sans roetes d'argent, et la foi de sainte eglise aront en despit. [Grant sanc en] espandra en Lombardie et en la Marche, et mainte traison en sera fete avant que la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jerusalem viengne a .m.cc.lxiii. ans. Mes un pou avant semondra li apostolles toutes ses gens de par le monde que la droitement viengnent em pelerinage, dont [t]elle sera la vengeance desus les traitors, que jusques au joise ne sera oubliee. Mes sachiez certainement que ce sera tart¹.

The substance of this prophecy shows it to refer to the Albigensian crusades, in spite of the distortion of the name *Albi* into *Albernauge*², evidently from the influence of one of the Italian forms for the name of the sect, *Albanesi*³. The story of these cru-

¹ Chapter cc.

² For the variants see the index.

³ See Canth, *Gli eretici d'Italia*, 1865, I, 79.

sades and the teachings of the Albigenses, or Cathari, have been so fully and frequently set forth elsewhere that it is sufficient here to refer the reader to sources where accounts of both may be found¹. In the prophecy the "Lyoncel," for whom, so far as I can discover, there is no historical counterpart among the Albigensian-leaders, represents the heresy itself. In a prophecy to be examined later we shall find Heresy identified with the Antichrist, who — according to an incorrect tradition — was said to be born of a bishop and a nun². The union of the abbot and the abbess, then, should be interpreted as an allusion to the corruption of the priesthood and the monastic life, which was recognized among contemporaries as an important cause for the diffusion and growth of the heresy³. "Audivi a fratribus Provincie," the Dominican Etienne de Bourbon⁴ testifies, "quod in terra Albigensium, cum heretici convincuntur scripturis et rationibus, non habent forcius argumentum ad defensionem erroris sui et subversionem simplicium quam exempla mala catholicorum et maxime prelatorum"; and it is significant that in the *Tornoient de l'Antichrist* by Huon de Méry, Hérésie, one of the followers of the Antichrist who is defeated in the tourney by Sainte Foy, leads the Aubijois prominently in his train, and bears a shield "paint de symonie⁵." The most conspicuous offences of the sect were its Dualism and its reputed disregard of the ceremonies of the Church⁶, and to these

¹ See Barrau et Darragon, *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, 1843; Schmidt, *Les Cathares*; Luchaire, *Innocent III. La Croisade des Albigeois*, 1905; Cantù, *op. cit.*, I, 79; Tocco, *L'eresia*, pp. 74 ff., 116 ff.; Lea, *The Inquisition*, I, chapters iii, iv; Twigge, *Dublin Review*, CXIV, 309 ff.; Mann, *Lives of the Popes XII*, Book V, chapter i; Goyau, *Histoire religieuse* (Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation française*, VI), 1922, pp. 221-225, 229-235, 240-245.

² See below, p. 193; Adso, col. 1292: — "nascetur... nec de episcopo et monacha sicut alii delirando dogmatizant."

³ On this widely treated subject see, e.g., *Epistolae Innocentii PP. III.*, Bouquet, XIX, 405, 457, 464; Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 129 ff., 134 ff.; Luchaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, 59 ff.; Tocco, "Gli ordini religiosi e l'eresia," *Gli albori della vita italiana*, 1891, pp. 312 ff. Cf. the remarks on the spread of some of the earlier heresies in the time of Gerbert, R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning*, 1920, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ *Anecdotes*, p. 213.

⁵ Vv. 2766 ff. See below, p. 221.

⁶ Cf. the contemporary writer, Pierre des Vaux-Sarnay, *Historia Albigensium* Bouquet, XIX, 5: — "Haeretici duos constituebant creatores, invisibilium scilicet, quem vocabant benignum Deum; et visibilium, quem malignum Deum nuncupabant... Fere totam Romanam ecclesiam speluncam latronum esse dicebant, et

peculiarly heinous charges Merlin refers in his statement that the "Lyoncel" will oppose the doctrine of the Trinity, and that by thorns and briars he will prevent men from entering the sanctuary, — a prediction the latter part of which is paralleled by Guillaume de Puy-Laurens¹: — "Unde et in eorum odium alii admittebantur a sacerdotibus idiotis, propter quod terra, tamquam reproba et maledictioni proxima, pauca praeter spinas et tribulos germinabat, raptores et ruptarios, fures, homicidas, adulteros et usurarios manifestos."

Of the numerous variants (1186, 1191, 1221, 1276, 1281) for the date of our text, 1291, the first two, 1186 and 1191, are the more nearly correct, for it was in the latter part of the twelfth century that the heresy became so powerful that the Church began to take special measures for its repression. It may very well be that the date should be 1181, the year of the crusade led against the heretics of Béziers by Henry, cardinal of Albano². The next sentence plainly foretells the frequent summons to the aid of the Church addressed between 1204 and 1209 by Innocent III to Philip Augustus of France, the kings of Aragon and of Castille (Espaigne), and other lords³. Throughout this terrible crusade against the Albigenses the burning of the heretics, which Merlin next predicts, characterized the Inquisition, and it was no isolated instance of wholesale destruction that Salimbene⁴ chronicles for the year 1215: — "Porro Innocentius tertius legatos ad Phylippum regem Francorum misit, ut terram Albigenium invaderet et ereticos deleteret. Qui omnes capiens concremari fecit." A similar destruction is envisaged with satisfaction by Huon de Méry, one of the enemies of the sect⁵, in the passage from the *Torneioient de l'Antichrist* referred to above, that depicts the punishment meted out to the prisoners taken together with Hérésie by Sainte Foy: —

quia ipse erat meretrix illa de qua legitur in Apocalypsi. Sacramenta ecclesiae usque adeo annullabant ut sacri baptismatis undam aqua fluiali non distare, sacrosancti corporis Christi hostiam a pane laico non differre, publice dogmatizarent... Confirmationem, confessionem, frivolas esse et inanes omnino reputabant." See also Étienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.* pp. 301, 305 ff.

¹ *Historia Albigenium*, Bouquet, XIX, 193 (*Prologus*).

² See Gaufredus Vosiensis, Bouquet, XII, 448; Tocco, *L'eresia*, p. 116.

³ See, e. g., Bouquet, XIX, 466, 471, 473, 495, 501, 508, 513, 519, 527.

⁴ P. 22; see also *Vita Innocentii PP. III*, R.I.S., III, 481, 482; *Acta Sanctorum*, Augusti, I, 410 ff.; Havet, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1880, pp. 593 ff.,

⁵ See *ed. cit.*, p. 10.

De ce lo je Justice et pris,
 Qui sans merci tous les prisons
 Fist devenir cendre et tisons¹.

However strenuous the opposition, the spread of the heresy into Lombardy and Northern Italy was not prevented², as Merlin foretells in the next sentence of the prophecy. The conclusion appears to refer to the great Twelfth General Council of the Lateran, held in November, 1215, which was of signal importance to the Church for many reasons and especially for the action taken in regard to the Albigenses³. The effect of the measures decided upon at the Council was to render the persecution of the heretics even more severe than before, until at length in 1229 the Treaty of Paris brought the war to an end⁴.

This prophecy, it is to be observed, uses animal symbolism in the name "Lyoncel"; it is written in a spirit of loyalty to the Church; it is untrustworthy in its dates and in the form of its proper name, and finally, although unlike the other prophecies that we have examined it is not concerned exclusively with the affairs of Italy, it is brought directly into relation with Lombardy and the Marca, and lays stress upon the local conditions predicted for these two districts.

6. ... Une cite est en Puille que l'en apelle Sipont qui mout aura en lui grant enfermete. Et ce sera jusques atant que une fumee istra sus terre. Et sachiez certainement que cele fumee istra de la bouche de Gug, qui jadis menga .xlii. (H, xii.) enfans pour garir de son enfermete. Et nonpourquant il n'en gari pas, ains mourut de son enfermete et en ame et en cors. Mes droit au tens que la chose qui jadis nasqui

¹ Vv. 2802-2804.

² See *Brevis Historia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI, 347; Raimond of Capua, *Acta Sanctorum, Augusti*, I, 419; Cantù, *op. cit.*, I, 79; Schmidt, *Les Cathares*, I, 317. The doctrines of the Cathari are believed to have been brought to France from Italy; see Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, 21. For the long continuation of the heresy see *ibid.*, I, 165 ff. For Milan as a seat of heresy see below, pp. 172 ff.]

³ With the expressions of the prophecy cf. Salimbene, p. 22: "Hic (i.e., Innocent III) M^oCCXV^o, pontificatus sui XVIII^o, solemne concilium congregavit, in quo de toto mundo interfuerunt prelati." See also *Chronicon Fossae Novae*, R. I. S., VII, 893 (1215): — "Interfuerunt huic Concilio ccccii Episcopi, Primate autem et Metropolitani lxxi, exceptis Patriarchis Abbates vero, et Priores ultra octingenti, exceptis omnibus Nuntiis Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum, et aliorum Prelatorum absentium: nec non Regum et Principum." See also Pierre des Vaux Sarney, Bouquet, XIX, 104 (lxxxiii).

⁴ Luchaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 ff.; Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 181 ff., 203.

es parties de Jerusalem, aura ^{c xx} mil.ii.iiii.xv. ans faudra celle enfermete, que la teste de Gug sera pourrie et des lors en avant sera Sipont en grant bontes¹.

The city of Puille called Sipont is, of course, Siponto, which was situated on the southern coast of the great Promontorio del Gargano in Apulia, and which because of its unwholesome air was abandoned as a place of residence by Manfred in 1256 in favor of a site about two miles distant at the foot of Monte Gargano (Monte Sant' Angelo), where he built the town of Manfredonia on a scale of great magnificence². Before it spread the broad waters of the gulf now known as the Golfo di Manfredonia, and to the northwest the Testa del Gargano jutted out into the sea. Beautiful though the town was both in situation and in construction, it was highly distasteful to Charles of Anjou, who took possession of it and its treasures after the defeat of Manfred at Benevento in 1266. "Habet eam exosam in tantum quod eam audire nominari non potest, immo vult quod appelletur Sipontus nova," Salimbene,³ writing in the lifetime of Charles, reports.

If the prophecy tacked its last clause — "et des lors en avant sera Sipont en grant bontes" — to the end of its second sentence, it would be intelligible. We should understand that the "enfermete" is not, as one is at first inclined to think, a reference to the unhealthy climate that induced Manfred to establish Manfredonia, but a Guelph expression of aversion to the dwelling of the brilliant young Ghibelline leader, a pestilential spot because of its contumacy, until it was purified by the coming of the "fume," Charles of Anjou. "Sipont" would naturally in prophetic utterance be employed in preference to "Manfredonia" as a rather more obscure name; and it almost certainly would be used, if the prophet were a Guelph. But when we turn to the intervening sentences concerning Gug, we run into a maze. It was Gug himself, we find, who *au temps jadis* was a victim of the infirmity from which Sipont will suffer until his head shall turn to dust and a smoke issuing from it shall appear in the land. The mouldering of his head will mark the

¹ Chapter cccxii.

² Matteo di Giovenazzo, *Diurnali*, M.G.H., XIX, 481, §§ 105, 106: — "Venne a Siponto et designao de levare la terra da chillo mal'aere et ponerla dove stamo et chiamarla Manfredonia." See also Salimbene, p. 471. It is said that Manfred built Manfredonia because Siponto had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1255; see Beltramelli, *Il Gargano*, 1907, p. 41.

³ P. 471.

end of the troubles of the town. His " enfermete " and that of Sipont are one and the same. Who then was Gug ? Merlin does not leave us wholly without clues to his identity. It is to be observed that for the " bouche de Gug " from which the smoke will issue, *M*, which is frequently better than our other French sources in its variants for Italian proper names, reads " gof del Gug," and furthermore that, as has been said above, a point of land near Manfredonia is known as the Head of Gargano, the *Testa del Gargano*. This combination is fairly clear evidence that *Gug* stands for *Gargano*, and — laying aside for the moment the question of personification — that therefore naturally the Promontorio del Gargano and Siponto situated upon it will be a prey to the same disease. The fourth-century Gargano, the prosperous owner of many herds, in the words of Caxton " had taken that name of the mountain or else the mountain took the name of the man¹," but he has no point of contact with our Gug beyond his garbled name. We are all familiar with his story, — how, when after a long search for a bull that had strayed from his herds he finally found it at the entrance to a cave on the mountain side, he in anger ordered one of his servants to shoot it, and how the arrow without wounding the animal returned upon the sender. The people of the place fasted and prayed that the meaning of the marvel might be explained to them ; whereupon St. Michael appeared to the bishop in a vision and announced that he himself was the keeper of the cave and that the miracle signified his desire to be worshipped there. A shrine in his honor was established in the cave, and became one of the famous pilgrimage sanctuaries of the middle ages². Plainly there is no association whatever in our prophecy with this the most celebrated tradition of the locality. Gug is merely a personification of the place, Gargano, used to emphasize in cryptic style the fact that a region avowedly devoted to the imperial cause was thoroughly diseased and unsound³.

¹ *The Golden Legend englysshed by William Caxton*, 1900, V, 182.

² See Jacobus de Voragine, pp. 642 ff. ; *Liber de Apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*, M. G. H., SS. *Rerum Langobardicarum* pp. 540 ff. ; Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1470 ; *Chronicon Coenobii S. Michaelis de Clusa*, in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae, Scriptores*, III, 251, 256 ; Huillard-Bréholles, *Recherches sur les monuments et l'histoire des Normans et de la maison de Souabe dans l'Italie méridionale*, 1844, pp. 32 ff. ; Gothein, *Die Culturentwicklung Süd-Italiens*, 1886, pp. 67 ff. ; Gregorovius, *Apulische Landschaften*, 1897, pp. 95 ff. On the importance of the shrine see Beltramelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

³ Another strange and incomprehensible prophecy is quoted in 1498 (fol. 143b)

The above interpretations, however, by no means make the entire prophecy clear. Why should the story of Gug, who devoured children in order to cure himself of his infirmity, be introduced here? This question can be answered only with other questions. Was there a local legend¹ which is confusedly echoed in the prophecy? Was our author inventing a story, led on by the similarity of the name Gargano with that of Gorgaranz (variants, Gorgalan, Gurg Alain, Gurgalan) which he may have known in the *Perlesvaux*, where it appears as that of a heathen king of Albanie, who after having carefully boiled in a great cauldron the head of his son who has been slain by a giant, cuts it into bits and gives it to the men of the land²? The same name, we may recall, in the form Gorlagon, is given to a werewolf in *Arthur and Gorlagon*³. Could there by any possibility have reached the author of the *Prophecies* some tradition of Gwrgi Garwlwyd, one of the three traitors of the Welsh Triads, who after having tasted human flesh at the Saxon court, refused to eat other meat and insisted on supplying his table daily with as many young men and maidens as would satisfy his appetite⁴? Or should we see in the prophecy the influence of the widely current stories of Gog and

also, like that in Chapter cccxii, from the so-called *Livre de Merlin* (see below, pp. 320, 323ff.), relating to a serpent that is imprisoned in a stone on Monte Gargano: — "Au mont de Gargans en a ung autre tel ainsi en une pierre et mengue celle pierre et l'aura toute menguee quant les femmes [an error for *fumees*; see Chapter Li] ystront des quatre lacz. Lors lui croistront les esles et il vollera jusques en Baudac et sera veu en celui pais troys ans entiers et puis partira d'illec et s'en yra en Dalmacie devorant les serpens et la vermine et d'illec se partira et se mettra en mer et cuidera menger les poissons dont en les cuidant menger il se noira en l'isle qui jadis fut de Pol et de Cir". See below, p. 44, note 1.

Of this prophecy there is a reflection in *La Fiorita*, a fourteenth century encyclopaedic work by Armannino Giudici of Bologna, which has never been completely edited: — "Ancora dicie Merlino che in Guascogna dove si chiama il lago di Diana quindi usciranno subitamente serpenti e vermini contra fatti li quali metteranno a morte molta gente di quelle paese e perciò ciascuno uomo e donna dovrebbe temere aspettando il giudicio divino lo quale non sapiamo quando debba venire." Cited by Mazzatinti, *Giornale di filologia romana*, II, 16.

¹ The local traditions of which I know cast no light upon the prophecy. See Huillard-Bréholles, *l. c.*; Beltramelli, *op. cit.* pp. 76 ff.

² Potvin, I, 72 ff.

³ See G. L. Kittredge, *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII (1903), 203.

⁴ Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 1889, II, 233, 288. A parallel between Gwrgi Garwlwyd and King Gurg Alain (Gorgaranz) has been pointed out by Nitze, *Modern Philology*, XVII, 166, note 1.

Magog, also inhabitants of a peninsula and addicted to anthropophagus habits¹? These questions, if they be worth asking at all, are so merely because they serve to illustrate a situation that we often meet in the *Prophecies*. There are many predictions that appear simply to adumbrate known events or legends; they are what Major calls² " tenebrosa dicta quae sunt tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris." They arouse vague associations, and behind them we can dimly discern facts to which they seem to refer, yet the veil is too thick for us to make sure of the objects that it screens from our view. Our feet are on the *terra firma* of historical fact, but our eyes are blinded by a fairy mist. If, however, a riddle remains unsolved, it is not necessarily because the Sphinx propounds nonsense. We cannot do better than follow the example of Wace and frankly say of the individual prophecy to which we have not the key, as he said of the *livre de Merlin* that had puzzled him in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, " Jo nel sai interpreter." Enough that is clear remains to teach us the purport of the work.

7. Merlin avoit fet metre en escrit desus un perron et tant i avoit ouvre soutiment que celui perron s'en ira parmi la mer jusques a Quamolot, et desus celui perron fichera il une espee, ou il aura letres escriptes, qui disoient, Nus n'ostera ceste espee desus ceste pierre marbrine-se celui non qui metra a fin ce que nul autre n'aura peut mener a fin, et il sera li mieudre chevalier du monde. Et celui perron se metra en mer quant la queste du saint graal sera presque commenciee. Et sachent et un et autre que Merlin i ficha lui meismes cele espee de(c)sus celui perron au tens Vertigiers, et i mist toute s'entente, por ce que il savoit certaine[ment] que Galehad, li tres bon chevalier, devoit venir a la court li rois Artus sans espee et sans escu. Et ainssi le tesmoingne Joseph, li evesques de Saras, quant il vivoit. Et pour ce fist il metre l'escu en cele eglise ou li rois Mordrains estoit, celui escus meismes qui avoit este a celui rois Mordrains³.

This prophecy is of a different order from those that we have been examining in that it foretells only the adventures of romance, but it is so excellent an illustration of the author's method of handling his material that it is not out of place here. It is derived from *Les aventures del saint Graal*⁴, where the events that Merlin predicts are related at much greater length than appears from the

¹ Graf, *Roma*, pp. 770, 772, 775, note 43, 777, 778, 797.

² *Historia Maioris Britanniae*, 1740, Lib. V, cap. vii.

³ Chapter CLVIII.

⁴ Sommer, VI, 5, 6, 10, 11, 20-26.

following brief outline, which is all that we need for the understanding of the prophecy, since its subject is familiar to all of us.

Lancelot, on his return to court after having knighted Galahad, observes new writing on the Perilous Seat announcing that on the feast of Pentecost four hundred and fifty years after the Passion the seat will find its master. He recognizes that this is the designated day. As Arthur is about to sit at meat word is brought to him that a block of marble in which a sword is fixed is floating in the river before the hall. On the sword is written, "Ja nus ne m'ostera se cil non a qui costei je penderai et cil sera li mieudres chevaliers del monde." The king, attended by his knights, goes to the river bank and bids Lancelot draw the sword, but he refuses, saying that on this day the adventures of the Graal begin. Gawain and Perceval in vain essay to draw it, and the company return to the hall, leaving the adventure unachieved. Presently Galahad led by an aged man enters the hall, and without hesitation takes his place in the Perilous Seat. All the fellowship honor him as the knight who shall fulfil the quest of the Sangraal. Arthur at once conducts him to the river and shows him the stone, whereupon he announces that he has come to court without sword or shield, knowing that the sword was awaiting him there. He lightly draws it from the block, slips it into the scabbard which lies on the stone, and girds it on, saying, "Or ne me faut mais que li escus dont jou n'ai point." Arthur replies that God will provide a shield even as He has sent the sword. Later Galahad in his wanderings comes to an abbey of white friars where there is a marvellous shield, which Joseph of Arimathea immediately before his death had given to Mordrain, telling him that only Galahad, *li boins chevaliers*, the last descendant of Nascien, the brother-in-law of Mordrain, shall be able to wear it, and adding, "Je voldroie qu'il fust mis en tel lieu ou li boins chevaliers le trovast,... la ou vous verrois que Nasciens se fera metre apres sa mort." When Nascien died, he was buried at the convent, and Galahad on his arrival there is given the shield as the only knight who can wear it.

It will be noticed that the prophecy is in remarkably close accord in its details with the above story, but that at the end Merlin makes a mistake in substituting Mordrain for Nascien, when he says that the shield will be kept in the church "ou li rois Mordrains estoit." This is the reading of all the texts. We may say that it is due to an original scribal error systematically repeated in all the versions, but when we compare it with many of the historical prophecies where there are similar departures from the facts in small

details, we see that it is more reasonably to be accounted for by a slip of the author's pen or memory, or by a confusion in his mind with the story from the *Estoire del saint Graal*¹ that Mor-drain, having decided to retire from the world, gives his miraculous shield to Nascien and goes to a White Abbey, where he is later found by both Perceval and Galahad.

What are the generalizations to which the foregoing examination of these few typical prophecies lead us ? We see that to a great extent the predictions refer to definite historical events that took place in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as late as 1272 ; the work, as we know it, was composed after the death of the Emperor Frederic II and before the year (probably 1279) when the *Gesta Imperatorum* of Thomas the Tuscan was written ; the author was a Guelph in his sympathies. The language is veiled and follows usually, but not exclusively, Sibylline conventions ; in some details, in dates, and in the forms of proper names the prophecies are frequently inaccurate ; while some of them are incomprehensible, they are in general not unintelligibly oracular, once the event foretold is known ; allowance for an intended effect of mystery must be made in seeking to understand them, and for their interpretation contemporary chronicles are essential. When, like the dark sayings of Beatrice, the narration, as obscure as that of Themis and the Sphinx, clouds the understanding,

fien li fatti le Naiade
Che solveranno questo enigma forte.

With these characteristics before us, the way is paved for our more detailed study of some of the groups into which the greater part of the predictions naturally fall.

¹ Sommer, I, 243, 244. For evidence that our author knew the *Estoire* see below, p. 278, note 4.

CHAPTER I

LES BONS MARINIERS

I

LES BONS MARINIERS

No one people form the subject of so many of the prophecies as the Bons Mariniers, a pious and intrepid race, dwelling "desus les monciaus de la mer," or in the "grant ille de mer," free and powerful like the sea itself, secure in their supremacy wherever water flows, not lightly to be offended, honoring the laws of God, and proudly framing their own upon them. Their euphemistic name is a transparent veil for their identity, for apart from the substance of the prophecies concerning them, they are unmistakably the Venetians¹, who even in the presence of such formidable rivals as Amalfi, Pisa, and Genoa² were *par excellence* the "Bons Mariniers" of mediaeval Italy, and to whom this very term was applied in the fourteenth century by one of their own number, Marin Sanudo Torsello³. "Homines Veneti nutriti sunt in aqua," he says; "... sunt homines in magna quantitate fortissimi, sive dexteri atque docti et apti sunt ad cavandum tam in terra quam in paludibus, et ad levandum terram ubi est aqua, et ad faciendum aquam labi ubi est terra; ... suntque boni marinarii tam de mari quam de fluminibus et stagnis." Their control of the sea was an inheritance, born in the dim past among the primitive dwellers on the singular *maremma* of the northern Adriatic. From the earliest days in which we have any historical knowledge of the district known in Roman times as *Venetia maritima* — the broad plain stretching from Pannonia to the Adda and Lago d'Iseo, and sloping from the Alps to the Adriatic — its inhabitants must perforce have been skilled in the

¹ They are directly identified with the Venetians in one of the rubrics of *P* (cap. 157): — "Lequal profezie trata la piu parte de Veneziani boni marinari."

² Cf. the description of the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, as contrasted with the Germans and the French in the Holy Land, Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, lxvi (p. 1085): — "Hi in mari fortiores... hi marinis praeliis aptiores, usu et exercitio in aquis promptiores ad pugnandum."

³ *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, II, i, cap. ii (p. 35).

simpler arts of navigation¹. Otherwise, indeed, life would have been impossible on the uncertain shore of the litoral, intersected by estuaries and abounding in swamps, or on the low-lying islands of the lagoons, where the sea unceasingly struggled with the alluvial deposits of the rivers, that after their first swift rush from the overlooking hills flowed sluggishly down to the coast across the plain. Meagre though our records are concerning the early inhabitants of the islands that were destined to become so dominant a sea power, those that we possess, widely separated from each other in time, serve to show the continuity of the tradition that recognized the Venetians by virtue of the admirable uses to which they put their unique position as inspired with a true genius for maritime pursuits, and make it clear (if any proof be necessary) that long before the thirteenth century the term "Bons Mariniers" would have been at once understood as a peculiarly appropriate designation for them².

It is, however, in the material of the *Prophecies* that we find even more incontrovertible evidence for the identity of the Bons Mariniers. Through its pages the story of Venice runs like a brilliant thread, and although the predictions can in no sense be said to contain an epitome of her history and indeed fail to reflect certain events that were vital to her development, they record many important points in her career which her chroniclers testify that she justly remembered with pride. Familiar though these events are to most of us, it seems necessary for the better understanding of the prophecies to linger on them here and to recall their details as they are preserved in our rich supply of Venetian chronicles, which serve to clarify numerous sayings of Merlin that would otherwise be dark. In explaining them by means of these sources, it is better to consider them in the chronological sequence of the events foretold than in the order in which they appear in the text. Many of them are connected with the Crusades and with events in the

¹ See especially for the testimony of classical authors to the maritime pursuits of the Veneti, Sabellico, p. 9; Filiassi, *Memorie storiche*, III, 3 ff.; Romanin, I, 10 ff.; Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, XXVII, 343 ff.; Brown, *Venice*, pp. i ff.

² See the often quoted letter of Cassiodorus, the Imperial Secretary of Theodoric the Great, (*Variae*, XII, xxiv, ed. Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auctores Antiquissimi*, XII, 379), addressed to the Maritime Tribunes of the island townships, which contains the most vivid picture of the life on the lagoons that we have before the thirteenth century, as well as an exuberant tribute to the nautical skill of the inhabitants of the townships. See also the Venetians' reply to the Exarch Longinus when toward the end of the same century (584) he came to them with proposals from

Marca Trevisana, and are therefore treated below in Chapters III and IV¹.

II

LES TROIENS QUI ESCHAPERONT DE L'OCCISION D'ATILE

Here and there in the *Prophecies* reference is made to "les Troiens"² and also to "ceus qui eschaperont de l'occision d'Atile³," two peoples who in one passage are identified with each other and with the Bons Mariniers, — "ceus qui furent Troiens, qui eschaperont de l'occision d'Atile qui desus les monciaus de la mer firent leur villes que l'on appelle les Bons Mariniers⁴." These names at once lead us back to a period in which mythology and uncertain historical tradition unite to form the blurred outline of the origins of Venice, who shared the not uncommon mediaeval glory of a legendary origin derived from the same source as that of Rome herself, namely Troy⁵.

the Emperor Justinian that they become subjects of the Eastern Empire, and learned their determination to remain masters of the lagoons (*Cronaca Altinate*, p. 46): — "Venecia... quia mirabili est habitatio videre, quod nullius in mundum non per navigium cuius est potestas, nulla ab eorum sumus nos dubitaturi nec apprehensi nec possessuri non ab imperatore nec a regibus nec nullis mundialis principum. Nostrum navigium, quod sumus habentem per mundum, nos peragendum est nostra, quod est necessitate victualie habendum; omnia, quod nos per cogitatione mittere possimus, totum invenimus, tam per alienis partibus invenendum est nobis, nichil nobis alicubi contradictione faciendum est." The above passage, it should be said, was written much later than the time of Longinus, probably not earlier than the eleventh century; see Simonsfeld, *M.G.H.*, XIV, 3 ff.; Id., *Venetianische Studien*, 1878, pp. 46 ff.; Id., *Archivio veneto*, XXXV, 127 ff.; Monticolo, *ibid.*, XV, 37 ff.; Schmeidler, *Neues Archiv*, XXXI, 459 ff.; Besta, *Nuovo archivio veneto*, N. S., XV, 5 ff.. See also the words of Dandolo (V, i, 10; col. 69) in regard to the founding of Rivoalto: — "Decretum est, ut quicumque operi, vel exercitio navilis utilis existeret, si in hac urbe habitationem eligeret, immunitatibus gauderet." Cf. Morosini, p. 94; the passage from Guglielmo of Apulia cited below, p. 144. See Darù, *Histoire de la République de Venise*, 1821, I, 27, note 2, for the famous forged document from the Camaldolese Library at S. Michele, which contains the commission given in 421 to three consuls of Padua to establish a city on Rialto, one of the objects mentioned for the foundation being "classem paratam tenere, exercere et maria perlustrare."

¹ See Chapters III, §§ 1, II, III, VI; IV, §§ V, VI, VII.

² Chapters LXVII, CLV, CCLXX, CCLXXVIII, CCLXXXI.

³ Chapters XXI, CCLXX, CCLXXXI.

⁴ Chapter CCLXX; cf. Chapter LXVII: — "li Bons Mariniers qui jadis furent leur ansestre Troiens."

⁵ See Graf, *Roma*, pp. 19 ff.; see p. 21 for examples of cities that sought to represent themselves as even nobler than Rome by claiming an earlier origin than hers, notably Fiesole, who boasted that she was "la prima città edificata nella detta terza parte del mondo chiamata Europa," and cf. the statement of Marino Sanudo (*R.I.S.*

According to Livy¹ Antenor, escaping from Troy at the time of its fall, was said to have come "cum multitudine Enetum... in intimum Adriatici sinum... et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur pagoque Troiano inde nomen est, gens universa Veneti appellati," — a legend with which we are all substantially familiar in a less detailed form in Virgil's account of the founding of Padua by Antenor². From these primitive Veneti of the mainland Venice directly derived her origin and as the offspring of the towns on the litoral claimed a Trojan ancestry either from Antenor, according to the *Cronaca di Marco*³, or, as the *Cronaca Altinate* sets forth, from Aeneas himself, owing probably to a false etymology which connected the Eneti (Veneti) with the name *Enea*⁴. It is of no consequence for our understanding of the prophecies whether Antenor or Aeneas was the progenitor of the Venetians, but it is of importance that the tradition of their Trojan descent was current in the period when these chronicles were written, and that in the thirteenth century the name

Raccolta, XXII, 1) that Venice "ave principio non da pastori, come ave Roma, ma da potenti et nobili." See also the *Cronaca di Marco* (Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, p. 64) : — "prima constructio Rivoalti precessit constructioni Romane"; Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 3. A survival of the same spirit, differently expressed, is seen in the lines of a popular Venetian song (Foscarini, *Canti pel popolo veneziano*, 1844, p. 128) : —

Roma xe grande, e xe Venezia bela;
 * * * * *
 Ga Roma fabricà Romolo e Remo;
 Venezia amor, vegnudo a vela e a remo.

¹ I, 1.

² *Aeneid*, I, 242 ff.

³ *Cronaca di Marco*, cited by Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, pp. 55, 56; *Archivio veneto*, XIX, 54 ff. The *Cronaca di Marco* is an unpublished chronicle in the Biblioteca Marciana (XI, 124), compiled by a Venetian, a certain Marco, after the year 1292; see Waitz, *Neues Archiv*, II, 350 ff.; *Archivio storico*, Ser. I, VIII, 253 ff.

⁴ *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 33; cf. Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, XXVIII, 315, 316. The *Cronaca Altinate* is a work composed of several disconnected and inconsistent parts, and undoubtedly is a redaction of earlier chronicle material, which was put substantially into its present form toward the end of the tenth century, although it contains some few later additions. It has been edited in *M.G.H.*, XIV (the edition cited throughout this book), under the title *Chronicon Venetum*, and in *Archivio storico*, Ser. I, VIII; *App.* V, 31 ff., under the more familiar name *Cronaca Altinate*, by which it is designated below. On its history see Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, pp. 1 ff., 77 ff.; on the date see *Id.*, *M.G.H.*, XIV, 3; Cipolla, *l.c.*, 319, 328 ff. For the etymologizing of *Eneti* see *Archivio veneto*, XIX, 63, note 1.

"Troiens" would be as comprehensible when applied to them as that of Antenori was when applied to the Paduans by Dante¹.

With equal appropriateness were the Venetians called "ceus qui eschaperont de l'occision d'Atile," for of all the barbaric hosts that during more than three centuries had greedily swooped down upon the north Italian plain the Huns under Attila remained in the memory of Venice, as indeed in that of many of the Roman towns, the blackest figures in the dark background from which her brilliant life emerged². It was the invasion of Attila in 452 that destroyed or laid waste the flourishing cities of Aquileia, Altino, Concordia, Padua, and other neighboring towns of the mainland and drove the terrified inhabitants to the quiet islands of the lagoons for refuge. "Veneno," in the simple words of Marin Sanudo³, "in questi lagumi per viver securamente, qualli da le acque erano deffesi." The Hunnish invasion was the determinative calamity that convinced the unhappy victims of successive devastations that their only safe abode was "in paludibus aque, in ligneis caveis⁴." "Hac quoque persecutione furente, ait Pontius," Andrea Dandolo⁵ writes in the fourteenth century, "quod Urbs Venetiae nunc florens et potens, condita reperitur ab his, qui de Provincia Veneta manus Atilae fugerunt," and the invasion of Attila is almost invariably regarded by the Venetian chroniclers of all periods as marking the definite transfer of the Venetian power to the islands and as the first step in the corporate development of the Venice of the lagoons as a separate state⁶.

One of the most characteristic traditions of these days of terror

¹ *Purgatorio*, V, 75. See also the passage cited from Martino da Canale below, II, 40; Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor*, ed. Chabaille, p. 47. The tradition of a Trojan descent is cherished in modern times at Bassano, according to Brenzani (*Storia di Bassano*, 1884, p. 4), who says that the old men of the town talk of Hercules and Antenore "come dei loro più grandi amici," and vigorously maintain the truth of the tale that they came to Bassano. For an interesting passage illustrative of the thirteenth-century attitude toward a Trojan descent see *Chronique de Morée*, p. xi.

² See D'Ancona, *Attila, Flagella Dei*, 1864, pp. ix, xi, xv. Cf. the Venetian saying, "L'è un Atila quel nato de un can," and the comment on it by Musatti (*Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, I, 149), who regards it as one of the most ancient of Venetian proverbs, probably found on the lips of the early Venetians after they had escaped from the Huns.

³ *R.I.S., Raccolta*, XXII, 1.

⁴ *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 46.

⁵ V, v, 5 (col. 76).

⁶ See Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, XXVII, 361; Brown, *Venice*, pp. 2 ff.

finds a place in the *Prophecies*. This is the story of the heavenly voice that directed the Trojans to flee from Attila to the mounds of the sea whither the birds were seen winging their way with their young.

Au tens que Troie fu destruite, nostre saingnor Jhesu Crist... eslut une partie de euls (i. e., the Trojans) et les fist herbergier en la Marche Amoreuse. Dont il furent mout a ese jusques a la venue de Atila, qui les ot occis et domagies auques cruelement. Et en cele destruction leur parla la vois devine, mes non mie a tous. Et te dirai pourquoi. Il estoient dignes d'estre en servage et pour ce n'oient il mie la vois qui leur dist. Montes desus les murs et desus les tours et regardes vers la mer, dont vous verres apertement les monciaus ou vous devez herbergier. Cil, qui furent esleus pour sauver et pour estre delivres des servages, monterent desus les tours et virent apertement que les oiseaus prenoient en leur becs leur poucins et s'en aloient vers la mer, et lors descendirent des tours et appareillerent aes et fus en mi les fluns, et s'en alerent jusques a monceaux. Et fleques firent leur herbergages par desus les monceaux, dont il sont de nouvel herbergies et desus les monceaux¹.

Our earliest source for this legend is the *Cronaca Altinate*², which in spite of its rude and often obscure Latin, its confused statements, and numerous catalogues of names possesses the interest of a romance in the shadowy pictures of the early Venetians that it affords. In the opening sentence of the passage quoted below, which relates the story of the founding of Torcello by the people of Altino, there is evidence of the writer's faulty chronology, since he seems to refer to Attila as "australis plaga a sevissimis paganorum," yet apparently confusing the Hunnish and Lombardic invasions places his coming after the time of Bishop Paulus, of Altino, who lived about 635³.

Post istius episcoporum (i. e., Paulus) explectum temporis venit australis plaga a sevissimis paganorum; destruxerunt cunctis civitatibus quod supra nominate sunt. Ista autem Altinensem civitatem gens multitudo diversorum que intus erant habitantes; quod illius per significationem Deus enim demonstratus est: cuncte aves et volucres, que per muris et turris civitatum totis per circuitum habitantium erat, longe a civitate exponebantur, in becuis [ipsis]

¹ Chapter CCLXXXI.

² P. 5.

³ See *ed. cit.*, notes 52 and 53 on this much discussed sentence, and Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, pp. 77 ff.; Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, l. c., 356 ff.; XXVIII, 300; D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, p. xiii, note 1.

deportetur parvis illorum filiis¹. Tam iste civitatis, quam Aquilegie civitas, toto homini gens videntibus erant. Toti autem populi civitatum, cum hoc videretur signum, foris erant exituri; per partibus illis egerunt captivos. De eadem Altinensium cives dua pars populi exierunt; peregerunt ex captivitate alii Ravenna, alii Ystria, alii Romania Pentapolim; alii ergo triduanum fecerunt ieiunium, quod Deus illis aut per navigium aut in locis habitantium ostenderet eis, qualiter vivere possit. Iuxta promissum Dei, quod eis indignis factum erat, vocem audivit, quasi tonitruum eis dicentem: "In turrem ascendite, ab astra autem videte." Ascendit, et in astra vidit proximum vicinis insulis habitationum loca, ut figuris illius et omnibus quid esset habitatores figuraliter ad illos demonstrati sunt. Alii quod eiecerat similiter viderunt, quasi corporaliter figurabant, quod per navibus et in lignis caveis itemque loca cunctis videntibus illis vicina habitatio Deus eorum demonstratus est.

The new island to which the fugitives were thus directed was named Torcello in memory of the many towers of Altino.

For a form of the story really nearer to the prophecy we should turn to the *Cronaca di Marco*²: —

Post hec Attilus destrui fecit Altiliam, cuius cives perfecti in fide Christi, antequam persecutor accederet, Dominum oraverunt ut ostenderet illis locum, quo possent manus evadere persequentis. Quorum precibus exauditis in modum tonitrue audita est vox de celo, quae orantibus dixit ita: "Ascendite in cachumina turrium et inspicite deferentes vollucres in rostris suis et quo pergunt illuc eciam vos eatis et fecerunt ita."

These passages are very clear proof that the Bons Mariniers, the Trojans, and the fugitives from the destruction of Attila are the Venetians. But a more striking parallel with the prophecy in question is found in the account of the beginnings of Venice given by Martino da Canale³, the most engaging and vivacious of the early Venetian chroniclers, in his *Chronique des Veniciens*, written between 1267 and 1275: —

Premierement furent li Troians, et de Troie vindrent, et se herbergerent entre Ades et Ongrie; ce est a dire, que il firent les viles qui

¹ This feature is a reminder of the story of Attila and the storks of Aquileia, whose flight from the town after he had besieged it in vain for three years he accepted as an omen of his approaching success; see the note, *l.c.*, by Simonsfeld; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Romana*, ed. Crivelluci, 1914, xiv, 9.

² Quoted by Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, p. 65, note 3; see also *Archivio veneto*, XIX, 63, note 2.

³ I, iii (p. 272). On Martino da Canale see below, pp. 149 ff.

sont en seche tere de Millain jusque en Ongrie, et furent ileuc mult a aise, dou tens que Troie fu essiliee, jusque au tens que un paien nasqui au siecle, et que il fu en aage de porter armes¹. Celui paien estoit apeles Atille. Celui Atille vint en Itaire encontre les crestiens, et aveuc lui cinc cent mil homes ; et prist premierement une noble cite que l'en apele Aulee², et le mist a destruction. Et saches que cele Aulee fu estoree premierement por li Troians. Et quant Atille fu en saisine de Aulee, il s'en ala avant, et mist a destrucion totes les viles que firent li Troians en seche tere jusque a Millan. Et por cele destrucion s'enfuirent la nobilite des homes et des femes de celes viles enver la mer, et troverent de sor la marine monciaus de tere, et firent de sor ciaux monciaus de tere maintes beles viles. Il conduistrent aveuc yaus or et argent a grant plante ; si firent estorer les beles yglises, et li biau clocher et les cloches ; et firent en la maistre vile LXX yglises, a tos les grans clochers et les cloches ; et parmi l'eive salee les maisons de religion a grant plante.

This picturesque description of the foundation of Venice corresponds so closely in spirit and detail, even at times in choice of words, with the prophecies in Chapters CCLXX and CCLXXXI that it is peculiarly valuable as an explanatory comment. The traditions that both Martino and the *Prophecies* transmit belong to "l'ancienne estoire des Veneciens" and would have made the prophecies of Merlin concerning the Trojans and the folk destined to escape from Attila instantly comprehensible and agreeable sayings to Venetian hearers.

In the chronicles there are traces of a twofold emigration to Torcello from Altino. The first, as we have seen, was in the fifth century at the time of Attila. After his death, the fear of invasion being temporarily lulled, some of the Altinati returned from Torcello to the ruined town of Altino and once more established themselves there. From here at the time of the Lombard invasion and Arian persecution in the seventh century they again (*ca.* 638) emigrated to Torcello³. Of this second emigration the memory

¹ Cf. I, 312, Chapter CCLXXXII:—"dont il furent mout a ese jusques a la venue de Atille qui les ot occis et domagies auques cruelement."

² Aquileia.

³ See Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 11. The above facts, unclearly mentioned in the *Cronaca Altinate* and the *Cronaca* of Giovanni Diacono, our earliest Venetian chronicler, are set forth more plainly by Andrea Dandolo, V, v, 10 (col. 77); VI, vi, 8, 11 (cols. 115, 116). On this complicated subject see the interesting discussion by Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, XXVII, 349 ff.; especially pp. 367, 368; XXVIII, 104 ff.; Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, p. 79; Pavanello, *La città di Altino e l'Agro Altinate orientale*, 1900, pp. 57 ff.

is preserved in the prediction in Chapter CCLXX that the *Bons Mariniers*, will depart from their cities to go to the "monciaus de la mer," where they have had habitations since the days of Attila and where they will rejoin their "amis et prochains parents."

The story of the heavenly voice that in the same chapter admonishes them, as they are about to leave their homes, to love the God of their fathers, and that is followed by the vision of the singing angels, is not found in the chroniclers. But in the *Allinate*¹ a somewhat similar legend is told of the establishment of the seven churches at Torcello. To Mauro, a priest of Altino, who had come to Torcello shortly after the second emigration, St. Hermes and St. Erasmus appeared and bade him erect churches in their honor. "In alium autem littore a longe quod ego perveniebam, mirabilis aspectu videndum erat, quasi ut nubem maximam albescere. Duo radia solis consimilantes mihi erat videntem gloriosam claritatem habentem; quod prope veniebam, clarissima voce hoc mihi dicebat: 'Ego sum Deus, qui Salvator sum, tocius orbis dominator. Terra in quo stas, ecclesia constituo tibi, ut in nomine meo ediffices: insigna ibi ponam.' Non longe se inponebat ea nubis et solis radiis." Similar visions were vouchsafed to Mauro on four other *lidi*, on each of which the voice of a different saint spoke to him from a radiant cloud, bidding him erect a church in his or her honor². In fact the story that is told in the *Prophecies* is peculiarly characteristic of Venetian legend, for in their consciousness that Venice was herself a miracle her people again and again represented her founders as in miraculous communication with the Unseen and referred the establishment of her early sanctuaries, the transportation of precious relics to her shores, and the instruction of her citizens in the Christian faith to inspiration bestowed directly by Heaven³. Had not S. Marco on the shores of Rivoalto received in a celestial vision the assurance that a marvellous city was to rise there, in which his body would find

¹ P. 7.

² Marin Sanudo (*R.I.S., Raccolta*, XXII, 2) in narrating this story says that in one vision the angel Raphael appeared.

³ See the vision of S. Geminiano at Trieste (*Cronaca Allinate*, p. 11; *Chronicon Gradense* in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. Monticolo, 1890, p. 37) and of S. Elidoro at Altino (*Vita S. Helidori* in *Acta Sanctorum, Iulii*, I, 648). See also Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, I, 3: — "Unde reor non fuisse sine caelesti providentia et singulari ope Dei, quod haec ex omnibus ante et post se conditis sola et quod mirabilius est, sine campis, pratis, et vineis, libertatem in qua fundata fuit, ultra annos mille integram, invicta dominatione servaverit."

its final resting place? In no way is the piety of Venice more frequently manifested than by the belief cherished among her people that she was herself the offspring of Divine revelation¹, and her chosen blazon was an angelic message, "Pax tibi, Marce, hic requiescet corpus tuum." The material embodied in the prophecy that we are considering, therefore, not only supplies confirmatory evidence that there were traditions of two emigrations to Torcello, but also adds a variant to the familiar legends of the heavenly beings who had vouchsafed their protection to the incipient state of the lagoons. Whether the latter was the author's own invention or an already existing story we cannot say.

It is to be noted that Torcello is not mentioned in the *Prophecies*. The Bons Mariniers settle, as we have seen, on "le grant ille de mer," "le mestre ille de mer". The "mestre eglise" and the "palais" which they are to build upon it² are so evidently the basilica of S. Marco and the Ducal Palace that with equal certainty the "grant ille" is Rialto, one of the smallest islands in the group of townships, but destined to be the cornerstone of the Venetian state and the centre of Venetian pride³. Here, according to the official historians of Venice, on March 25, 421, the foundations "felicis urbis Rivoalti"⁴ were laid, but it was not until the Frankish invasion by Pipin that the central government of the island townships, which had passed in turn from Heraclea to Malamocco was finally established in Rivoalto. Hither the inhabitants of Malamocco had fled when the Frankish forces were threatening them, and here, after they had thus tested the advantages of its position as a safer refuge from an attack by land or an invasion by sea, the Venetians in 811 under Doge Angelo Particiaco established the Ducal seat. From this time Rivoalto and Venice were to be synonymous terms, and any prophecy written after that date might well refer to Rivoalto as "le mestre ille," or "le grant ille," even as any prophecy written after 829, when the foundations of

¹ Chapter cclxxviii: "les villes des Bons Mariniers furent commencees selonc l'evangile." Dandolo, IV, i, 1, 2 (cols. 13 ff.).

² Chapters cclxx, cclxxviii.

³ Chapter cclxx.

⁴ See the expression of Da Canale (I, vii; p. 280) referring to Rivoalto at the time of Charlemagne, although it was not until later that the island became important: — "en la maistre vile des Veneciens, qui est apelee Reaut."

⁵ Dandolo, V, I, 10 (col. 69); Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 1.

⁶ For the history of Rivoalto, see H. F. Brown, *Studies in Venetian History*, 1907, I, chapter i; Manfrin, *Origini*, pp. 76 ff. See Molmenti, *Curiosità di storia*

the basilica of S. Marco were laid hard by the Ducal Palace, which had first been erected by Angelo Particiaco after the transference of the government from Malamocco to Rivoalto¹, might speak of the "mestre ille" as the site of the "mestre eglise" and the "palais auques pres." Yet it is not at all probable that such prophecies as those that we are considering would have been written of Rivoalto before the eleventh century, when the island had given evidence of the power and splendour that were to entitle her to her commanding position in the Adriatic, and when both S. Marco and the Ducal Palace had been enlarged and enriched beyond their original state. It is interesting to compare with the *Prophecies* the description of Rivoalto given by Giovanni Diacono² in his account of the islands that were settled at the time of the Lombard invasions, for he is clearly representing it as he knew it in his own day: "Octava quidem insula Rivoaltus substitit, ad quam ad extremum licet populi ad habitandum influeret, tamen ditissima et sublimata omnibus manet, que non solum ecclesiarum seu domorum decoritate ostentatur, verum etiam ducatus dignitatem atque episcopati sedem habere et possidere videtur." Even a slight acquaintance with the early Venetian chroniclers shows

veneziana, 1919, pp. 3 ff., for a *résumé* of the history of Venice from the time of the barbaric invasions to the establishment of the government at Rialto.

¹ See Giovanni Diacono, *Cronaca*, p. 110, with note 1; Dandolo, VIII, i, 1 (col. 161). The earlier Palazzo dei Tribuni was according to tradition in the northern part of the town on the island of the SS. Apostoli; see Boito, *La Basilica di S. Marco* (Ongania), 1878-1893, p. 109. Cf. V, fol. 48b: — "Quella provintia ch'io te ho dicto ha nome. V. [Pal. 949, Venexia] e la sua maestra cita havera nome a quel tempo. R. [Pal. 949, Rivalta]."

I take it that the "grant ille de mer," with which S. Pol and S. Cyr are associated in Chapters CCXLIX and CCCXXI is Venice, for the qualities of its people correspond with those of the Bons Mariniers in the prophecies that we have been considering. I find no trace whatever of the legend of the saints recorded in any of the Venetian chronicles available to me, but the story of the little lagoon island, Monte dell'Ore (see below, p. 52) offers to a certain extent a parallel to it. See for a collection of similar anecdotes, illustrating how current they were in the thirteenth century, Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes*, pp. 87 ff (§§ 96, 97, 98). The reading, in Chapter CCXLIX "jusqu'au juyse" for "jusques a Vinisse" is certainly the better.

In connection with the probable identity of Venice and the island of S. Pol and S. Cyr it should be noted that there is a rather vague similarity between the fish of Chapter CLV, who will be found dead in the island of the Bons Mariniers, and the winged serpent, who will meet his end before the island of S. Pol and S. Cyr, in the prophecy from 1498 summarized above, II, 29, note 3.

² *Cronaca*, p. 65, with note 5; cf. Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, XXVII, 370.

the confusion that existed in their minds in regard to their origins and the anachronisms into which they easily fell. It is, therefore, not strange that in the *Prophecies* a similar vagueness should be manifest, and that the legends of the settlement of the individual islands should not be accurately differentiated, or primitive and contemporary customs and conditions kept clearly apart.

The qualities which Merlin announces will distinguish the Bons Mariniers¹ are the traditional virtues attributed to the early Venetians by the chroniclers. The description of the community on the "grant ille de mer," especially that in Chapter cclxx, offers so surprisingly close a parallel to that of the primitive dwellers on Malamocco and Rivoalto contained in the *Cronaca Altinate*² that the latter is quoted here in full : —

Alacres illos erant properantes ; caritatem nimium erant habentes cum omni oratione. Orfanorum et viduorum consolatores, ecclesiis edificatores ; oracionibus et elemosinis nimium erant facientes ; ecclesiasticis frequentes ; nullum malum unum ab alter inter se ipsos dicentes ; decimas Deo persolventes, cuius per totas partes terrarum, que illorum pertinenciis erunt ; nichil malum gesserunt ; cuius terra non furtum, non latrocinia, nullus detentus erat, sed si illorum fuisset frater, quod ad illorum esset dicentem, quod iste est malefactor et consciliator, et duos fuisset venerabiles peribendi testimonium ; nichil enim eum erunt observantem, sed statim illum unum oculum illius vulserunt aut manu illius inciderent. In secunda enim declarata culpa alium oculum ; et si in tertia inventus fuerit, suspendetur. Erant omnes per rectitudinem omnique ordine quod salvacionis est patrie, per iusticiam complentem et facientem³.

Similar though these words are to our prophecies, we again find in Da Canale⁴ a more direct parallel to the latter. He, it should be said, is describing the Venetians of his own day : —

¹ Chapters lII, LXVII, cclxx, cclxxvIII, cclxxxI.

² P. 36.

³ See also Marin Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, 1880, p. 16 : — " Questi habitanti... non erano superbi, nè stimavano ricchezza, benchè ricchi fossero, ma pietà et innocentia ; non vestivano ornamento, nè cercavano honore, ma contenti et lieti per ben del comun intravano al governo " ; Durantino, *De optima Reipublicae gubernatione*, 1522, p. 41 (*De amplissimis laudibus Venetae urbis*) : — " Quare si huius ornatissimae civitatis disciplinam quaerimus, licet intueri quam magna, quam diligens, quam accurata sit pietatis ac religionis cura, quam exacta sacrorum observatio, quam praecipui divini cultus honore. Quid leges sanctissimas, quid iura et praeclara instituta, quid mores probatissimos referam? Iustitia quam semper magno studio ac diligentia industria culta sit, quam perspicue semper floruerit in hac una maxima civitate, nemo est, qui non cumulatissime noverit. "

⁴ I, i (pp. 269, 271).

Et por ce veul je que un et autre sachent a tos jors mais les euvres des Veneciens, et que il furent, et dont il vindrent... et comment li sire des Veneciens, li noble Dus, est puissant, et la nobilite qui est dedans, et la proesse dou peuple Venesiens ; et comment trestruit sont parfit a la foi de Jesu Crist, et obeissant a Sainte Yglise et que james ne trepasserent li comandement de Sainte Yglise. Dedens cele noble Veneise n'osent demorer patarins, ne gazar, ne nul usurier, ne murtre, ne laron, ne nul robeors... Et vos conterai les nons des nobles Chevetains que les nobles Dus envoierent a lor tens por damages lor enemis ; et des victoires que il ont eues, veul je que vos saches que il est a droit. Et si vos dirai porcoi. Premièrement, por ce que il sont parfit en la foi de Jesu Crist, et que il ne trepassent onques mais li comandement de Sainte Yglise ; et por ce que il ne font outrage a nului, et sofrent sovent et mena le danger que l'en lor fait. Et ne porquont, se il avient que aucune gens mete mains en yaus, il s'en vengent ou par tens ou a chief de piece ; fors que solement il ne remaint por la proiere de Monseignor l'Apostolle. Et saches que Veneciens ne faillent a nului de convenances.

For the interpretation of the concluding sentence of the prediction in Chapter CCLXX that the Bons Mariniers will build a great church and a palace, "et la justice et leur coustume sera escripte en pierres de marbre," we may turn to the supreme record of her spirit and her aims that Venice has given us, the basilica of S. Marco. We have no knowledge of a Venetian code of laws written on stone tablets¹, but there remain in the walls of S. Marco two inscriptions of the eleventh century that suggest an explanation of the prophecy. One is an admonition to the Doge, carved above the altar in the Cappella di S. Clemente near the door from the Ducal Palace, and consequently where it met his eyes as he entered the church: —

Dilige iustitiam, sua cunctis reddito iura,
 Pauper cum vidue, pupillus et orphanus, o Dux,
 Te sibi patronum sperant ; pius omnibus esto.
 Non timor, aut odium, vel amor, nec te trahat aurum.

¹ See *Cronaca Altinate*, p. 36, for a brief account of the legal system employed by the Venetians at the time of the emigrations from Heraclea and Padua to Malamocco and Rivoalto. On the great importance of *consuetudo*, "leur coustume," in early Venetian codes, see Pertile, *Storia del diritto italiano*, 1898, I, 387 ff. Molmenti, *Venice*, translated by H. F. Brown, 1896-8, I, i, 93 ff. On Venetian *giustizia* see Romanin, II, 356 ff. For an example of the continuity of justice as one of the chief traditional Venetian characteristics see Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 553: — "In questo tempo (i.e., the middle of the thirteenth century)... per tutte le terre d'Italia andavano i nostri Veneziani per Podestà, perchè erano uomini giusti."

Ut flos casurus, Dux, es, cineresque facturus,
Et velut acturus, post mortem sic habiturus.

The second is an admonition to a judge, which encircles the mosaic in the atrium sometimes said to represent the Judgment of Solomon : —

Iustitiam terrae iudex amet undique ferre
Ne ferat iniustum per quod patiaturn adustum¹.

It is far from improbable that our prophecy refers to these very inscriptions which inculcate justice and right living, or, indeed, if not to them, to others that are similar, such, for example, as the admonition to the faithful, belonging to the same period, which is in the mosaic in the atrium over the door nearest to the Torre del Orologio. For it goes without saying that such writing on "pierres de marbre" was familiar to the Venetians; witness the frequency with which leonine verses were introduced into the early mosaic decorations of S. Marco².

In S. Marco we find still another illustration of the *Prophecies*. "Li sire d'euls" (i. e., of the Bons Mariniers), Merlin says, "envelopee aura sa teste d'argent selonc le coustume du pais³." In the figure of the Doge in the thirteenth-century mosaic of the façade may be seen the *camauero*, the close fitting cap of fine white linen that was habitually worn at this period under the distinctive ducal head-covering, the *berretta*⁴, and that affords the most natural interpretation of the expression in the prophecies, "argent" being used as a synonym for white⁵.

¹ This mosaic evidently represents a scene from Venetian life and has nothing to do with the Judgment of Solomon; it appears to have been designed as a reminder to Venetian judges of the duties of their office. On these inscriptions see Boito, *La Basilica di S. Marco*, pp. 346 ff.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 354 ff.

³ Chapters CCLXX, CCLXXXII.

⁴ See Cecchetti, *La vita dei Veneziani nel 1300*, 1886, p. 8.

⁵ Other explanations of the phrase are possible, but far less plausible. The *berretta* passed through various modifications before the thirteenth century, when it was transformed into the *cornu ducale*, which with no substantial changes was in use until the fall of the Republic. To this well known shape the word "envelopee" is less applicable than to the high conical form with heavy lines, modelled after the *biretum* of the Byzantine emperors, which the *berretta* originally had. (On the costume of the Doge, see Cecchetti, *Il Doge di Venezia*, 1864, pp. 14 ff., 22 ff., 34; Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 265, 267 ff.; Boito, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 2; p. 24, plate showing the forms of the *berretta*). Merlin, then, in order to give a slightly archaic tone to the prophecy may be referring to this form of headcovering. The *berretta* was commonly made of red velvet, although other materials, among them

III

ANTERIS AND ORBANCE

Two mysterious cities are mentioned in the *Prophecies*¹ which again bring us into connection with the early history of Venice. These two cities are Anteris, or Anceris, and Orbance. From the obscure words of Merlin we learn that Anteris was at the time of the Deluge a populous and wealthy town, given over to wickedness and especially worthy of condemnation for its false and unmerciful judges; it may still be seen at the entrance of the gulf before Pannonia, visible, as many other submerged cities are, beneath the waves; the treasure of Anteris has not wholly perished with it, for almost all the castles along the shores of the sea have been built thereof, as may be plainly perceived today.

What city was this, sufficiently powerful and unrighteous in a past as remote as the Flood, according to the author of the *Prophecies*, to be made an example of the destruction that awaits evil-doers, and, though buried beneath the sea, surviving centuries later in its stones built into the walls of its less ill-fated neighbors? The account of its prosperity and its misfortunes recalls much that we know of Altino, which, favored by its happy situation on the fertile litoral and near the mouths of both the Sile and the Piave, was among the most flourishing of the lagoon towns until the second half of the fifth century. Its beauty even in the days of Martial rivalled that of Baiae², and doubtless local pride is justified in the

cloth of silver, are said to have been employed, and adornment was lavished upon it. For its embellishment with a gold circlet as early as 1174, see Boncompagno, *De obsidione Anconae*, R.I.S., VI, 929; the Doge Ranieri Zeno (1253 to 1268) is said by Martino da Canale (II, ccxxxvii; p. 560) to have worn a "corone d'or a pierres precieuses." It may be that since the prophecy is exalting the early virtues of the Venetians the Doge is said to wrap his head in silver instead of gold, in order to emphasize the greater simplicity of the past (Cf., e. g., II, 45, note 2), as Cacciaguida speaks of the "cuoio ed osso" and the "pelle scoperta," with which the Florentines were contented in the days when Florence was "sobria e pudica" (*Paradiso*, XV, 99 ff.). Still another possibility is that the Doge is said to use silver for his headcovering as a recognition that his rank was lower than that of a king or emperor, designated in the parlance of the *Prophecies* as a "champion au chief d'or," even as the Emperor of Orbance has a golden crown, while the eighteen kings of Orbance, who are subordinate to him are crowned with silver (Chapters XIII, XIV. See also above, II, 20, note 3).

¹ Chapters XII-XIV, XVII.

² Martial, IV, 25.

statement of the *Cronaca Altinate*¹ that of all the cities built by the Trojans, it was the fairest. Visigoths, Huns, and Lombards in turn spent their fury upon it, and after their invasions its once prosperous site remained only a scene of desolation. Dandolo² in a passage that is of importance for the understanding of Merlin's words, attributes its destruction to Attila, who attacked it after having taken Concordia : " Hi (i.e., the Altinati) similiter parvulos cum matribus thesauris miserunt ad Insulas Maris. Tandem vero non valentes resistere, nocte illinc fugerunt. Civitasque praedicta in solitudinem redacta est. Sicque ademptus est sermo Sancti Heliodori Episcopi quem ante praedixerat. Erat enim haec civitas magna et Populo copiosa." St. Heliodorus, the first bishop of Altino, where he was traditionally reported to have introduced Christianity, lived in the fourth century. His *Vita*, published, without date of the manuscript, by the Bollandists³, is known to be highly unreliable⁴, but it contains traces of authentic material, and in any case is of interest in connection with the passage from Dandolo cited above, since it relates the circumstances under which it is reasonable to assume that the prophecy of his story was uttered by the saint. According to the *Vita* at the time of the Emperor Theodosius, when the Arian heresy was rife, St. Heliodorus dwelt at Altino : —

Haec namque civitas olim ex auro et argento mire decorata, magnis viribus pollebat, atque inter ceteras Venetiae civitates nobilissima dicebatur, quia Augusti solium nusquam pretiosius habebatur. Quid plura? urbs plena quondam opibus repente fuit deleta, ut vera refert historia: cumque Attila ad debellandam Italiam quantocyus properaret... multa castella seu civitates vehementer apprehendit,... inter quas etiam civitates hanc opulentissimam urbem depraedatus est et solo tenus delevit, ibique multa auri et argenti talenta, quae recondita fuerant, inuenit ac interfectis plurimis ab ea exiens alio com-mearit⁵.

The author proceeds to tell us that at the time of Heliodorus, there were great disturbances among the citizens, " ita ut immolarent diis et ad orandum fana construerent et idolis intente deservirent." The saint called upon them to forsake their gods, to burn their

¹ P. 33.

² V, v, 3 (col. 76).

³ *Acta Sanctorum, Iulii*, I, 645 ff.

⁴ See the remarks of the editors, *ibid.*, cols. 645-647; Cipolla, *Archivio veneto*, XXVII, 348 ff., 367 ff.

⁵ Col. 648.

idols and to be baptized into the true faith, and we may infer, in the lack of positive statement, that this was the occasion when he prophesied the destruction of their city in punishment for their sins. The people hearkened to his words, the *Vita* continues, and embraced Christianity. The only value that this source has for us here is that it contains a tradition of the wealth and brilliancy of Altino and of the sins of its inhabitants, whose destruction Dandolo believed had been foretold by St. Heliodorus — a tradition that brings the town into close comparison with Anteris.

Idolatry, it should be noted, is not mentioned among the iniquities of the wicked Anteris; injustice is the crying fault of its inhabitants. Granting then the identification of the two towns, we must conclude that the prophecy emanated from a source where injustice was especially condemned. We know that justice was the foundation of the Venetian state¹; injustice was a peculiarly heinous quality in the eyes of her sons, and therefore in an enumeration of the sins of any evil city, written from a Venetian point of view, we should expect to find injustice made prominent as a cardinal fault. The prophecy thus suggests a Venetian source.

An often quoted passage from the chronicle of Lorenzo de Monacis² is of additional assistance in the identification of Anteris. Lorenzo is speaking of the dwellers on the main land who had taken refuge on the islands from the attacks of the barbarians: "Dum quaeque gens illam, quam occupabat, insulam, Venetiam appelleret, a multis insulis hanc nova Provincia Venetiarum nomen accepit. Fragmenta etiam subversarum Urbium sunt testimonia nobilis originis, pene omnia antiquissima aedificia Rivoalti et aliarum Insularum ex lateribus Altini compacta videntur." The same use, according to Merlin, was made of the treasure of Anteris, "que presque tuit li chasteaus desus la mer ocean en furent fet³."

The destruction of Anteris was due to the Deluge, of Altino to the Huns. This difference illustrates a noteworthy point in the interpretation of prophecy. In the allusive language of prediction a city destroyed by a barbarous conqueror may suitably be spoken of as ruined by a disaster from some natural cause, which, in this case, is conveniently supplied by the Flood⁴.

¹ See above, II, 46, 47.

² P. II. See also Filiati, *Memorie storiche*, III, 255 ff.; Stefani, *Archivio veneto*, XXVI, 242; Cipolla, *ibid.*, XXVII, 347; Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 11.

³ Chapter XIV.

⁴ Cf. Frost, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIII, 190: "A political and

Existing traditional material, then, shows a resemblance between Altino and Anteris. Both were populous and wealthy, both were reputed to be so iniquitous as to merit destruction for their evil ways, both perished from the earth, Altino by the wrath of barbarians, Anteris by the Deluge, a term which in prophetic parlance indicates a national calamity. The identification is completed by the form of the name given to Altino by some of the chroniclers. Dandolo introduces the passage quoted above with the statement: "Attila... Altinum transiit, quod prius vocabant Antenoridem, quia ab Antenor primo aedificatum." In other words, the original name of the town was Antenoridis or Antenorida. A spelling still nearer to *Anteris* is afforded by Marino Sanudo Torsello¹, who gives the name as Anteriorides, but even without this passage the form *Anteris* is not difficult to explain, for no unusual error of a copyist might produce it from Antenoridis².

The thickly populated and impious city of Orbance, which shared a like fate with Anteris at the time of the Deluge, was governed

national disaster, a cataclysm in the usual instead of in the literal sense of the word, can destroy an ancient civilization as completely as any flood." Cf. also Brand Whitlock, *Belgium*, 1919, I, 157, on the effect of the horrors wrought by the Germans at Louvain when they were ravaging Belgium in 1914: — "It seemed to have the inevitable and fantastic quality of some great catastrophe in nature; it had happened, that was all... It was there before us, in the world, like an earthquake, or a conflagration or a tornado, all of which in its effect it so much resembled." See *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 184, where the great enemies of Azzo VII d'Este — Frederic II, Salin guerra, Ezzelino, and Alberico da Romano — are enumerated "quasi quatuor venti pestiferi furentes, in catholicam domum Estensem totis viribus irruerunt, et eam funditus dissiparent." Cf. the imagery of the four destructive smokes in the *Prophecies*, Chapter LI and below, p. 200, note 3.

¹ *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, II, iii, cap. i (p. 50): — "De Altino quod Anteriorides vocabatur, quia ab Anterioride conditam." See also Villani, I, xvii: — "Questo Antinoro...con grande seguito di gente... arrivaro nelle contrade ov'è oggi Vinegia grande città, e in quelle isolette d'intorno si posero... e di quegli scogli furo gli primi abitatori; onde crescendo poi, si fece la grande città de Vinegia, che prima ebbe nome Antinora per lo detto Antinoro"; Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, p. 10: — "Altinates, qui et Antenorides dicti sunt"; see also, Bertoni e Foligno, *Memoria della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, Ser. 2, LVI (*Classe di scienze morali*), 151, 158.

² The form *Anceris* scarcely needs a word of explanation, so common is a confusion between *t* and *c* in manuscripts. As it happens however, a parallel to this variation in spelling is found in the name of the Doge Obelerio Antenorio which is written in the unpublished *Cronaca* of Niccolò Trevisan, *Anciero*; see Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 107, note 8: — "Il Trevisan gli (i.e., Obelerio di Antenor) dà il cognome, *Anciero*, forse con errore di trascrizione per *Antenori*."

by eighteen kings and one emperor, and was given over to the worship of graven images. It lay before the city of the Bons Mariniers, who even now when the waters are calm can see its walls beneath the waves. Of this island I find no trace outside of the *Prophecies*. An attempt to connect it with some one of the known islands of the lagoon offers a tempting field for idle speculation. Did early tradition know an Orbanche, from which Mazzorbo, Maggiorbo (corrupted from the Latin *major urbs*), where there was a shrine to the god Belenus¹, was supposed by popular etymology to derive its name, — a greater Orbanche? This is scarcely conceivable, for Mazzorbo was one of the islands reputed by the chroniclers to have been named by the refugees from Altino after one of the six gates of their native town. We are on a more promising trail, if we turn to the Monte dell'Oro, a little turf covered mound not far from Torcello, of which Filiassi tells, which was possibly named from a neighboring canal, the Rio Auriolo, but in vulgar tradition was believed to be in possession of the devil because of the rich treasure buried there, the golden chariot and golden bow of Attila among other objects². Similar *monti* or mounds in the lagoons remain, where islands have been submerged, for instance the Monte de' Conigli di S. Lorenzo, said to have been left after the inundation and destruction of Ammiana³. Is Monte dell'Oro a remnant of Orbanche, to which its early evil reputation clung in the form that local legend in time assumed? Or is Merlin in his account of Orbanche echoing Plato's myth of Atlantis, which for the eighteen kings of Orbanche can show ten, the descendants of Poseidon and Cleito⁴? We have no answer to these random and unimportant questionings. We know that in the ever slowly shifting ground of the lagoon islands and the *lidi*, alluvial deposits encroaching on the sea, marsh soaking up the soil, the land itself the prey of wind

¹ Filiassi, *Memorie storiche*, III, cap. xi; Manfrin, *Origini*, pp. 10, 236.

² Filiassi, *op. cit.*, VI, pte. i, 198, 203.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, pte. i, 187.

⁴ Cf. the theory advanced by Frost, *l. c.*, pp. 189 ff., that the Minoan empire, the sack of Cnossus, and the deeds of the sea-raiders from Mycenae form the basis of Plato's story of Atlantis.

See Honorius d'Autun, *De Imagine Mundi*, I, xxxvi (Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXII, 133): — "Inter has (i. e., the Hesperides) fuit illa magna [insula] quae Platone scribente cum populo est submersa, quae Africam et Europam sua magnitudine vincit." Honorius was so widely used in the middle ages as a source of information that our author almost certainly knew his writings. Yet there is no evidence that the story of Atlantis was truly popular or current in Europe until after the disco-

and waves, many of the innumerable islands that studded the waters of the northern Adriatic, as well as the old Malamocco, Ammiana, and Constanziaca, have been submerged, and their names and treasures have often perished with them¹. Their ruined walls may still be seen, tradition tells us again and again, under the placid waters of the lagoons². The story of Orbanca thus belongs to a common and widespread class of folk tale according to which the ruins of a town that in punishment for the sins of its inhabitants has been submerged by the sea or a lake, or destroyed by some other natural agency, are visible beneath the waves. A tradition of this kind is told, for example, of Numana (or Umana), on the slopes of Monte Conero near Ancona, which in Roman times was a large and prosperous city boasting a foundation earlier than that of Rome, and a founder who was a kinsman of Turnus. It was destroyed by the Goths, but according to the story of the townspeople by an earthquake, and only scanty remains of its former greatness are to be found in the fields near the little hamlet that exists on its former site; but when the sea is calm the sailor can descry under the waters near the shore its ancient buildings and can hear the sound of its bells³. The type of folk tale to which our prophecy conforms, and which its author certainly had in mind, is especially common in countries — such as Brittany, for example, — where the low coast gives the sea easy inroad upon the

very of America; see Th. Henri Martin, *Etudes sur le Timée de Platon*, 1841, I, 261; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 257 ff., for a long discussion of the Atlantis story.

¹ See Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 6; *Venezia e le sue lagune* (Commissione del Consiglio Comunale) Venice, 1847, I, 8; for lists of the lagoon islands cited by early writers and appearing on early maps see Galliccioli, *Memorie venete*, I, 84 ff. The pages of Filiati are full of the traditions of such submerged islands; see, for examples of these as well as of the changes in the character of the land along the *lidi*, *Memorie storiche*, III, 106, 119, 195, 210 ff., 349, 391, 401; VI, pte. i, 25, 36, 45, 46, 188, 193; see also Manfrin, *Origini*, pp. 234 ff.

² See Filiati, *op. cit.*, VI, pte. i, 45, 46, 66. A similar tradition is told of Aquileia by fishermen even today; see F. Marion Crawford, *Salve Venetia*, 1905, I, 17.

³ Morici, *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, I, 430. There is perhaps a reference to the destruction of Numana in the *Prophecies*, Chapter cccv, which relates that a certain brilliant gem was formerly placed by the king of Anconne on a tower at the entrance to the harbor in order to give light to ships at night, "et cele pierre fu jadis jete enmi le port d'Anconne quant ele fu destruite."

For similar legends see *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, I, 97 ff.; II, 9; Savi-Lopez, *Leggende del mare*, 1894, pp. 260 ff.; Sébillot, *Légendes de la mer*, 1886, I, 298 ff.; Sauvè, *Méusine*, II, 331; Bassett, *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and of Sailors*, 1885, pp. 479 ff.; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica* (*Opera*, V), Dist. II, cap. ix.

land¹. Without further identification than this we must apparently be content to leave Orbançe lying in the misty light of the waters that have covered it for centuries.

IV

HERA AND CHASTEL .E.

Another prophecy² connected with " cele gent qui eschaperont de l'occision d'Atyle " foretells two battles which will take place in the year 600 between two of their towns, — Hera and Chastel E. The first will be " en mie parfonde eve "; neither side will win, " mes li peccion i gaigneront. " The second will be on land, and " li cors seront trouves mors, et leurs voisins geteront leur cors en eve, et en sera li fons de la mer lor arche. " It is a confused prediction, but once more the chroniclers show us that the events foretold were hazy even in their minds.

During the centuries before the lagoon communities had become united by their common escape from the peril of Frankish conquest and had organized themselves into a state under the leadership of Rialto, they had been the scene of hot internal dissensions and bitter jealousies between rival townships, each of which was imbued individually with the desire for mastery that later characterized the Venetian state as a whole. Among these animosities perhaps the fiercest and most important was that which continued with more or less violence for well nigh a hundred years between Hera-clea and Equilo (Exulo, later Iesolo)³, neighboring towns on the broad *lido* known as the Pineto in the estuary of the Piave. Both places are included by Giovanni Diacono⁴ in his often cited list of the twelve island townships along the shore of the Adriatic, which in the year 466 formed a federation governed by a tribunate composed of one representative from each island. By the end of the seventh century, as a means of controlling the disputes in

¹ Such legends are curiously scarce in our sources for Venetian folk-lore in comparison with the number of islands that have been submerged in the lagoons. Cf. *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, XIII, 294. See, however, on the ruined buildings seen in the waters near Barbana and along the *Lidi* of Caorle, Filiasi, *Memorie storiche*, VI, pte. i, 45, 65.

² Chapter xxi.

³ See Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 27, note 12. Cf. the form *Exul*, Da Canale, I, cxxxiii (p. 424).

⁴ *Cronaca*, p. 64.

regard to priority that continually went on between the tribunes, it was decided to create a Doge in whom the central government should be vested, and in 697 Paolo Lucio Anafesto, a native of Heraclea, itself an aristocratic community, was first elected to the office¹. This action at once gave Heraclea a distinguished position in the federation², and accordingly fanned the flame of jealousy that was ever flickering among her sister cities. Of the hostility of her more democratic neighbor, Equilo, that speedily burst into action, we have a fragmentary narrative in the *Cronaca Altinate*³, where we are told that a certain Egidius Gaulus, who with his sons was ruling in "Auxolum castellum," strove against Paulicius, who was *dux* in Heraclea : —

Orta intencione inter habitantium hic multorum hominum, totos inter se ipsos interfecerunt. Ipsi namque qui remanserunt, abstulerunt se de eodem loco, et reversum canale in circuitu, composuerunt se totos ac sapientes anteriores et nobiliores in securum locum; et ipsum canale nominebatur Archimicidium, pro hoc quia totos, quos a sevisimis paganis interfectos debuit esse, iater se ipsos, in peccatis illorum Deum imminemtem, totos se ipsos interfecerunt. Et consilium dederunt, ut nullus esse deberet ad sepeliendum eos, sed volucres et bestiis commederet illos.

The *Altinate* continues with an unclear narrative of the events after the battle of the Pineto. The survivors ("sapientes, anteriores et nobiliores") built a new stronghold, Equilo castello, or Exulo, where in combination with the people of Malamocco and even some tribunes from Heraclea they established a tribunate — "quia ille dux (i. e., Paulicius) ab omnibus odiosus erat," — and then proceeded to attack Heraclea again, burned it, and killed Paulicius and his kindred. Those who escaped from the struggle betook themselves to Rivoalto. "Nullus enim remansit in praedicta civitate, nisi tantummodo libertini et servi ac cultores vinearum."

Since, according to the more trustworthy testimony of Dandolo, Paolo Anafesto died a peaceful death at Heraclea, it is practically certain that the latter part of this narrative is not accurate, and that the *Altinate*, where events in reality separated from each other by centuries often appear in close juxtaposition, is referring to the time of Anafesto an engagement that on better authority is said to have taken place under the Doge Orso Ipato, also

¹ Dandolo, VII, 1 (col. 127, A-C).

² See *Archivio storico*, XXIX, 393.

³ Pp. 33, 34.

an Heracleon, who was killed in 737 in a battle between the people of his native town and Equilo¹. Da Canale² reports the tradition of the *Altinate*, but adds an account of this latter battle, which he characterizes in much the same terms as those employed in the *Altinate* in its description of the battle of the Pineto : —

Mesire Paulice... fu li premier Dus, et duca en Racliane... mais auques pres de cele vile estoient Venesiens en une vile que l'en apele Exul. Si estoient herbergies dedens cele vile maint gentis hommes qui pristrent guerre a Mesire Paulice, li Dus de Venise. Si fu tel cele guerre que Monseignor li Dus en fu ocis, et en si entisa la meslee en sa vile meisme... Apres la mort de lui (i. e., Doge Marcello Tegaliano) fu Dus Mesire Urs (Orso Ipato). Mes au tens de lui fu un autre meslee entre ciaux de Racliane et ciaux de Exul, si tres grant et si pesme, que bien seroit mervoiles dou conter la grant mortalite que firent les Veneciens entr'iaus ; et ne porquant je vos en conterai la sume. Tant firent d'armes et l'une partie et l'autre que a lor viles apert que eles remestrent orfenines des citains ; et par cele occisions et par cele meslee furent essilees andeus celes viles ; si vindrent herberger, ciaux qui remestrent de la meslee, en la maistre vile des Veneciens, que l'en apele Reaut. Par cele meslee et par cele ocisions, n'orent pas Dus li Veneciens jusque a .vi. ans, aneis avoient juges, que il apeloient Maistre des Chevaliers, et ciaux tenoient les Veneciens a droit.

It is not for us to dwell here upon the inconsistencies and errors of both these accounts³. Their important contribution for us is their record of two fierce and memorable battles in the course of the long hostility between Heraclea and Equilo, and also their evidence that these contests were not clearly defined one from the other in their details by the chroniclers themselves. It is obvious that the Hera⁴ and Chastel E. of our prophecy are Heraclea and Equilo, frequently designated as "Equilo castello" in the *Altinate*⁵, and that the two bloody struggles foretold by Merlin are paralleled

¹ Dandolo, VII, i, 27 (col. 130). For the war between Heraclea and Equilo see Fillasi, *Memorie storiche*, VII, 125 ff., 141, 210, 218 ff.; Rossi, *Archivio storico*, VIII, 67 ff.; Romanin, I, 104 ff.; Brown, *Venice*, pp. 22 ff.; Hazlitt, I, 24 ff.

² I, vi (p. 278).

³ See *Archivio storico*, VIII, 69, 710, note 10; Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, pp. 104 ff.

⁴ With the readings of M, "R," and C, "Ra," cf. the variants for "Heraclea" in the index.

⁵ Also Exulo, Ausolum castellum; see pp. 406 ff. *passim*. See also *Chronicon Gradense in Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. Monticolo, 1890, pp. 44, 64; Sabellico, I, 25; Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 11.

in those recorded by Da Canale and in many respects by the indecisive battle, distinguished for its carnage, in the *Altinate*. The terrible slaughter of the early battle on the shores of the Archimicidium had left an indelible impression upon the memory of the Venetians, and not unnaturally details from its conditions were applied by chroniclers to later battles during the eighth century between the same foes, all of which were fought in virtually the same region, the Pineto near the Canale dell' Arco¹. But the concluding words of the prophecy — “ seront li derrenieres batailles entre les laboureeurs de la terre enpres la mort de leurs seigneurs ” — are not satisfactorily explained by the story of Da Canale and seem to refer more appropriately to a conflict after the Doges Paolo Anafesto and Orso Ipato had met their fate. Marino Sanudo² gives an account of the events after the death of the latter which makes the prophecy more intelligible. The experiment of substituting a *Maestro dei Cavalieri*, elected annually in place of a Doge, which, as Da Canale mentions, was tried after the death of Orso Ipato, was a protest against what were considered the ultra-aristocratic pretensions of Heraclea, from among whose citizens all the three Doges of the federation had been elected. The fifth *Maestro dei Cavalieri*, according to Sanudo, was Zuane Fabriciaco, who held office in 741 : —

In questo tempo durando ancora la inimicitia tra quelli di Heraclia overo Città-nuova, et Iesolo unde tra l'horò in uno luogo ditto Canal d'archo véneno a le man, et fo une grande bataglia, et ne morite asaiissima zente ; e da qui indriedo fo chiamato Canal homicidial, e per ditta causa comunamente tutti li habitanti se partirano di ditti luogi, perché mai sariano stati im paxe ; et véneno ad habitar in Malamoccho vecchio.

This battle really marked an important point in the history of the lagoons, because it resulted in a change of the seat of government from Heraclea to an old ally of Equilo, Malamoccho³, which

¹ See Filiati, *Memorie storiche*, VII, 218, note ; Galliccoli, *Memorie venete*, I, 195.

² *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 104.

³ Heraclea was destroyed in 804 by the people of Equilo and Malamoccho under the Doge Obelerio Antenorio (804-811), a native of Malamoccho (see Giovanni Diacono, *Cronaca*, p. 103 ; Dandolo, VII, xv, 10 ; col. 155 ; Besta, *Atti del Reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere, ed arte*, Ser. 8, XVI, 790), but was rebuilt nine years later by Doge Angelo Particiaco and thereafter was called Civita Nova. See Dandolo, VIII, i, 13 (col. 163) : — “ Angelus quippe Dux Heraclianam Urbem, de qua origine traxerat, in solitudinem eadem clade redactam renovans, parvam Civitatem construxit, quae amodo vulgariter Civitas nova nuncupata est. ” See

thenceforth was the leading town of the community, until owing to the accident of her more exposed geographical position she gave way, as we have seen, to Rivoalto. To this battle the end of the prophecy applies. There is a reminiscence of the locality, the Canale dell' Arco, in Merlin's statement, "et en sera li fons de la mer lor arche;" the "laboureeurs de terre," would appear to be the inhabitants of the Pineto, who were tillers of the soil, "cultores vinearum," and who after the death of the Doges, "leurs seigneurs," engaged in a contest that had far reaching consequences¹.

V

LE GRANT DESTORBIER D'ANCONNE

In a brief prophecy² Merlin foretells a siege that will be endured by "Anconne une cite qui est sus la marine," in 1135, by which the citizens will be "presque tous desiretes... que il mengeront de toutes choses fors que de chars humaines... Ce leur avendra por l'orgueil d'eus que celui champion qui a celui tens sera les asaudra de guerre et li Bons Mariniers parmi la mer."

We have records of a siege of Ancona in 1172, which closely

also Giovanni Diacono, *Cronaca*, p. 150; *Cronaca Altinate*, pp. 33, 34; *Chronicon Gradense*, ed. cit., p. 45; Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 4. To this appellation reference is made in the *Prophecies*, Chapter ccxli; with the form of the name in this passage cf. *Racliane* in the passage cited above from Da Canale. For the history of Heraclea see Manfrin, *Origini*, pp. 42 ff.

¹ See *Cronaca Altinate*, pp. 35, 41. and the citation given above, II, 55. Cf. the note on the passage from Sanudo (p. 104) cited above, II, 57; Sabellico, I, i, 29.

According to a popular tradition the feud between Heraclea and Equilo lives today in Venice in the rivalry of the two well known factions, the Nicolotti and the Castellani. When the people of Heraclea and Equilo came to Rivoalto, they are said to have adopted new names in order to designate the quarters of the island where they respectively took up their abode; the Heradiani, always representatives of the aristocracy, became the Nicolotti, who still call themselves *nobili*, while the Equilani became the Castellani. Through the intervening centuries their antagonism has made itself conspicuous in *pugne dei ponti*, street brawls, and as its intensity diminished, in a pugnacious game, the *Forse d'Ercole*, while at the present day it is confined to the more genial rivalry of an occasional regatta. See H. F. Brown, *Life on the Lagoons*, 1884, pp. 302 ff.; Molmenti, *Venice*, translated by H. F. Brown, 1906, I, 201 ff.; Foscarini, *Canti pel popolo veneziano*, pp. 64, 65, 101 ff., 192, and especially pp. 216 ff., where the feud is only doubtfully referred to the strife between Heraclea and Equilo. See also Dalmedico, *Canti del popolo veneziano*, 1848, pp. 189 ff; *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, V, 454.

² Chapter LXXXVI.

corresponds to that predicted by Merlin. At that time Christian, Archbishop of Mayence, the chancellor of Frederic Barbarossa, entered Italy with an imperial force and took possession of many towns in the name of the emperor. The situation of Ancona made it a peculiarly desirable acquisition for Frederic, and an objectionable rival to Venice in her trade with the eastern Empire¹. Venetian help was therefore sought and easily obtained by the Archbishop, and the combined forces subjected Ancona to a siege, which brought among its worst horrors a dire famine, in spite of which the town made a determined resistance. A relief expedition, sent by Guglielmo Marchesella, a Ferrarese noble, and Aldruda, Contessa di Bertinoro, led to the withdrawal of the besieging forces without a decisive engagement.

A highly dramatic account of the siege, written from the Anconitan standpoint, is given by the Florentine, Boncompagno, who flourished about 1220, in his treatise *De obsidione Anconae*², parts of which serve fully to illustrate the prophecy : —

Imperante Frederico Romanorum Imperatore,... Cancellarius solo nomine Christianus, et Moguntinae Sedis Archiepiscopus, Italiam cum Imperatoris exercitu intravit, plura Oppida, Burgos et Villas in quibusdam partibus devastando... Cum autem videret quod Ancontani Graecum Imperium nimis diligerent, et plene non poterat dominium habere, si civitatis Anconitanae non frangeret vires, composuit cum Venetis, qui semper quodam speciali odio Anconam oderunt, et in eodem tempore laesi fuerant in Graecia non modicum ab Emmanuele videlicet in exitu mensis Madii quando cibaria carescunt, portum intraverunt Anconitanum ; et ipse cum Imperii exercitu, et circumpositis civitatibus ad eundem terminum venit, promittens illis destruere civitatem, et bona Civium cum eisdem parti... Fiebat proelium tam in mare quam in terra continue, nec poterant Cives aliqua hora quiescere... Post amissionem vero proelii vix per certos dies habuere victualia sufficienter ; et tantum incoepit crescere fames, quod pro uno bysantio tantum non poterat inveniri, quod uni sufficeret ad edendum... Coepit igitur esse pestilentia famis, quae tunc proprie dicitur esse fames, cum offerenti pretium nec inveniri potest quod habeatur ad vescendum... Praeterea qui remanserant in civitate, fame inenarrabili affligebantur, quia panis ex toto defecerat, et aliqua genera leguminum non poterant reperiri. Interficiebant equos, jumenta, et asinos, et immundas carnes avidissime comedebant...

¹ See Dandolo, IX, xv, 17 (col. 292) ; W. F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, 1906, pp. 133, 141 ff ; Hazlitt, I, 223.

² *R.I.S.*, VI, 929 ff.

Accipiebant coria boum et ea post mollificationem diuturno labore coquebant... Quidam eorum canes, muscupulas et mures eo tempore comederunt... Dominae civitatis in concionem venerunt, offerendo se ipsas et dicendo : *Numquid asinorum carnes sunt saporiores nostris ad edendum ? Comedite igitur nos vel projicite in mare, quia minus male credimus esse mori, quam in illorum pervenire potestatem qui furorem pro lege habent...* O admiranda constancia mulierum, et inaudita promissio ab antiquis. . illae... sponte se obtulerunt ad edendum, cupientes viros et civitatem morte propria liberare¹.

Two points in regard to this prophecy are especially noticeable. In the first place the passages cited above prove that it refers to the siege of 1172/3 and that the date, 1135, is incorrect. All of this is perfectly clear. In the second place the complete silence about the termination of the siege, which was not glorious for the Venetians, and the emphasis laid upon the privations induced by it suggest that the prediction is written from a Venetian point of view. Boncompagno², for instance, says that after the arrival of the allied forces, the Archbishop, seeing that it would be useless to try to resist them, duped the Venetians and slipped away by night, "et Veneti ab ipso delusi recessere." But in the Venetian *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* the chronicler alleges that the Venetians withdrew merely because of the approach of winter. Moreover, according to the prophecy, the troubles of Ancona are due to her

¹ Cols. 929, 930 (cap. liii), 936-938 (cap. xi). There should also be compared with the prophecy the description of the siege given in the *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* (M.G.H., XIV, 81, § 9) a chronicle written shortly after 1229 : —

"Oderant enim Veneti Anconitanos, tum propter inimicicias que inter eos fuerant, cum etiam propter inimicos eorum Graecos, quos ipsi in odium et contrarietatem Veneciarum suscipiebant. Unde praefatus Dux, exercitum galearum et aliarum navium preparari iussit et ad expugnandos Anconitanos ipsum misit anno Domini 1173. Fuit ergo Ancona a Venetorum exercitu per mare obsessa, et tam ab ipsis Venetis quam ab exercitu archiepiscopi Christiani, cancellarii imperatoris, in circuitu fortiter per aliquod tempus expugnata. Et cum iam viribus et victualis Anconitani defecissent, nec possent exercitibus resistere et se Venetis libentissime rendere vellent, de quorum fide confidebant non modicum, quidam Lombardorum, qui pecuniam imperatoris Grecorum acciperant, causam imperatoris Romanorum destruere cupientes et Venetorum victoriae invidentes, congregaverunt maximum exercitum et in auxilium Anconitanorum, qui penes iam exanimis effecti fuerant, festinauerunt. Veneti vero asperitatem hiemis timentes et in portu Ancone diutius propter hiemem esse non audentes, redierunt ad propria."

For a contemporary account of the siege, see Romualdus Salernitanus, *R.I.S.*, VII, 214. See also Salimbene, p. 2 ; Dandolo, X, i, 6 (col. 299) ; *Archivio storico*, Ser. 1, VIII, 260 (*Cronaca di Marco*, xlv).

² Col. 944 (cap. xxiv).

"orgueil," a sin that the Venetians were prone to lay at the door of any neighbor who dared oppose her will to theirs¹.

The hostility between Venice and Ancona did not end in 1172. Venice could brook no rival in the Adriatic², nor could Ancona relinquish the advantages that her fine harbor afforded³. Discord between the two states arose again and again through the thirteenth century, until in the⁴ year 1275 the persistent animosity led to open war. The Venetians had control of the estuaries of the rivers that emptied into the lagoons, a right that they had claimed even in the sixth century in opposition to the Paduans⁵. Early in the reign of Pope Gregory X, who came to the throne in 1271, the Anconitans lodged a protest with him against the pretensions of the Venetians. "Et cil, que nouvelement estoit sacres, et ne savoit les brevileges des Veneciens, manda a Venise son mandement, que il leisast aler les Anconitans parmi les flums, la ou il voloient : et Monsignor li Dus n'en fist riens, por ce que il ne le devoit fere," thus Da Canale writes with characteristic Venetian assurance⁶. The Anconitans accordingly made a further complaint, but the papal arbitrator appointed to settle the matter decreed that "Anconetans n'alasent par nul des flums que desent el mer Ariens, sans le congie des Veneciens ; que il est li mer de Venise, et les entrees des flums⁷." The Anconitans, however, remained obdurate, and accordingly Venice sent a fleet against them. Thus a war began which occupied the entire reign of the Doge Giacomo Contarini (1275-1280), and brought serious disaster to the Venetians. Their ardor, however, was never quelled, and after storm or foe had wrecked their galleys they returned persistently to the siege of Ancona herself, or swept her people, whom they pronounced pirates, from the seas ; "et mare securum reddunt, navigantibus securitatem conferunt," according to Dandolo. At length in 1280, Giovanni Dandolo, after his accession to the ducal throne, sent a fleet of galleys against the Anconitans, "turbæ volentes Venetorum custodiam maris et fluminum...

¹ See below, p. 66, note 1.

² See H. F. Brown, *Studies in Venetian History*, 1907, I, 347 ff.

³ For this harbor Ancona had early been envied ; see Boncompagni, *op. cit.*, col. 929 (II).

⁴ See Dandolo, X, i, 15 ; iii, 12 ; v, 21 ; viii, 13 (cols. 301, 311, 350, 387).

⁵ See H. F. Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 19.

⁶ II, cccxxiii (p. 680).

⁷ II, cccxxiv (p. 682).

cum quibus honore suo praevisio tandem ad pacem devenit¹. ”

We cannot recall these years of strife without observing that during any one of them such a prophecy as that which we are considering would have been an acceptable reminder to the Venetians of the time when they had been instrumental in reducing their annoying foe to straits, the ultimate outcome of which however they were willing to pass by in silence and forget².

VI

LES BONS MARINIERS, LES TOSCAINS, ET LES AUFFRIQUEUS

In a few prophecies the Bons Mariniers are brought into connection with the “Toscaïn” and the “Auffriqueus,” two peoples whose identity is determined by the material of the prophecies themselves and also by other isolated passages in which the name of either one of them occurs. That the “Toscaïn” are the Pisans may be inferred from a long prophecy in *V*³, in which Merlin foretells the fraudulent deeds of the “mali mercanti pieni di inganna” from Tuscany, who because of the enormity of their crimes will finally be excommunicated by the Pope. The Boni Marinari, who alone will treat with them, will acquire nothing but evil from them. The description recalls Dante’s characterization of the Pisans, the “volpi d’Arno,”

... si piene di frode

Che non temono ingenio che le occupi⁴.

But a surer guide to their identity with the Tuscans of the prophecy is our knowledge of the extensive commerce of the Pisans and their intimate relations in trade with their deadly rivals, the Venetians, as well as of the famous papal ban laid upon their city after their connivance with Frederic II in the capture of the papal legates⁵. A comparison of the prophecy in *V* with that in Chapter cccxxv announcing that the Tuscans will be greedy of treasure and will treat the Church with contumely shows that here again the Pisans are the Tuscans whom Merlin has in mind.

¹ Dandolo, cols. 392-394, 397-399, *passim*; Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 369 ff.; Sabellico, X, 175 ff.

² On the Anconitan war see Filiasi, *Ricerche*, p. 233; Hazlitt, I, 437.

³ Fol. 70d. This passage is supplementary to Chapter xxv; see above, I, 84, note 11.

⁴ *Purgatorio*, XIV, 53, 54.

⁵ See above, II, 11 ff.

For identification of the "Auffriquens" we have no such guide in the material of the prophecies outside of the two where they are associated with the Tuscans and the Bons Mariniers. But in a rubric attached to a prophecy in *V* foretelling¹ the victories that before 1300 the Boni Marinari will win over "la gente che ussi de la grande Africa" we find the latter rather surprisingly identified with the Genoese: — "si tratta de Venetiani e Genovesi che faranno guerra insieme." It is so strange a term to apply to the Genoese that we should be disposed to question the testimony of the rubric in this fifteenth-century source, if it were not that the predicted deeds of the "Auffriquens" are paralleled by events in the history of Genoa. From the first of the prophecies in which the Africans, the Good Mariners, and the Tuscans are brought unto connection² we learn that in 1253 (1281, in the Italian versions) the "Toscain" are to meet a great disaster at the hands of their neighbors, instigated by the "Auffriquens," upon whom vengeance will fall owing to the "admonnestement" of P., who will put herself under the protection of the Bons Mariniers.

The Genoese victory of Meloria in 1284, when Genoa finally ended the long rivalry between herself and Pisa³, and from which Pisa never recovered⁴, is the battle that first comes to our minds today as we read the prophecy⁵. But the years after Meloria were years of humiliation for Venice, when she too, even before her great defeat at Curzola in 1298, was being worsted by Genoa, and when there is no indication that she was in a position to accord her protection against Genoa to another city; so that even if it were not certain that the *Prophecies* was composed before that date, it cannot be Meloria to which Merlin refers. But if we turn to the years 1255 and 1256 in the chronicles we find a series of events that to a certain extent correspond with those of the prophecy. For in 1255 Pisa and her neighbor Lucca, after a brief pause in the continual warfare that was going on between them, resumed hostilities. In that year too the Genoese sent ambassadors

¹ Fol. 52b.

² Chapter LXVIII.

³ On this rivalry see *Archivio veneto*, XV, 1, 357 ff.

⁴ See Roncioni, pp. 31 ff., for an example of Pisan pride, which denied that Pisa was greatly reduced even after Meloria.

⁵ Cf. Jacopo d'Oria, *Annales.*, *M.G.H.*, XVIII, 307, who represents the Pisans as having elected Alberto Morosini, a Venetian, as their *podestà* in order to win the aid of the Venetians in 1283, "*credentes propter hoc duces et Venetos sibi provocare favorabiles et etiam adiutores.*"

to Lucca and to Florence, complaining that Pisa had not observed the conditions of an agreement that she had made with Genoa, and letting it be understood "che ogni volta che la Città di Firenze e quella di Lucca movessino contro a' Pisani, che a loro sarà grato, e sempre sarebbono parati a muoverla." The Florentines, according to Marangone, not being willing to engage in this war against Pisa, the Genoese and Lucchesi prosecuted it together; according to Giustiniani, the Florentines united their forces with those of the Lucchesi and encamped near the castles of Riprafratta and Castiglione; the Pisans went forth against them and routed the Lucchesi, but were themselves routed by the Florentines with great mortality. The Genoese, in the meantime, with a large naval force, as well as land troops, sailed to Lerici, which had formerly belonged to them, but which Pisa now held; there in 1256 they overcame the Pisans, took the town and castle, and returned in triumph to Genoa. In 1256 also, dissension having arisen in Sardinia, where for two centuries or more Pisa and Genoa had had conflicting claims, each city sent a naval force to aid her own citizens in the island. The two fleets met off the coast of Sardinia, and the Pisans were completely defeated¹.

In the same year the Genoese and the Venetians, who together with the Pisans each had possession of a third part of the city of Acre, came to blows, ostensibly as the result of a quarrel between a Venetian and a Genoese in the church of S. Saba. Villani puts the case bluntly: "Negli anni di Cristo 1256, si cominciò nella città d'Acra in Soria la guerra tra' Genovesi e' Viniziani, per cagione che ciascuno di loro comuni vi volea essere il maggiore, e per la possessione di san Saba d'Acra, che ciascuno la volea; onde derivò molto di male per gli tempi appresso, como di loro fatti faremo mentione. In quella riotta i Viniziani furono soperchiati da' Genovesi²." Two years later the Venetians under Lorenzo Tiepolo took a deadly vengeance upon the Genoese, completely

¹ For the above facts see Marangone, col. 514 ff.; Giustiniani, pp. 415 ff.; *Annales Ianuenses*, M.G.H., XVIII, 235.

² VI, lxi. See Morosini, p. 84: — "Per l'acquisto di questa città (Tolomaida, viz., Acre; cf. on the two names, Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, xxv, p. 1067; Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, p. 84) furono concessi a' Venetiani, Pisani, e Genovesi molti privilegi, et a ciascuna di dette Repubbliche furono assegnate contrade e piazze proprie et oltre di ciò a Venetiani e Genovesi la chiesa di S. Sabà in comune, il che in altri tempi poi fu origine, seme e cagione di gravissime e lunghissime guerre frà di loro." See *ibid.*, pp. 85 ff. for an account of these wars.

defeating them in a naval engagement off Tyre, burning and otherwise destroying the Genoese portion of Acre, and winning a victory that even the Genoese chroniclers do not attempt to minimize, while Martino da Canale records it with a pride that lingers over every detail¹. In this victory the Pisans were allied with the Venetians, with whom they had formed an offensive and defensive alliance against Genoa², for they had suffered at Acre in the successes of the Genoese, who at the time of their triumph had destroyed the Pisan towers in the city³.

It will be seen from the above that the part played by the Genoese in these episodes corresponds to that of the "Aufriquens" in the prophecy. The Pisans were attacked in 1255 by their neighbors, the Lucchesi (and perhaps also by the Florentines), instigated by the Genoese; they met with defeat at the hands of the latter; the Genoese were routed, and their quarters in the city of Acre were destroyed by the Venetians, by whose greater power the Pisans were sheltered. Marangone⁴, writing from the Pisan point of view, represents the alliance with Venice as sought by the Venetians because they had become persuaded, Pisa having once aided the Genoese in a victory over them, that the Pisans were a valiant people and were necessary as allies. There is no hint of such an idea in the Venetian chroniclers⁵, and the tone of the prophecy in its assumption of the superiority of the Venetians over the Pisans⁶ is distinctly Venetian.

The facts that we have been reviewing explain the other prediction⁷

¹ Da Canale, I, cii (pp. 452 ff.); Giustiniani, pp. 421 ff; Sanudo, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, III, xii, cap. v (p. 220).

² See *Breviarium Pisanae Historiae*, R.I.S., VI, 192 (on the supposed author, Da Vico, see Bonaini, *Archivio storico*, Ser. 1, VI, pte. ii, x); *Annales Ianuenses*, M.G.H., XVIII, 239; Marangone, col. 519. For the text of the treaty see Muratori, *Antiquitates*, IV (Diss. 49), 403 ff.; Dal Borgo, *Raccolta di scelti diplomi pisani*, 1765, p. 71, No. xx.

³ Dandolo, X, vii, 7 (col. 365); Giustiniani, p. 423; Marangone (col. 250) mentions the seizure of the Pisan towers by the Genoese as one of the offences that Lorenzo Tiepolo was sent to Acre from Venice to punish.

⁴ Col. 519.

⁵ Dandolo, however (X, vii, 11; col. 366), speaks of a Venetian success against the Genoese in 1257 "cum auxilio Pisanorum."

⁶ Cf. the remark of Giustiniani (p. 388) in regard to "lo scrittore delle cose di Venezia" for the year 1242, who asserts that the Genoese asked aid of the Venetians against the united forces of Pisa and the Emperor, — "e nondimeno gli autori genovesi... non ne fanno menzione alcuna."

⁷ Chapter cLi. Cf. the prophecy concerning the "Aufriquens" in Chapter ccxvii,

in which the Africans, the Bons Mariniers, and the Tuscans are associated. In this prophecy, which mentions "la cite ou les grans guerres auront este entre les Bons Mariniers et li Toscaïn et d'autre partie li Auffriquen qui a celui tens ne sauront en la cite que demander," the "Auffriquens" may simply be the Saracens, but in the light of the prediction discussed above, it is more natural to interpret them here, too, as the Genoese, and "les grans guerres" as the tripartite warfare between Pisa, Venice, and Genoa that was carried on at Acre¹.

What the reason was for bestowing this appellation upon the Genoese we can only surmise. Possibly it is employed merely as "Saracens" is often used in mediaeval literature, as a *spregiativo* of general force²; it is noticeable that in the passage from *V* referred to at the beginning of this section, the ancestors of the

which is so general that it might refer to either the Saracens or the Genoese.

¹ Comparison with Da Canale shows that in the enigmatical prophecy beginning "Or met en ton escrit que entre les Aufricans —," published I, 115, note 6, there is probably a reference to the trouble at Acre. The first phrase concerning the disturbance that will involve the "Aufricans" the people of Greece, of Gaul, and of Germany appears to refer vaguely to the Fourth Crusade and the subsequent years, the dating of which affords an opportunity, always welcome to Merlin, to give a thrust at the cardinals of the Church, "Il tireor de cordes" (See below, pp. 159 ff.). It is not altogether clear who are indicated by "il," the subject of "auront" in the next sentence ("apres la colece que il auront receue"), but in view of the close parallel in the sentences that follow to the expressions of Da Canale in describing the offences of the Genoese at Acre, it is hard not to believe that they refer to the same occasion. The people of whom Merlin is speaking "auront soventes fois damaiges fait... a maintes gens. Et lors seront il si enorgelli que il metront mains es Bons Mariniers dont jamais n'auront colle qui ne soit vangie ou soit par tans ou soit a tart. Et por ce lor avendra uns si grans destorbiers que jamais n'auront orguel se petit non." Da Canale tells us (II, clii; p. 452) that in the year 1257 "avint ire et mautalans entre Veneciens et Ienoës en une vile que l'en apele Acre; et Ienoës furent si orgueilleus que il mistrent mains es Veneciens et li firent outrage; et ce fu quant il avoient trives entr'iaus, et pristrent lor nes en traïson; et ne porquant il li rendirent erraument lor nes; et quant il orent ce fait, il s'en alerent vanter a Jene." He then recounts the punishment that they received for their temerity, as we have already seen. Whether this interpretation be correct or not, the prophecy is imbued with the spirit of Venice, whose chroniclers continually charge her opponents with pride and apply no epithet more freely to them than *orgogliosi*. Cf. the terms in which Da Canale speaks of the people of Zara (I, clii; p. 390), — "furent si orgueilleus que il pristrent guerre a lor seignor se fu a Mesire Jaques Teuples, li haut Dus de Venice;" (I, xlii; p. 292) "— li Jaretins furent si orgueilleus que il avoient revelee la vile as Veneciens et por ce la pristrent Veneciens a celui tens."

I have no explanation to offer for the concluding part of the prophecy.

² See Rajna, *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, 1884, p. 143.

Pisans are said to come from Barbarie, which in Chapter LXVII is also the original dwelling place of the ancestors of the Saracens. Yet the term would seem to have a more definite meaning when applied to the Genoese. It may be due to one of the several legends of their eponymous founder, according to which Genoa and Liguria trace their origin to the Egyptians. This legend is reported by Boccaccio¹ on the authority of "Paulus perusinus secundum nescio quem Eustachium," and relates that Phaeton, the son of Sol, king of Egypt, sailed away from the Nile and came to the coast of Liguria, where he put ashore one of his companions, Genuinus, who being no sailor, thankfully exchanged sea for land, and proceeded to found a town, which was named Genoa after him. Paolo da Perugia, from whom Boccaccio derived much of the material that he embodied in his *De Genealogia Deorum* was a zealous encyclopaedist, and compiled a huge work entitled *Collectiones*, a large portion of which was devoted to classical mythology. This book was lost after his death, and exists today only in a compendium preserved in the Biblioteca Magliabechiana². The legend of Genuinus reported by Boccaccio is contained neither in this compendium nor in the work of that Eustachius from whom it seems most probable that Paolo would have learned the story, namely, Eustachius, bishop of Thessalonica (1160-1198), a commentator of repute on Homer and Dionysius Charax. In his comments on the *Periegesis* of Dionysius³, Eustachius gives an account of the arrival of Eridanys and Phaethon in Italy, which is evidently that known to Paolo, although it does not contain all the material that according to Boccaccio he used. We have, no authority therefore for the date when the story of Genuinus was invented, but since in 1359-1360, when Boccaccio was writing his

¹ *De Genealogia Deorum*, Venice, 1472, VII, xli (fol. 119): "— Asserit tamen Paulus perusinus secundum nescio quem Eustachium que regnante Spareto apud Assyrios Erydanus que et Phaeton Solis Egyptii filius cum copia suorum duce Nilo navigiis devenit in mare, et ventis adiutus in sinum quem Ligustinum dicimus venit. Ibi cum suis longa fatigatus navigatione descendit et cum suasionibus suorum in Mediterranea pergeret Genuinum unum ex sociis suis nausea maris debilitatum cum parte suarum navium custodem liquit in littore. Qui iunctis accolis loci sylvestribus hominibus oppidum condidit et Genuam de suo nomine nuncupavit."

² For the above facts, see *De Genealogia Deorum*, XV, vi; Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, 1879, pp. 494 ff.; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums*, 1893, I, 169, 481.

³ In *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 1861, II, 288. See Hortis, *op. cit.*, p. 385, note 15; Mannucci, *La Cronaca di Jacopo da Voragine*, 1904, p. 60.

De Genealogia Deorum, Paolo was in his estimation already advanced in years¹, there is reason to believe that the legend which he recorded was considerably earlier than Boccaccio's own day and may very well have originated before the latter part of the thirteenth century.

In addition to Genuinus, the Egyptian, no less than three Januses, or Giani, have been made by tradition the founders of Genoa, — Janus, the son of Nimrod, Janus, a banished Epirote king, and finally and more generally, Janus, a Trojan, who came to Italy with Antenor and Aeneas. All of these legends, of whatever date and origin, are found in the *Chronicon Civitatis Januensis* of Jacobus de Voragine², and we therefore have authority for assuming them to be current at the time when the *Prophecies* was composed. Of the mythical founders of Genoa, Janus, the son of Nimrod, and Janus, the Trojan, were those who would be most readily adopted as eponymous heroes in a time when either a Trojan origin, equal to that of Rome itself, or a yet earlier origin than that of Rome was ardently coveted by most Italian cities³. The tradition that made the founder of Genoa a companion of Phaethon, an Egyptian prince, could not hope to win ready acceptance or to become popular⁴. It is noticeable that the first Genoese chronicler to incorporate it in his work, Stella, an annalist of the early fifteenth century, who gives it on the authority of Paolo, whom he cites, quoting from Boccaccio, insists after having discussed the other theories in regard to the founder of the city that the story of Paolo is preferable; but the tone of his comments shows that he is more or less on the defensive⁵ and although he

¹ *De Genealogia Deorum*, XV, vi : — " aetate proventus. "

² *R.I.S.*, IX, 8 ; see for a discussion of this subject Mannucci, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

³ Cf. Jacobus de Voragine, *R.I.S.*, IX, 7 : — " Istud autem... quod diximus de isto Jano Cive Trojae scimus tantum per famam publicam et antiquam. " Jacobus d'Oria, *Annales Januenses*, *M.G.H.*, XVIII, 288, 289 ; above, II, 36, note 11.

⁴ Giustiniani (I, 107) proudly sums up the matter : — " Stimo cosa superflua faticarsi in voler certificare i lettori chi fosse il primo fondator della città di Genova ; perchè è cosa certa appresso i letterati e dotti, che non si ha certezza di esso primo fondatore. E quanto si dice dei due, ovvero tre Jani... non solamente è riputato favoloso, ma detto grossamente. Quello ancora che si dice di Genuo ovvero Genuino non è molto approvato... E questo non saper chi fosse il primo fondator di Genova non è piccolo argomento della sua antichità, la qual certo antichità ha causato che non sappiamo il nome del fondatore, ed ha cancellato la memoria di quello ; come che sia proprietà della lunghezza del tempo corrompere ogni cosa. " Cf. also on the obscurity of the records of the origin of Genoa Jacopo d'Oria, *l.c.*

⁵ *Annales Genuenses*, *R.I.S.*, XVII, 960 ff.

is somewhat confused as to his facts, he lays great stress upon the implication in the legend that Genoa had its origin "a Praeside magno et excellentissimae regionis," arguing that Eridanus, whom he calls the son of the Egyptian Sol, must have come from such a distant land with great power. "Ergo si Genuinum cum parte suarum navium custodem, ut praemittitur, reliquit in litore, quo Genuam oppidum condidit, etiam magnum putandum est Genuinum fuisse¹."

Such an appellation, then, as the "Auffriquens," referring to the origin of the people, as "Troiens" and "Antenori" are used for the Venetians and Paduans respectively, could not at best have been an honorable designation for the thirteenth-century Genoese, but it is a term that would have been applied to them with zest by their rivals or enemies², especially by the Venetians, secure as they were in their own pure descent from the Trojans. Its use in the *Prophecies*, whatever its source, like the predictions in which it is employed, reflects a Venetian point of view.

A prophecy in Chapter CCLXXXIX foretells the destruction of "Malfete la petite", which will be "brisée et desrobée" in the year 500 by the "Auffriquens," who will sail there ostensibly in peace but with hostile intent. There are two towns to which the name "Malfete la petite" may be applied. One is Molfetta on the Apulian coast, the diminutive ending of which (-etta) may be echoed in the adjective, "la petite." I know of no events in the history of the town corresponding with those predicted by Merlin here or in the next chapter, which foretells that Malfete will suffer from a famine in the year 800, but the annals of Molfetta that I have not examined may record them. It is also possible that "Malfete la petite" should be identified with Amalfi, which though small in circuit was great in maritime and commercial importance³, and the early name of which, Malfi, continued in use in the thirteenth century⁴. In

¹ This legend is found also in later sources; see two chronicles written in French in Genoa in the reign of Louis XII, — Alessandro Slavago, *Cronaca di Genova*, ed. C. Desimoni, 1879, p. 19; *Cronaca di Genova*, ed. V. Promis, 1874, p. 195.

² On the rivalry between Venice and Genoa see *Archivio veneto*, XV, 1, 368 ff.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 351 ff.

⁴ On the name of the town, Malfi, and of the inhabitants, Malfitani, see *Chronica Amalfitani Fragmentum*, in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, I, 208 ff. (i, ii); *Chronicon Salernitanum*, M.G.H., III, 511 ff.; H. Brenckmann, *Dissertatio de Republica Amalphitana*, in *Historia Pandectarum, Traiecti ad Rhenum*, 1722, p. 3; also published in *Thesaurus*

this case the date 500 is no guide to us in interpreting the prophecy, for Amalfi did not begin to rise to a position of importance till the end of the sixth century¹. Moreover, in spite of her rivalry in trade with Genoa, she never received such a fate at Genoese hands as Merlin declared would be visited upon little Malfete by the "Auffriquens." The crushing of her power was reserved for her bitter foe, Pisa, whose galleys appeared unexpectedly off her rocky shores in 1135 (1136) and taking her off her guard laid her waste². But although this occasion agrees with the prophecy in the sudden and deadly nature of the assault, there is no evidence whatever that Genoa took any part in it³. In reality the Normans and the Pisans were both enemies from whom for long years Amalfi suffered more than from the Genoese. Are the Africans, then, in this passage, Saracens? Frequently in the ninth century Amalfi was called upon to repel the Saracens when they were attacking the western coast of Italy, but the testimony of the records in general is that the Amalfitans were allied with their neighbors in these undertakings and were usually successful⁴. It is true that Benedetto di Sant'Andrea in his altogether untrustworthy chronicle says that the Saracens some time after their famous attack on Rome in 846 returned to Italy and coming to Amalfi overran Calabria⁵. But his unsupported word is a slender foundation on which to base the prophecy. It is also to be observ-

Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae, IX, pt. 4 (1723); Camera, *Istoria della città e costiera di Amalfi*, 1836, pp. 11 ff; Id., *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, 1876-1881, I, 4.

¹ See *Archivio veneto*, l.c.

² Romoaldus Salernitanus, *Annales*, M.G.H., XIX, 421: — "eam impunitam et huius rei insciam ceperunt et expoliaverunt." See also Marangone, col. 366; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen Age* (ed. F. Raynaud), 1885, I, 189ff.

³ Cf. Brenckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

Since we are following blind clues here, we may include among them the possibility of a confusion in Merlin's mind between the Genoese and the Pisans. An apposite example is afforded by the statement of Ramusio, a Venetian friend of Marco Polo, that a Genoese gentleman, a fellowprisoner of Marco Polo in Genoa, assisted him in writing an account of his travels. This "Genoese" has been recognized by Yule (*Marco Polo*, Introduction, p. 58) as "only a distorted image" of Rustician of Pisa, who is known to have been confined in gaol with Marco Polo and to have aided him in his literary work, but who is not mentioned by name by Ramusio.

⁴ See *Archivio veneto*, l. c., p. 352.

⁵ M.G. H., III, 712, § 27; on the character of the chronicle of Benedetto see below, pp. 76, 77.

ed that the port to which the "Auffriquens" will sail after leaving Malfete is Butee (variant, Bugire), namely Buggea (Bougia or Bougie), a north African town of commercial importance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; this detail, then, looks as if they were Saracens, but even it is not determinative, for there is no reason why Genoese ships should not have visited Buggea for trading purposes, whether they left Amalfi or Molfetta devastated behind them. Indeed the prophecy, after saying that the "Auffriquens" will go to Butee, continues, "Et droit au port de Butee [degloutira la mer] une des nes a tous les hommes et au reperier craventera l'autre nef a toutes les gallies auques pres de Saonne, dont il se noieront presque tous en mer." "Saonne," the destruction of which by a flood is prophesied in the next chapter, suggests Savona on the Riviera di Ponente, which brings the vessels on their way home ("au reperier") to the Mare Ligure and therefore near to Genoese shores.

In conclusion we see that speculation as to whether "Malfete la petite" be Molfetta or Amalfi, and the "Auffriquens" in this chapter Genoese or Saracens is idle without an acquaintance with the history of Molfetta. With only the above negative suggestions in mind we must let the prophecy wait for the day when the key to it,

— buried so long in oblivion's womb,
And, left for another than I to discover,
Turns up at last!

CHAPTER III

LES GUERRES ES PARTIES DE JHERUSALEM

I

LE CHAMPION DE GAULLE.

It has been said above that Merlin utters various predictions relating to the Crusades, with some of which the Bons Mariniers are connected. The most convenient order in which to examine these crusading prophecies is again chronological.

Merlin begins one of his longer vaticinations¹ by announcing that before the coming of the Dragon of Babylon² a Champion from Gaul will be crowned with an iron crown in a chapel at Mothe, whence he will not depart until he has burned to death a multitude of unbelievers. On the spot where they will meet their end a mighty rain will descend, which will drench the soil, where shortly after, when their ashes sink into the pit, there will arise from the depths of the earth, " en despit, " a stream of sulphur, which will not fail until the Day of Judgment. The Champion will make a truce with the pagans in order to destroy " les mescreans que de Lombardie auront pris l'essamples " ; all who do not believe in the Trinity and the sacraments he will put to death ; at his command there shall be at that time no more war, but all men shall obey him. " Et quant [il] aura destruit tous les mescreans crestiens lors foudront lez truies des paiens, et il s'en ira de la [la] mer es parties de Jerusalem avecques li dus des Bons Mariniers et avec une grant partie de Lombars et avec les Francois, qui por vengier la mort de lor lignages s'en iroint avecques lui. Et presque tous les crestiens s'en iroint avecques eus, et li poiens de Babilloine avecques eus. Li poiens autres de toute la paienie se metront encontre eus... Et lors quant passeront la mer por la navie des Bons Mariniers [sachiez certainement que pour la boine foi que il] auront en Damedieu, li poien de la la mer... n'auront envers les autres duree. "

In certain respects the Champion of this prophecy suggests Fred-

¹ Chapters CLXXIV, CLXXV.

² See below, p. 198.

eric Barbarossa, but in many more Charlemagne, *Christi athleta*¹, who in spite of his Germanic origin was essentially in his conquests in Italy a champion from Gaul. "Dicitur quod iste Karolus magnus fuit de sanguine Theutonico quantum ad originem, sed quantum ad dominium fuit de Gallia²." The principal events of Charlemagne's career are so familiar that a mere reminder of those to which the prophecy refers is all that is necessary. After his defeat of Desiderius and the consequent termination of the Lombard kingdom in the year 774, he was crowned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, according to one tradition at Monza, the Latin name of which, *Modoëtia*, explains the *Mothe* of the prophecy³. The story of the marvellous rain and the stream of sulphur finds no place, so far as I am aware, in the large collection of legends of Charlemagne preserved to us by the chroniclers, and in fact the wholesale burning of the pagan inhabitants of conquered towns is not one of the forms of severity accredited to him, although he did not hesitate to make conversions at the point of the sword⁴. It is possible that the prophecy contains a local legend that was developed under the influence of the widely diffused story of Charlemagne's destruction of the Irminsal in his first Saxon campaign and the miraculous rain that followed⁵. In 774, according to the *Annales Laurissenses*, he temporarily abandoned the war that he had been waging against the Saxons and descended into Lom-

¹ See *Vita Karoli Magni* (written shortly after the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165), ed. Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen*, 1890, pp. 26 (iv), 37 (xv).

² Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1490.

³ See Bonincontro Morigia, *Chronicon Modoetiense*, R.I.S., XII, 1078: "Secunda corona in Modoëtia in nobiliori et sanctiori Oraculo totius Regni Lombardorum maxime pro iure ipsius Regni dato ab Apostolica Sede Imperatori, qui Oraculum aedificatus fuit a Sanctissima Theodelinda Longobardorum Regina per revelationem Divinam in honorem Dei et Beati Johannis Baptistae, in quo etiam Oraculo plurimi Longobardorum Reges coronati, alii ad Fidem conversi baptizati sunt et sepulti." See also Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1494; Galvaneo della Fiamma, col. 601 (cxxiv); Sigonio, *Historiae de Regno Italiae*, 1575, p. 185; Muratori, *Anecdota Latina*, 1697-1698, II, 267, 270, 280 ff; cf. K. Haase, *Die Königskrönungen in Oberitalien und die "eiserne" Krone*, 1901, pp. 77 ff.

⁴ See Jocundus, *Translatio S. Servatii*, M.G.H., XII, 96: (§ 14) — "Karolus... terram circuit universam, et quos Deo repugnare invenit, impugnabat, et quos Christo subdere non potuit verbo, subdidit ferro." See also for accounts of the campaigns of Charlemagne against the Saxons, Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, M.G.H., II, 446, 447 (37); Id., *Annales*, M.G.H., I, 157: *Annales Laurissenses*, *ibid.*, 156.

⁵ See Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen*, p. 74; *Annales Laurissenses*, I. c., 150 (an. 772); Einhard, *Annales*, I. c., 151 (an. 772).

bardy at the urgent request of Pope Hadrian I to aid the Church against the encroachments of Desiderius, the Lombard king¹. To his further campaigns in Italy against Rodgaud, Duke of Friuli, and the Lombards in other parts of Italy, including Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, who was aided by Byzantine forces, it seems probable that reference is made in the phrase "les mescreans crestiens que de Lombardie auront pris l'essamples." This explanation is especially plausible in the light of a passage in which Villani² sums up the conquests of Charlemagne in Italy after describing the defeat of Desiderius and the fall of the Lombard kingdom: —

Bene rimasero le schiatte de' signori e de' baroni e borghesi stratti di Longobardi ed in Lombardia e in Puglia... E giunto [Carlo Magno] in Roma, fu fatto patrice di Roma, e egli addirizzò lo stato di santa Chiesa e de' Romani e di tutta Italia, e rimise in loro franchigia e libertade, abbattute in tutte parti le forze dello 'mperadore di Constantinopoli, e del re de' Lombardi, e di loro seguaci... E nel regno di Puglia ebbe più battaglie contro a' Longobardi e ribelli di santa Chiesa, e assediò e distrusse la città di Lacedonia ch'è in Abruzzi tra l'Aquila e Sermona, e assediò e vinse Tuliverno il forte castello all'entrare di Terra di Lavoro, e più altre terre del regno che teneano i ribelli di santa Chiesa, e tutti gli sottomise a sua signoria.

The next few lines of the prophecy are in keeping with the character of Charlemagne as the exterminator of heresy, the valiant defender of the orthodox faith, and the establisher of peace, such as the *Vita Karoli Magni*³, for example, depicts him: —

Auctor vero pacis non solum extitit et eiusdem constantissimus conservator..., verum etiam orthodoxe fidei verus cultor et assertor, heresum pestibus contagium a terminis sue rei publice et ab unitate sancte dei exterminavit ecclesie... Iste est qui res a Longobardorum regibus ereptas Adriano sancte Romane ecclesie rectori restituit; iste est qui saxea Saxonum corda cultu ydolorum fedata tricesimo tercio demum anno una cum diversis aliis tribubus et populis orthodoxe fidei caractere insignivit.

The announcement that the Champion will defend the doctrine of

¹ M.G.H., I, 152 (an. 774); on the campaign against Desiderius see also *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 499; Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1494; Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, 1898-1901, II, 175 ff.

² II, xiii. For the campaign against Rodgaud see Einhard, *Annales*, M.G.H., I, 155 (an. 776); *Annales Laurissenses*, *ibid.*, 155 (an. 776); Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1502.

³ Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 (xi), 34 (xii); cf. pp. 45 ff (xviii ff.).

the Trinity and the sacraments of the Church may refer to nothing more definite than the events emphasized in the above passages or than the tenets that Charlemagne upheld in his *Capitularies*¹, but it probably contains a direct allusion to his active opposition to the heresy of adoptianism, which declared that Christ was *filius Dei adoptivus*, and to his condemnation of Eliphandus, its founder, and Bishop Felix of La Seo de Urgal, its advocate and leader².

The end of the prophecy leads us to well trodden ground in the expedition of Charlemagne to Jerusalem³, which, although it rests upon no historic foundation, is preserved in clerical records and is accorded a place in the chronicles beside his authentic campaigns in two forms, as a pilgrimage undertaken in quest of relics and as a crusade against the pagans. Of this latter type, which alone concerns us here, few traces exist before the end of the eleventh century, but from that period it is recognized among chroniclers as one of the most glorious exploits of Charlemagne, and after the fifteenth century was counted the first of the Crusades. To the form in which it appears in the prophecy a parallel is found in Villani. After the account of the Italian campaigns of Charlemagne already quoted he continues⁴:—

¹ For the relation of Charlemagne to the Church, his Capitularies, etc., see Mombert, *History of Charles the Great*, 1883, chapter xii.

² See Rauschen, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum, Continuatio Romana*, in *M.G.H., SS. Rerum Langobardicarum*, p. 202; *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum*, R.I.S., III, ii, 277; Hayet, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1880, p. 495; Mombert, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 ff.; Vétault, *Charlemagne*, 1877, pp. 319 ff.; Goyau, *Histoire religieuse* (Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation française*, VI), 1922, pp. 133 ff.

³ For discussions of this subject, in which most of the facts mentioned below are found with ample references, see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 1865, pp. 53 ff., 337 ff.; Lebeuf, *Histoire de l'Académie des inscriptions*, XXI, 136 ff.; Foncemagne, *ibid.*, 149 ff.; Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 9 ff.; J. Coulet, *Etudes sur l'ancien poème français du Voyage de Charlemagne en Orient*, 1907, pp. 72-108, et *passim*; Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, 1908-1913, IV, 121 ff., 456 ff.

⁴ II, xiii. Jacopo da Acqui, with whose account of Charlemagne the prophecy conforms in general outline, evidently knew both traditions of the journey to the Holy Land and was in more or less confusion as to their chronology:—(col. 1501) "Postquam Karolus tunc rex Francorum coronatus anno tertio sui regni, voluit visitare terram sanctam et sepulchrum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et cum maxima societate dominorum et dominarum omnia loca sancta Jesu Christi visitavit... et ibi per annos multos fuit. Tunc enim Christiani quasi totam terram sanctam possidebant, licet essent in continua pugna Sarraceni cum Christianis et maximi circha Antiochiam ubi praedictus rex Karolus magnus multum Sarracenos impugnavit et vicit et innumerabiles occidit et humiliavit." A few

E ciò fatto, lasciando Roma e tutta Italia in pacifico stato e sotto sua signoria, bene avventurosamente intese a perseguitare i Saracini ch'aveano occupato Proenza e Navarra e Spagna e colla forza de' suoi dodici baroni e peri di Francia, chiamati paladini, tutti gli conquisse e distrusse, e passò oltremare a richiesta dello 'mperadore Michele da Costantinopoli e del patriarca di Gerusalem, e conquistò la Terra Santa e Gerusalem che l'occupavano i Saracini, e acquistò all' 'mperadore di Costantinopoli tutto lo 'mperio di levante, il quale aveano occupato i Saracini e' Turchi.

Villani is only one of numerous sources that give some account, longer or shorter, of the crusade of Charlemagne to Jerusalem¹, but none antedating the prophecy connect the Venetians with the enterprise except the *Chronicon* of Benedetto di Sant' Andrea, a monk of Mt. Soracte, who toward the end of the tenth century produced his work, denounced by Gaston Paris as "un des plus pitoyables monuments de l'esprit humain", but boasting the distinction of containing the earliest extant narrative of the journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem. After giving a list of the victorious wars of the emperor, Benedetto adds²: — "Precepit rex fortissimus ut classes navigium Normanicum hedificantes, et navibus iuxta fluvium que de Gallia et de Germania septentrionalem, ut per omnes portus et flumina, ubicumque naves stationibus tali munitio precepit. Ut per mare Adriaticam in provincia Benetie congregare precepit. Deinde tota Italie tam Benetie quemque Quilegia (i. e., Aquileia) finibus, seu Ravenne, Ariminum, quamquam et Ancone civitatibus et cuncta litoris maris Adriatice, usque ad Traversus congregare iussit. Et cuncta maris

pages later, after describing the second campaign of Charlemagne in Lombardy and the final expulsion of the Saracens, Jacopo continues (cols. 1506, 1507): — "De hac materia diversi ystoriographi diversimode loquuntur, quia aliqui scribunt quod Karolus magnus bis ivit contra Sarracenos ultra mare, et aliqui dicunt quod non fuit nisi semel, sed misit gentem suam. Sed quomodo sit hoc Karolo magno accidit quando ivit contra Sarracenos super Antiochiam quia cum maximo exercitu ibat illuc... Et obsidentes Christiani Antiochiam de illa expulerunt Sarracenos... Et post hec Karolus magnus in Franciam revertitur, Sarracenis superatis et de Ytalia expulsis, et ibi requiescit per multos dies."

¹ See Bonincontro Morigia, *Chronicon Modoetiense*, R.I.S., XII, 1077; Dandolo, VII, xii, 19 (col. 146); Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-52; *Annales Marbacenses*, M.G. H., XVII, 149; for a list of further references to published and manuscript sources extending from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries see Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 15, note 25.

² *Histoire politique de Charlemagne*, p. 55.

³ M. G. H., III, 708 ff.

Terrine, Eugenia, Corsica, Sardinia, Pisani, Centucellensis, Rome, et quicquid Napulie finibus omnium navigarum multitudo collectum est ad Traversus, quantum deinceps usque in presentem diem invenire potuit." It is well known that Benedetto used the *Vita Karoli* of Einhard as his source, amplifying it by numerous details, which he invented or culled from current legend, his primary object being to commemorate the reputed translation of a relic of Sant' Andrea from Constantinople to the monastery on Mt. Soracte by Charlemagne. Among these details are the preparations of the emperor for his journey to the *Traversus* (evidently Brindisi) and his levy of ships from Venetia and other places. Benedetto further gives a list of the peoples whom Charlemagne sent by a bridge of boats from the *Traversus* to Greece *en route* for Jerusalem, and mentions among them the Franks and Lombards as well as various nations who may be said to correspond to the "pagans" of the prophecy¹. In these two respects, then, his version bears a resemblance to that of Merlin not shared by other early sources, but it has long been an open question how far Benedetto influenced the development of the Charlemagne legend, and even if we should be willing to grant that some elements of the prophecy are derived from his *Chronicon*, it is highly improbable that the part of the Bons Mariniers there would have been evolved from the mere fact that Venetia appears in Benedetto's list, where it is given no special prominence.

In a much later source, however, we have a curious passage that should at least be brought into connection, vague though that connection is, with our prophecy. This passage occurs in the *Storia della Repubblica Veneziana* of the sixteenth-century Venetian poet and chronicler, Andrea Navagiero, and contains an account of events in the early part of the reign of the Doge Pietro Tradonico, which Navagiero says began in the year 811². According to this narrative, the pagans having taken possession of all the Holy Land, the Patriarch of Jerusalem asked aid of the Emperor of Constantinople, who bade him address himself to King Charles of France. "Il qual Re mise insieme un' grand' esercito, e venne a Venezia, e tenne a Battesimo un figliuolo del Doge. E poi il detto Re Carlo

¹ P. 710: — "Jussit fieri pontus super mares multitudinem, omnes Francorum, et Saxonicum, et Baivarium, Aquitaniorum, Quassconicum, Pannoniorum, Avarrorum, Alamannium, Langobardarum, quorum gentes multitudo nullus potest capere, ante se exire praecepit."

² *R.I.S.*, XXIII, 946, 947.

con molti Veneziani passò in Levante, e si congiunse insieme colla gente dell' Imperadore di Costantinopoli. E in breve furono alle mani co' Saracini di modo che i nostri Cristiani furono rotti e sconfitti, e fu preso il detto Carlo Re di Francia. " When news of this disaster reached Venice, another expedition was sent out under Giovanni, the son of the Doge, which was ingloriously put to flight by the Saracens, who proceeded to overrun Apulia and then advanced to Rome. But God permitted a storm to arise in which most of them were drowned, and thus Rome was preserved. Pope Leo IV then despatched to the Holy Land a mighty army in Venetian, Genoese, and Pisan galleys, which took Jerusalem and all the country round, and rescued King Charles from his captivity.

In the chronology of this extraordinary story Navagiero is inaccurate. Pietro Tradonico, was elected doge, not in 811, but in 836. During his reign, which was of great importance to the Republic, Venice succeeded in establishing advantageous relations with the Western Empire under Lothaire, but she was chiefly occupied in endeavoring to hold in check the Narentine pirates from the Dalmatian coast, and at the request of the Greek emperor, Theophilus, in sending expeditions — on the whole, successfully — against the Saracens who were making depredations along the Mediterranean and Adriatic coasts, and who finally, after taking Messina, pressed on to Rome, which in 846 they entered and in part pillaged, robbing even the basilica of St. Peter of some of its richest treasures. Routed at last, they departed only to return in 849 with a large force, which in the harbor of Ostia met the combined fleets of Amalfi, Gaeta, and Naples, summoned by Pope Leo IV for the defence of Rome. But as they were about to join in battle a storm burst forth, miraculously, according to some sources, and sank or scattered the Saracen vessels. These are well attested facts, which with some divergencies are related in substantially the same form by many chroniclers¹, all of whom, not except-

¹ Dandolo, VIII, iv, 6 (cols. 175 ff.) ; Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, *Raccolta*, XXII, 116 ; *Annales Bertiniani*, *R.I.S.*, II, i, 531 ; Benedetto di Sant'Andrea, *M.G.H.*, III, 712, § 26 ; *Chronicon Casinense*, *ibid.*, 225, § 9 ; *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 99 ff., 104, note 38, 117 ff. ; Brown, *Venice*, pp. 47 ff. ; Hazlitt, I, 54 ff. ; Gibbon, ed. Bury, VI, 42, 43 ; Mann, II, 248 ff., 267 ff. ; Gregorovius, III, 87 ff. ; Romanin, I, 173 ff.

To the events of 849 Chapter cvi refers, although Merlin says nothing about the storm, but predicts that the Saracens (" une gent de Barbarie ") will be slain by the people of Rome. With this cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 118 : — " Deus enim omnipotens, pro certo credimus, hunc ex tesaurò suo produxerat ventum, qui eos ad nocen-

ing Venetian sources, are absolutely silent in regard to any expedition to Jerusalem undertaken either by King Charles the Bald, the reigning king of France at this time, or by the Venetians. Indeed in the early part of the reign of Tradonico, when Navagiero says that Charles was a prisoner in the Holy Land, the chroniclers prove an alibi for him, and show that he was engaged in wars with his brothers and in attending to the affairs of his realm, and, for example, that in the year 847 he was entreated by the Christians of Spain for aid against their Saracen oppressors¹. What are we to conclude except that all of Navagiero's story about "Re Carlo" and the Venetians is a tale without historical truth, grafted on to the facts mentioned in the rest of the passage that actually occurred while Tradonico was Doge. It is noticeable, however, that the circumstances under which according to Navagiero King Charles went to the Holy Land are precisely those that, as legendary sources aver, led Charlemagne to undertake his expedition²; and divergent though Navagiero's account of the fate of the king is from the accepted versions of Charlemagne's conquests in the Orient, he lays himself open to the charge of confusing the story of Charlemagne with the events of Tradonico's time³ and transferring it, with elaborations, to Charles le Chauve. An apposite parallel to this process is the transference of the part of Charlemagne in the legend of the Sudarium at Compiègne to Charles le Chauve, probably by the monks of Compiègne, whose abbey was founded by Charles⁴.

In the prophecy we may see the kernel of such a legend as appears to lie behind Navagiero's story, in which the Venetians accompanied Charlemagne to the Holy Land and there aided him in his exploits against the Saracens. Whether we are willing to accept the

dum minime permittebat exire... multosque postea, non tantum... maris profunditas, verum etiam famis et gladius indesinenter extinxit. Ex quibus per quasdam insulas nostras famis laborantes penuria plurimi a nostris hominibus interfecti sunt, ceteros autem vivos, causa veritatis ac testimonii, vivos comprehendentes, Romanam duxerunt. Quorum Romani proceres... multos in ligno suspendi iusserunt."

¹ *Annales Bertiniani* (one of the principal sources for the reign of Charles le Chauve), *R.I.S.*, II, 531; Dandolo, VIII, iv, 14, 19 (col. 177).

² See the passage from Villani, above, II, 102; Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., 141 ff.; Dandolo, VII, xii, 19 ff. (col. 146); Martinus, *Chronicon*, in *M.G.H.*, XXII, 461; Albericus Trium Fontium, p. 721; Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 19.

³ Charlemagne, it may be noted, was at one time imprisoned in Lombardy and rescued by his peers; see Jacopo da Acqui, cols. 1505, 1506; Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 150.

⁴ See Coulet, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff., 246 ff.

existence of this legend and its possible influence upon the prediction or not, we cannot but ask why Merlin emphasizes the part of the Bons Mariniers in the undertaking. The reason is evident when we recall that the tradition of the Carolingian crusade exemplifies in its association not only with other crusades, but also with many relics beside those on Mt. Soracte, the tendency of legend to add repute to its centre by drawing it into connection with a personality of established fame. Very similar forms of the story of Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem are told by other monkish chroniclers than Benedetto, who like him represent the most treasured relics of their respective monasteries and abbeys as gifts from the Holy Land presented to them by Charlemagne on his return from his victories over the pagans¹. His crusade also was brought into great prominence during the reign of Pope Urban II, when the effort to regain the Holy Sepulchre was receiving its first impetus, and when his stimulating example as a faithful son of the Church was cited as part of the propaganda disseminated by the Holy See throughout Europe. An enterprise that had for its precursor so revered a personage as he shone with reflected lustre, and the path to Jerusalem was glorified by the recollection that his illustrious feet had trodden it². The tradition behind our prophecy, which also seems to appear in a garbled and exaggerated form in Navagiero, serves to enhance the honor of the Doge of Venice and of Venetian galleys by connecting them with the holy war of the greatest champion that Christendom had ever known³. All the more readily, too, would this story have flourished in Venice during the thirteenth century, when the crusades in which Domenico Michiel and Enrico Dandolo had taken a distinguished part were in the Venetian historical background⁴. Venice, although untouched by the true crusading fervor, nevertheless, moved by her commercial interests and her insatiable desire for the relics of saints and for spoils from the East wherewith to

¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 179, 237 ff.

² See Lebeuf, *Histoire de l'Académie des inscriptions*, XXI, 140: Riant, *l.c.*, 15; Coulet, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-108. Cf. also the mediaeval tendency to claim for princes a descent from Charlemagne as for towns from Troy; Pietro da Eboli, *R.I.S., Raccolta*, XXXI, 52, note on vv. 312, 313.

³ An example of the same method is afforded by the statement of the Pisan historian, Roncioni (I, 39), that Charlemagne, desiring to curb the Saracens who were harassing the Mediterranean, appointed Bonifazio, a Pisan, his *ammiraglio*, in order that with the aid of the Pisan fleet he might inflict defeat upon them.

⁴ See below, pp. 85, 93 ff.

enrich her shrines¹, joined to a greater or less extent in all the principal crusades and was proud to remember that her galleys had transported the faithful to the Holy Land. "Veneti tamen in tempestatibus illorum temporum," Lorenzo de Monacis writes,² "numquam desisterunt succerrere terrae praedictae aut propriis personis et classibus, aut auxiliis, aut consiliis, aut concessionibus navi-giorum." This prophecy, in short, is one of those that can be best explained by presupposing a Venetian source³.

¹ See De Mas Latrie, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 406, note; Errera, *Archivio veneto*, XXXVIII, 238.

² P. 90; cf. pp. 81, 83, 85 ff.

³ It is not irrelevant here to notice another prophecy, which, however, has nothing to do with the Bons Mariniers. It occurs in Chapter cclii and consists in a comparison between "le fils Pepin" and "un champion," who will come four hundred and twenty years after him. The son of Pepin will take certain towns from the hands of the pagans, but the other champion will lead pagans into Italy and will found a great town where they will dwell. The son of Pepin will win honor, the other shame and a disgraceful death. The comparison is plainly between Charlemagne and Frederic II, who established a Saracen colony at Lucera (Nocera), and who died in contumacy. This explanation, which he who runs may read, is given in *Reg.* (cited above, I, 290, note 13), where it is evident that by "Mauscrois," Manfred, the son of Frederic, is meant (cf. the form used by Villani, Mausfrois), and by "Nochieriez," Lucera, also known as Noceria. See Villani, V, xiv; *Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis*, R.I.S., *Raccolta*, XII, 51, note 3; Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. ccclxxxi ff.; Salimbene, p. 477; *Annales Ianuenses*, M.G.H., XVIII, 264; *Annales Parmenses Maiores*, *ibid.*, 679; *Chronica Pontificum et Imperatorum Mantuana*, M.G.H., XXIV, 216.

A further prophecy in Chapter cccix also relates to Nocera. The name of the town appears as Mistere, Mischiere, but the reading of *M.*, Nuchere, Nuchiere, its marginal note, "de Nuceria," and especially the substance of the prophecy show that it has to do with Nocera. Merlin's statement that Rome will be so blind that she will allow the town to be established near her walls is explained by the story that Matthew Paris tells (*Chronica Maiora*, V, 473) of the reply of Frederic II to the remonstrances directed against the settlement, that in case of internal warfare he would rather have Saracens at hand to send against Christians than bid Christians shed Christian blood. "Et sic permisit eam ecclesia, adhuc sub dissimulatione." Under Frederic and his successors the colony grew to such proportions that in spite of the efforts of Pope Gregory IX to have friars preachers admitted there it remained predominantly pagan (Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, p. ccclxxxiii; R.I.S., III, 583; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, II, 68, 69) throughout the greater part of the thirteenth century, and a continual thorn in the flesh to the Holy See (cf. Matthew Paris, *l.c.*). Pope Alexander IV, accordingly, in 1254 sent an army against it, which when it had arrived under the walls did not dare attempt an entrance, but so impressed the inhabitants that they had not the courage to risk a sally; the army consequently departed without accomplishing anything (Matthew Paris, *l.c.* and pp. 497, 498). This expedition accounts for the references in the prophecy to the efforts for the destruction of the town made by the Pope a

One further point remains to be noted. A prediction originating in Methodius, and widely known in the West through the tractate by Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo*¹, had declared that immediately before the reign of the Antichrist should begin in Jerusalem, the last and greatest King of the Franks, who would also be the Emperor of Rome, would go to Jerusalem and on the Mount of Olives would lay down his crown and sceptre; thus would end the Roman Empire. The mediaeval interpretation of the prophecy applied it to Charlemagne². It is to be observed that the prediction of Merlin not only has no connection in material with this current prophecy but also differs widely from it in character, since while the latter remained without actual fulfilment, that of Merlin has a basis in historical fact and accepted legend.

II

LA SAINTE CITE DE JHERUSALEM

The principle exemplified in the prophecy about Charlemagne accounts for the part of the Bons Mariniers in another prediction³ which tells of a war, unprecedented in fury, that will arise "es parties

little before or a little after .m.ii. lxxiii. (an easy error for .m.ii. lxxiii.), when he will be at Aigeon, which *M* by its variant, Aigne, shows us is a rendering for Anagni, the frequent residence of the Popes in these years, and where Alexander IV spent the greater part of 1255 (see Potthast, II, 1309 ff.). The true vengeance of the Lord will come later, Merlin adds, referring under the figure of a sign of the Day of Judgment (see below, pp. 194, 197-200) to the harsh fate meted out to the town in 1269 by Charles of Anjou when after a long siege he forced the inhabitants, reduced by famine, to surrender: — "Rex autem evertit menia civitatis; et christianos rebelles, qui transfugerant ad Saracenos et persuasione sua eos firmaverant in pertinacia rebellandi, gladio interfecit. Illam vero multitudinem infidelium regalis providentia ita dividere procuravit quod audaciam resistendi penitus amiserunt. Quidam, autem, ex eis, errore infidelitatis relicto, baptismi gratiam humiliter receperunt" (*Annales S. Iustinae*, p. 192; see also *Annales Immuenses*, *M.G.H.*, XVIII, 264; *Chronicon Placentinum et Chronicon de rebus in Italia gestis*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, p. 293; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, III, 255). This event cannot be the destruction mentioned in the beginning of the prophecy, for at this time the papal throne was vacant. On the persistence of the Saracen power in Nocera see Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, p. cccxxxviii, and especially a ser of articles by Egidio, *Archivio storico per la provincia napoletana*, XXXVI-XXXIX.

¹ Col. 1295; see below, p. 193.

² See Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee*, pp. 33 ff., 40, 41; Taylor, *Political Prophecy*, pp. 35, 36.

³ Chapter LXVII.

de Jherusalem," which "cil d'Engleterre et avecques euls li Bons Mariniers" will end by the rescue of the Holy City from the pagans after it has been in their hands for nearly thirty years. When Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders in 1099, it had been held for three years by the Fatimites, who had recovered it in 1096 from the Seljukian Turks, in whose possession it had been since 1076¹. This brief period of the Fatimite rule is overlooked by some chroniclers, and Bernard le Tresorier and Guillaume de Tyr, the chief Latin authorities for the First Crusade, both state that the Turks after having had Jerusalem in their power for thirty-eight years were driven out by the victorious forces of Godfrey of Bouillon². It seems quite certain, therefore, that this prophecy foretells the First Crusade, although Merlin departs from the truth in affirming that the English and the Good Mariners will have the honor of rescuing the Holy City, for there was but a relatively small English contingent among the crusaders, and Robert of Normandy, who as son of William the Conqueror may be counted as "of England," certainly did not win all the honors of the victory³. As for the Venetians, although they decided to join in the crusade and distinguished themselves at the siege of Joppa, they did not arrive at Jerusalem until after the city was in the hands of the Christians and then entered its gates as pilgrims rather than as crusaders⁴; in short, among the Christian host, the English and Venetians had perhaps the least to do with the rescue of the Holy City.

Yet we find Andrea Morosini⁵, in order to exemplify the effective aid given by the Venetians in the capture of Jerusalem, citing a passage from the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Baldric, Archbishop of Dol (ob. 1130)⁶, which emphasizes the importance of maritime peoples — the English and Venetians among others — in the First Crusade : —

¹ Gibbon, ed. Bury, VI, 267, 319.

² Bernard Thesaurarius, *Historia de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, R.I.S., VII, 666; Guillaume de Tyr, *Recueil*, I, 21. Cf. the statement in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, I, 22 (also p. lxxxii, note 1), that the Turks had held Jerusalem for forty years when Godfrey took it.

³ See Gibbon, *l.c.*, 290, 305, 321 ff.

⁴ See Sanudo, R.I.S., XXII, 479 ff.; Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, pp. 81 ff.; Errera, *Archivio veneto*, XXXVIII, 242 ff.; Armingaud, *Venise et le Bas-Empire*, 1868, pp. 66 ff.

⁵ Pp. 12, 13.

⁶ See *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 89; cf. Gibbon, *l.c.*, p. 547.

Mentre gli altri Principi d'Occidente erano a quest'impresa nell'Asia passati, non volle la Repubblica di Venetia esser' esclusa dalle fatiche, dall' honore, e dal merito di tanta espeditione ; onde mandò opportuni soccorsi fin da principio, come viene attestato anco da esterni Historici, e in particolare dalli sotto scritti...

Baldricus Archiepiscopus Dolensis de *Historia Hierosolymitana* : Neque siquidem Angliam, vel alias maritimas insulas, licet a nobis undisoni maris abyssus ab orbe remotas, tonitruum istud latere potuit, immo Britannos, et Gascones, et extremos hominum Gallicos fama perneciter succrescens animavit et armavit. Veneti quoque, Pisani, et Ienuani, et qui vel Oceani, vel Maris Mediterranei littus incolebant, navibus onustis, armis, et hominibus, machinis, et victualibus mare sulcantes operuerunt, et qui terra ibant, universae terrae faciem tamquam locustae occuluerunt.

Even as Venetian pride speaks through these words of Morosini, so the part attributed to the Bons Mariniers in the prophecy centuries earlier is plainly an endeavor to connect the sons of Venice with the most glorious enterprise of the period that the prediction forecasts. This is by no means an unparalleled frame of mind. Felix Fabri, a Dominican monk of Ulm, who wrote toward the end of the fifteenth century, makes even more sweeping claims for his own countrymen among the crusaders who captured Jerusalem¹. "There are many histories," he says, "of this most glorious victory written in heroic style by exceeding learned and eloquent orators, both Italian, Greek, and French, each of whom claims the credit of it for his own nation. Now, forasmuch as no mention is made by them of the Germans, by whose valour, nevertheless, Godfrey did it all, Aeneas Sylvius the poet-laureate, in the speech which he addressed at Frankfort to the princes of Germany and the nobles of Suabia on the occasion of the Turkish invasion, spoke thus : 'I know,' said he, 'that Godfrey who was Duke of Lorraine, went through many kingdoms both by sea and by land, and set free the Lord's sepulchre from the Saracen yoke, having with him only the Germans who dwell beyond the Rhine, the Swabians, some Frenchmen, and a few Italians.' " Nor is there need to go further back than our own times for an illustration of the same spirit ; have we not all heard citizens of France, Great Britain, Italy, and America each in turn boast that his individual country played the most important part in winning the Allied victory over Germany in the Great War of 1914-1918 ?

¹ Felix Fabri, translated by Aubrey Stewart (Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, XI, 1892-1893), II, 309.

III

LES BONS MARINIERS ET LA GRANT PAIENIE DE .T.

The predictions concerning Charlemagne that we have examined above are immediately followed by a prophecy¹ that plainly announces the fall of Tyre in 1124, in spite of Merlin's chronology, which vaguely places it " a little after or a little before " the events of the year 800 that he has been foretelling : —

— Un pou apres ou avant aura este [une autre] ost dela la mer es parties de Jerusalem, dont il aura oste la sainte terre des mains as paiens, et la grant paienie que l'en appelle .T. Et ce [avera] fet li bons champions avecques li dus des Bons Mariniers ainsi comme vous aves oi ci devant. Mes li poiens auront recouvre une grant partie de ses villes et a celui point que Merlin en fit mencion sera destruite de rechief la grant [paienieme] presque toute, dont il ne recouvreront james... ce qu'il ont perdu par le champion de Gaule qui pres de trestous li mondes li touldra.

The expedition thus described was one of the most brilliant that Venice undertook in the Holy Land. In 1122 the kingdom of Jerusalem was seriously threatened by the Turks, into whose power Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, had fallen, and who were advancing upon the Holy City herself². In response to the entreaties of Baldwin and also of the Pope the Venetians, led by the Doge Domenico Michiel in person, engaged in a crusade for the relief of the Holy Land. The culmination of their successes was reached in the siege and capture of Tyre, of which, according to previous agreement, they received a third part. This crusade not only gave a definite check to the advances of the infidels and preserved the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, but it also marked a highly important point in the expansion of Venice³, and brought eternal honor to the Doge, which remained recorded on his tomb in S. Giorgio Maggiore. " E questo è il suo Breve, " says Sanudo,

"Tyrum cum Syria, praesens tibi, Christe, redemi⁴. "

¹ Chapter CLXXV.

² See Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 486 ; Lorenzo de Monacis, p. 85.

³ See Brown, *Venice*, pp. 91, 92 ; Armingaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ For accounts of this expedition and siege see Sanudo, *l. c.*; *Annales Venetici Breves*, p. 71 ; *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, M.G.H., XIV, 73, 74 ; Dandolo, cols. 269 ff. ; Guillaume de Tyr, *Recueil*, XII, xxii-xxiv ; XIII, xiv ; Bernardus Thesaurarius, *R.I.S.*, VII, 757 ff. ; Ricobaldo Ferrarese, *Istoria imperials*, *R.I.S.*, IX, 344 ff. ; Morosini, pp. 28 ff., 50 ff.

The successes of Domenico Michiel are treated by the chroniclers almost as a part of the First Crusade, certainly as an immediate sequel to it, and in the prophecy the two expeditions are evidently run together in the same way, and their leaders, Godfrey of Bouillon, "li bons champions" under whom Jerusalem was taken, and Domenico Michiel, "li dus des Bons Mariniers," the victor of Tyre, associated in the prediction. "Ainsi com vos aves oi ci devant" is a phrase that is explained by nothing that has previously appeared in our version of the *Prophecies*; but in a portion of 1498 which we are not without ground for supposing may have formed part of our early version *X*¹, there is a passage which may perhaps refer to the Venetian success at Tyre and its advantageous results to the state²: "ilz (i. e, les Bons Mariniers) s'en iroent avec ung champion es parties de Jerusalem et feront un tal service a sainte eglise comme ilz auront fait par mainteffois, et des lors an avant seront ilz redoubtez et crains par tout le monde."

IV

L'EMPEREUR DE ROME QUI S'EN IRA ES PARTIES DE JHERUSALEM

Four of the prophecies refer to the part of Frederic Barbarossa in the Third Crusade. In the first of these³ Merlin predicts that in the year 600 "un buisart nestra en [Sesile] qui cuidera estre uns fauconcel et voudra voler jusques en Jerusalem, mes en son voler li faudront elles, dont il noiera en mer tres devant Sur, et avecques lui tous ses amis." In the second⁴ Merlin bids Maistre Antoine write that "de toutes les gens qui seront aveques l'empereur de [la] la mer en pelerinage n'en retournera nus james arrieres... car il auront grans destorbiers. Mes avant que il muient [vengeront] il leur mort si cruelment que toute la [paiemine] en ara ases a soustenir." The third reference⁵ is more specific. In the year 1152 "s'en iroent unes grans gens as parties de Jerusalem ou il seront occis presque tuit"; these people, Merlin continues, "seront d'Alemaigne et voirement aura il asses d'autres parties de la crestiente." The fourth allusion⁶ is a casual announcement from Merlin that

¹ See below, pp. 305-314.

² See I, 466 (fol. 9c).

³ Chapter xc.

⁴ Chapter xciii.

⁵ Chapter cxiv.

⁶ Chapter cxxxvii, (I, 185).

his former scribe, Maistre Tholomer "est morz et avoeclui l'empeur de Rome, et touz ceus de dela la mer es parties de Jherusalem," which evidently refers to the same disaster.

Briefly the familiar historical facts which explain these prophecies are that Frederic I, crowned emperor of Rome in 1155, engaged in 1189 with Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip II of France in the ill-fated Third Crusade. Unlike the English and French leaders, who went by sea, Frederic followed an overland route with his force of German soldiers and many attendant pilgrims¹, in a course which was marked by fierce battles with attacking Turks and beset by hardships and innumerable disasters, culminating in the death of the Emperor himself, who was drowned as he was crossing, or bathing in, the river Saleph (or Calycadnus), a small stream not far from Seleucia on the confines of Syria².

After his death a pestilence at Antioch swept away the comparatively small remnant of his followers, and their practical annihilation was soon completed at the siege of Acre, in which the few who had survived took part under the son of Frederic, the Duke of Suevia, who fell there. "Sicque expeditio illa terminata est, ut quasi fere adnichilata videretur," are the words with which Arnold of Lübeck concludes his account of this disastrous crusade³.

This mere outline of events clarifies the prophecies with the exception of the first; and this also applies in the main, though with inaccuracies, to Frederic Barbarossa. According to one tradition Frederic was buried at Tyre (Sur)⁴, and under its influence the author of the prophecy places the scene of his death "tres devant Sur." The sources agree that the emperor alone was drown-

¹ On the reputed size of the expedition, see Gibbon, ed. Bury, VI, 339, especially note 15.

² See *ibid.*, 345, note 30.

³ *Chronicon Slavorum*, M.G.H., XXI, 175. For accounts of the crusade which dwell on the disasters see l. c., and p. 173; *L'Estoire de Eracles Empeour*, *Recueil*, II, 138, 139, 141 ff.; Anonymus Rhenanus, *Historia et Gesta Ducis Gothfridi*, *Recueil*, V, 523; Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1561; Tegenio, *Descriptio Expeditionis Asiaticae contra Turcos Friderici Imperatoris*, in Marquard Freher, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, 1717, I, 407-416.

⁴ For this form, Sur, see, e.g., Guillaume de Tyr, *Recueil*, *passim*; Arnold of Lübeck, *op. cit.*, p. 167, l. 23.

According to the usual tradition Antioch was the place of interment; according to another, Tarsus, and to another, Tyre, probably because of a confusion between Tyrus and Tursa, the vulgar form for Tarsus (cf. *Neues Archiv*, XXIX, 222 ff.), which from its locality was a more natural place for the burial than the distant Tyre; according to still another tradition the vital organs were buried in Antioch

ed, but Merlin's prediction that with him "ses amis" will likewise perish, although not literally true, refers to the common destruction that awaited the crusaders as well as their leaders. Their fate is described in similarly inclusive terms in the *Annales Venetici Breves*¹: "Anno domini millesimo centesimo octuagesimo octavo quidam Turcus nomine Salidinus cepit Sanctum Sepulchrum et Acaron et multas alias civitates. Unde Fridericus imperator Romanorum exivit contra eum cum plus quam centum milia hominum; et fuerunt ex ipsis nobiles milites quadraginta milia; et obiit imperator cum suo exercitu." The prophecy so plainly refers to Barbarossa that we have no hesitation in recognizing the statement that it concerns a "buisart qui naistra en Sesile" as a blunder. This may conceivably be due to the use of the initial letter, S, in our archetype, for Suevia, the birthplace of Barbarossa, which might have been expanded incorrectly into Sesile because of a confusion between Frederic I and Frederic II, who although born at Iesi, held the throne of Sicily by right of inheritance and was completely identified with the kingdom².

Two points should especially be noted in connection with this prophecy. Like that relating to Provenzano Salvani³, it embodies one that was already known, the prediction of a fate announced to Frederic, who selected his route, according to some chroniclers, in order to avoid a death by drowning, which he had learned from astrologers was in store for him⁴. The second point to be observed is that the two details in which the prophecy varies from the

and the bones at Tarsus or Tyre. See Struve, *Corpus Historiae Germanicae*, 1730, I. 415, notes 94, 95; Pietro da Eboli, *De Rebus Siculis Carmen*, R.I.S., *Raccolta*, XXXI, Tavola xiii, facing p. 51; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed Reynaud, 1887, p. 4 (§ 4); Salimbene, p. 13; Roger de Hoveden, *Chronicon Terrae Sanctae*, ed. W. Stubbs, 1868, II, 359.

¹ P. 72.

² Imperial panegyrists had the habit of claiming that the rights of their sovereigns over Apulia and Sicily extended in a direct line back to Charlemagne. Pietro da Eboli, (*op. cit.*, p. 51, vv. 310, 311) in his eulogy of Henry IV, the son of Frederic, attributes to his father rights over the kingdom of Sicily:—

Hoc avus, hoc proavus quandoque dedere tributis,
Que pater a Siculis regibus ipse tulit.

Cf. Méneestrel de Reims, § 214, where Frederic II is called "l'enfant de Pouille." Thus Frederic I might easily in the veiled language of prophecy have been said to be from Sicily.

³ See above, II, 19.

⁴ See Jacopo da Acqui, cols. 1561, 1567.

more ordinary versions of the Emperor's death, are both found in Venetian sources, — one, as we have seen in the *Annales Venetici Breves*, and the other, that of the Emperor's burial at Tyre, in Dandolo¹. This latter fact accordingly points to the author's acquaintance with Venetian material.

It should also be noted that the Third Crusade, which thus receives especial mention in the *Prophecies*, was one in which the Venetians took part, and in which their chroniclers represent them as important. The passage already quoted from the *Annales Venetici Breves* continues after the mention of the death of Frederic and his host: — “ Et Venetici cum magno navigio et milites et magna multitudo populorum ivit in adiutorium Sancti Sepulcri ”; and Marin Sanudo² emphasizes the importance of the Venetian galleys to the Christian princes who were about to undertake the crusade: —

In questo tempo (1188) il Soldano Saladino prese molte Terre verso Gerusalemme, possedute pe' Cristiani in Terra Santa. E prese il Re Balduino, e fece grandissimi danni a Cristiani e prese Gerusalemme..... I Principi Cristiani deliberarono di fare stuolo, e d'andar di nuovo a ricuperazione della detta Terra Santa. E mandarono a richiedere il Doge e il Comune di Venezia, il quale avea una potente armata sul mare, che volesse mandare la detta armata in questa Crociata, insieme con quella de' Pisani. E così parve a' Veneziani, come Cattolici, di lasciare l'impresa di Zara, e attendere a questa buona e santissima opera. E a questa Crociata, siccome ho letto in più Cronace e Storie, andò Federigo Barbarossa Imperadore de' Romani, Filippo Re di Francia, Ricardo Re di Britannia, Ottone Duca di Borgogna, et molti Vescovi e Signori d'Italia.

These recurring allusions to the Third Crusade are, accordingly, again an indication of Venetian influence in the *Prophecies*.

V

L'ESPEE QUI DESCENDRA OU CHAMP DE BURTUMBLE

Still another prophecy³, in which, however, the *Bons Mariniers* are not mentioned, shows the author's familiarity with events in

¹ X, ii, 26 (col. 314): — “ corpus autem Imperatoris, disponente filio, in Tyro sepelitur. ” There is, of course, no intention of implying that this is an exclusively Venetian tradition. See above, II, 87, note 4.

² *R.I.S.*, XXII, 525 ff. See also Dandolo, X, ii, 22 (col. 313).

³ Chapter CLXII.

the Third Crusade. This prediction foretells one of the famous exploits of Richard Cœur de Lion. A sword will descend from heaven on the field of Burtumble¹, a place near Jerusalem, among two hundred thousand pagans, whose heads it will cut off "aussi legierement comme se il fussent trestuit fes de noif jelee... Cele espee trenchera les testes a tous ceus qui en cele place seront; ja n'en eschapera pies." An angel will seize the sword and from a pinnacle of the temple of Jerusalem will cry aloud to all in the city that such justice awaits them as has overtaken the pagans on the field of Burtumble.

In 1192 the crusaders under Richard I were advancing toward Jerusalem, which was in the hands of Saladin, and had encamped near Emmaus, at Beit-Nouba (in occidental sources, Betenoble, Bethonoble, Betonoble, Bethenopolis), some ten miles north-west of the Holy City, when they learned that a large caravan was about to pass, on its way to Jerusalem with supplies for Saladin. Richard sallied forth with his followers to intercept it, and in a furious battle took possession of the camels and the provisions. An animated and gruesome description of this engagement is contained in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*², one of our most detailed contemporary sources for the Crusade: —

Ibi caedes renovantur, coelum Marte tonat, gladiis scintillantibus splendescit aer; madet humus cruore, tinnunt arma armis collisa, membratim laniantur cadavera; sparsim jacent abscissa brachia, manus, pedes et capita... Rex autem Ricardus, flos virtutis et vertex militiae, universis eminentius omne tulit punctum, a cuius virtute laus omnis inferior est.... Ibi retunsa est prorsus Turcorum superbia, et fastus abolitus, et audacia repressa; ibi carvanna potenter a nostris est mancipata.

This exploit, upon which great emphasis is laid by the chroniclers, had a determining influence upon the course of events, for the acquisition of supplies encouraged one part of the crusaders

¹ That this name has many variants may be seen from the index.

² VI, iii ff. (pp. 389, 390). On the authorship of this work see the Introduction to Stubbs's edition; Gibbon, *l. c.*, p. 367, note 89, 549. For this famous raid by Richard see also the *Itinerarium*, p. 383, note 1; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, II, 383; Ralph of Coggeshale, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, 1875, pp. 39 ff; Sanudo, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, p. 199; Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 1123; Behâ ed-Din, *Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie du Sultan Yousouf*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, III, 306-315, a contemporary Arabic account, which greatly minimizes the carnage.

There is a faint echo of these historical facts in Episode 14, summarized I, 412

to advocate pressing on to the walls of Jerusalem itself, while the others opposed the plan, and the dissension thus created in the camp led to the retreat of the Christians to Jaffa. When the loss of the caravan and the probable advance of the Crusaders was reported in Jerusalem a panic ensued, and the Saracens fled in terror from its walls leaving it without defenders¹.

The application of the prophecy to these events is clear. Richard, or more probably the divine justice of which he is the instrument, is the Sword from heaven that will work the dire carnage at Bur-tumble, and the terrifying visit of the angel to the inhabitants of Jerusalem is a prophetic device for foretelling the panic that arose in the Holy City. But in the prediction a few obscure lines are inserted relating to the king, "qui a celui tens sera en Jerusalem," and who will be "a grant meschief." "Sa foi ne sera empirie... mes les fois des autres qui seront avecques lui a celui tens ne seront pas vraies, ains seront aussi comme les feuilles des arbres." The only King of Jerusalem to whom these words are at all applicable is Guy of Lusignan, a prince of weak and ignoble character, who was raised to the throne by his wife, Sybilla, who had inherited it from her father, Baldwin IV. According to the Latin chroniclers the barons of the kingdom, notably Count Raimond of Tripoli, instigated by jealousy of his rank, betrayed him and his forces into the hands of Saladin at the battle of Tiberias. As this occurred in 1187, if the prophecy is interpreted as referring to Guy, the words "a celui tens" are only approximately correct. The battle of Tiberias, however, opened the road to Jerusalem to Saladin, and the wretched plight of the Christians in consequence of his successes there induced Richard I to undertake the crusade against him².

On the other hand Saladin might be designated as "the king in

¹ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, V, 50 (p. 370); Jacobus de Vitriaco, col. 1123, and the passage from Bohadin cited below, p. 92.

² For the above facts see Bernardus Thesaurarius, *R.I.S.*, VII, 783 ff.; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. De Mas Latrie, 1871, pp. 158-171; Ralph of Coggeshale, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. cit., p. 21; Gibbon, *l. c.*, 357, 358. By the Ménestrel de Reims, who however is too much in the habit of embroidering his material to be regarded as a source for authentic tradition (see *ed. cit.*, p. viii) Guy is represented in a more praiseworthy light than by the chroniclers and one that is more in accord with the tone of Merlin's prediction. See §§ 28-51, and cf., e.g., the words of Guy when he is taken prisoner by Saladin (§ 44): — "Et quant li rois Guis perçut la traison de ses barons, si ot au cuer mout grant angoisse et dist: Ha biaux sire Dieus, je sui tes serjanz, et sui ci pour ta besoingne et pour la crestienteï deffendre.

Jerusalem," and since there is a tradition in numerous French and Italian sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries¹ that he desired to become a Christian, the emphasis laid upon the faith of the king in the prophecy is not an insuperable barrier to interpreting it as referring to Saladin. Moreover a vivid reminder of the conditions that Merlin foretells is found in the contemporary biography of Saladin by Bohadin, who testifies to the Sultan's faith in God by an account of his conduct when the news of Richard's success and threatened attack upon Jerusalem reached the city². The emirs, who had at first volunteered to stay in Jerusalem but had advised Saladin not to imperil his person by doing so, later sent him word that they would leave unless his brother or son remained with them. "Sentant que par cette communication ils indiquaient bien leur intention de ne pas rester dans la ville, il en eut un serrement de cœur et ne sut quel parti prendre. Cette même nuit... j'étais de service dans sa chambre, devant y rester depuis le soir jusqu'au point de jour. C'était dans la saison des pluies et personne autre que Dieu ne se trouvait en tiers avec nous. Nous faisons des projets, et de chaque projet, nous discussions les conséquences, mais à la fin j'eus pitié de lui, le voyant accablé de désespoir, et je commençai à craindre pour sa santé." In the morning Bohadin admonished the Sultan to seek help from God, and bade him go to the Mosque of Omar and offer the following prayer: — "O mon Dieu ! tous les moyens terrestres que j'ai pu employer pour la défense de la religion me font maintenant défaut. Il ne me reste qu'à chercher un appui en toi, à me mettre sous ta protection et à me fier à ta bonté. C'est sur toi seul que je compte et tu es le meilleur des gardiens³." At evening news came that there was restlessness in the Christian camp, the next day that there was dissension, and two days later that the army had departed for Ramleh. "Ce fut là un des résultats de la grande confiance que le sultan avait mise en Dieu." This is certainly a story of a "king," who was in Jerusalem when Richard descended on Beit-Nouba, who was in great distress, and whose faith in God shines by contrast with the conduct of the emirs who were in the city with him. In other words it to a great extent meets the terms of

Sire, aide nous ainsi que tu sez que mestiers nous est ; car je sai bien que tuit mi baron m'ont trai. "

¹ See G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1893, pp. 289 ff.

² See Behâ ed-Din (Arabic text with French translation), *l. c.*, III, 7 ff., 306 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 12-14.

the prophecy. But the story of Bohadin is not told in Latin sources, and we should more naturally look for a reference to Guy de Lusignan and his barons in the *Prophecies* than for an obscure allusion to it¹.

VI

LES BONS MARINIERS ET LES PELERINS

The part of the Venetians in the Fourth Crusade is familiar to us all, — their bargain to supply the crusaders with a fleet of galleys in return for 85,000 marks and half the spoils of conquest, their diversion of the expedition to the coveted port of Zara, their ready consent to its further diversion to Constantinople for the purpose of reinstating the young Alexis on the throne of which he had been wrongfully deprived, their achievements in bringing about the fall of Constantinople, and their occupation of the Morea². To this crusade³ the following prophecy refers : —

Or vueil je que tu metes en escrit, fet Merlin, que les Bons Mariniers par le commandement de l'apostoille de Rome conduiront les pelerins de la mer es parties de Jerusalem, et il prendront [les terres] entrevoies qui auront este encontre sainte crestiente, et seront departies entr'eus. Mes il avendra avant que il aient lors guerres achevees que li fuis as pelerins les v[ou]dront chacier de leur parties et seront si avuegle que il ne verront goutte que sans les Bons Mariniers ne pourront il demorer illec. Mes je vueil que un et autre le

¹ In Chapter ccxviii there is a prophecy relating to a certain King Hernaus d'Engleterre, who will also go to Burtumble, where ill will betide him. I know of no historical events that explain this prophecy to my satisfaction. The predicted expedition is probably a fabulous crusade such as is reported occasionally by chroniclers (see Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 47, 48), or as romantic as, for example, that of Archimais recounted above in Episode 14 (I, 412).

There is another confused crusading prophecy in Chapter lxx, where the texts are evidently corrupt, and which is most intelligible in the readings of 98. It contains a reminder of a Carmelite prediction that was promulgated in southern Italy about 1227, which foretold the coming of a king of France, who would cross the sea to the Holy Land with the Pope and rescue Jerusalem from the infidels, and which distinctly belongs to the class of prophecy produced by the wish that is father to the thought; see for a documented discussion of the Carmelite prediction, Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiserideen*, pp. 34-36, 94.

² For accounts of the crusade, see, e.g., Gibbon, *l. c.*, 393 ff.; L. Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge : Les Croisades*, 1907, pp. 150 ff.; Brown, *Venice*, pp. 116-139.

³ Chapter cclxxviii

sachent que il furent estrait de celui sanc de Troie qui james ne sera mis a honte.

The application of the prophecy becomes still clearer when we take up the details in the light of other sources. By "les terres qui auront este encontre sainte crestiente" Constantinople and the Morea are to be understood. Zara was a child of the Church, and fearing an attack from Venice, even before the Crusade, she had put herself under papal protection by obtaining from the Holy See a promise to excommunicate any people who should make war upon her; it was therefore only by a special dispensation from Rome that the Crusaders received absolution for having taken the city¹. The Greeks, on the other hand, though Christians, were considered little better than pagans by the adherents of the papacy because of their doctrine in regard to the Trinity. If we turn for a moment to the prophecy in Chapter ccc, we find an example of the sentiment that considered the fall of Constantinople and the fires that ravaged it in 1203² as a just punishment of the Greek church for the dogma that the Holy Spirit proceeds, not from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone. The Saviour will count the Greeks his enemies, Merlin declares. "Il diront une malvese parole qui ne doit mie estre oubliee que il diront encontre la Trinite... Il diront apertement que li Sains Esperis n'appartient de riens au Fius, mes seulement au Pere, dont la vengeance en sera fete desus la mestre cite de Grece, qui jadis fist Constantin³." How closely this heresy was identified with the Greek church and how clearly

¹ See Robert de Clary, *La prise de Constantinople*, in Hopf, pp. 10, 11.

² See Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea*, 1907, I, chapter i; Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 1886, pp. 327, 351.

To this same event the mysterious and figurative prophecy in Chapter lxxx probably refers. The text of *V* (fol. 64b) is rather clearer than the French: — "Or meti in scritto, disse Merlino, che avanti che quella cosa che gia de naser nele parte de Hierusalem havera .m.cc.i. anni ussira uno vento che se metera nel mare e far a ritornar l'aqua indrieto si marvigliosamente che tuti quelli di quelle provincie si crederano morir da quello oribil vento. El quale se distendera dinanci la grande cita da Constantino imperator, onde io voglio che meti in scripto che .xl. di e .xl. nocte durera quello vento in mar onde molta gente ne morira per que[st]o e la magior parte morira per paura di quel vento che sera tanto aspro e oribile che grande maraviglia sera. — Or die, Merlino, disse Maestro Antonio, sera quel vento in altre parte del mondo? — No, disse Merlino, ma sera solamente in quella parte ch'io te dico." Cf. Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, p. 135; Martino da Canale, I, xlv (p. 328).

³ Cf. the mention of the Greeks in Chapter cxcix: — "les Griffons font encontre toutes lois et toutes lois feront encontre eus."

it was recognized to be one of the principal reasons for the division between the Eastern and Western Churches is illustrated among innumerable examples by the story of the representatives sent to the Council of Lyons by Michael Paleologus, which is told by Marin Sanudo Torsello¹, as well as other chroniclers : —

L'Imperator Sior Michieli Paleologo... tentò con ogni modo possibile aver la grazia e favor della Iclesia Romana e fece batter, ferir e distrugger molti suoi Calogeri Grechi e Prelati e molti con amorevolezza e lusinghe indusse a contentar de mandar lor solenni Ambasciatori al Concilio di Lion nel tempo della felice memoria di Papa Gregorio Placentino..... In quel Concilio furono accettati tutti li Ambasciatori de Greci e de Sior Michiel Paleologo, come quelli, che giurorono li Commandamenti della Santa Chiesa di Dio e cantarono in quel Concilio ad alta voce, *Qui a Patre Filioque procedit*, come si contiene nel Simbolo delli Apostoli, come diè far ciascun Fidel e Catoloco Cristiano, per nome del detto imperatore, e del Patriarca e d'altri Greci.

It was highly important for the Crusaders as a justification of their questionable act in diverting the Crusade from the Holy Land to Constantinople to emphasize the heretical position of the Greeks, and the approval of the Pope which they declared that they had received², and we find that Da Canale and the *Chronique de Morée* lay stress on these two points as an endorsement of the expedition to Constantinople. Da Canale represents the long stay at Zara as due to no lack of zeal on the part of the Crusaders, but merely to the severity of the season³, and the change of goal to Constantinople as the result of a direct command of the Pope, whose sympathy had been stirred in behalf of Alexis⁴. The *Chronique de Morée* illustrates even more clearly Merlin's point of view. After giving practically the same story as that contained in the passages from Da Canale cited above, it relates⁵ that the Pope

¹ *Istoria di Romania*, p. 135.

² Cf. *Chronique de Morée*, p. xxxv ; Streit, *Archivio veneto*, XV, 46 ff., 239 ff. ; Cerone, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 57 ff., 287 ff., especially 291 ; Pears, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff., and chapter xi. On the age-long character of the Venetian excuse cf. Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, 1915, p. 207.

³ I, xl (p. 324) : — " Iluec selornerent il tot celui yver ; que la mer estoit si corocoe que il ne porent passer la mer. "

⁴ I, xlii (p. 324). When the Doge has called together the barons of France and the Venetian nobles and told them of the message of the Pope, " Seignors, fait li Dus, li mandement de l'Apostole ne doit nus refuser, come de pere esperitel, ains le doivent trestuit obeir dou tot. Je vos lo que il soit fait tot enci com il nos amende. Et il s'accordent tuit debonairement. " ⁵ § 33.

sent a cardinal as his messenger to Zara to present the cause of Alexis to the Venetians : —

Et leur monstra comment le voiage de Constantinople seroit plus honorable et plus pourfitable que celui de Jherusalem, pour ce que les Grez estoient crestiens, et, pour aucun errur qui estoit en eaux, si estoient rebelles et ne vouloient recevoir les sacremens de la sainte Eglise de Rome; et qu'il valoit mieulx de recovrer et convertir les Grecs et remettre a la obediencie de la sainte Eglise puis que lor seignor le promettoit a faire, que aler cerchant ce que il ne savoient ad quel fin il pourroient venir. Et après, si lez absoloit de paine et de coulpe, autant comme se il moroient a la guerre des Sarrasins pour delivrer le Saint Sepulcre de Jhesuz Crist de leur seignorie.

The division of the lands that have been opposed to Christianity between the Bons Mariniers and the "pelerins" refers, it is scarcely necessary to say, to the famous partition of the Empire among the Crusaders after the taking of Constantinople, by which a fourth part of the Byzantine domains was assigned as the Latin kingdom of Romania to Baldwin of Flanders, who was elected Emperor of the East, while the remaining three-fourths were divided between the Crusaders under Boniface of Montferrat and the Venetians¹. To this partition a prophecy in Chapter CLXXVI also appears to refer in spite of a difficulty in the date: "Li champion au chief d'or dourra au duc des Bons Mariniers tous les rivages de la mer ou il aura la saingnorie. Et se savoir voules quant ce sera, je vous di que ce sera au tens que la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jherusalem aura mil.^ciii.lxii.ans, et en la sainte cite de Jerusalem sera anfois l'empereur et li dus, qui endeus morront en .i. este." Venice by the treaty of partition took pains to secure the choicest islands — Aegina, Salamis, Andros, Corfù, Cephalonia, Zante, and many others — and the most desirable harbors. "Et lors fu esleus," Da Canale says², "li Cuens de Flandre Enpereor de Constantinople; et a Monseignor li Dus en fu done la carte part et la moitie de l'autre cartier de trestot l'empire de Costantinople; et ot en sa partie li patriarchat, et tot li port et la mer, et en seche tere maint biaux leus; et fu apele sire de sa partie." By this addi-

¹ For the treaty of partition in its preliminary and final forms see Dandolo, X, iii, 33 (cols. 326 ff.); Tafel und Thomas, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II, Bd. XII, 468 ff.; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 1908, pp. 27 ff.; Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo*, 1915, p. 36; Rodd, *op. cit.*, I, chapter ii.

² I, liv (p. 328); see §§ lvii ff. for a list of the lands acquired by the Doga.

tion to Venetian possessions the Doge acquired a new and prouder title: — "E il nostro Doge acquistò il titolo appresso quello, che usava di *Venetiarum, Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, di *Dominus quartae partis cum Dimidio totius Imperii Romaniae*. Il qual titolo si usò fino al Doge Giovanni Dolfino," Sanudo says¹. By the "champion au chief d'or," then, we may understand the Emperor Baldwin, by the "duc des Bons Mariniers," the Doge Enrico Dandolo. The Doge died in June, 1205; in the preceding April, the Emperor Baldwin in a campaign against Johannis, or Calo-John, the ruler of the Bulgarians and Walachians, was taken prisoner before Adrianople, and although according to some sources his subsequent fate remained in doubt, according to others he did not long survive his capture². Thus the Doge and the Emperor might be said to have died in the same summer. But the death and burial of neither of them took place in Jerusalem, for Baldwin disappeared from men's knowledge in Bulgaria, and Dandolo died in Constantinople and was buried in St. Sophia³. The last sentence of the prophecy is inaccurate, if the rest refers to Baldwin and Dandolo, who are certainly the nearest historical parallels to the figures in it. The discrepancy in date is, as we have seen in many other instances, negligible.

It is also necessary to account for the conclusion of the prophecy — the statement that the "fius as pelerins" will seek to drive the Bons Mariniers from their districts, not perceiving that without their aid they themselves cannot remain there. This may possibly be an inclusive reference to the disagreements that not infrequently arose between the Venetians and the Frankish Crusaders, who are distinguished from the Venetians in some of the chronicles as "li pelerins"⁴, and to the indispensable services of the Venetians to the Crusaders not merely in transportation but after disem-

¹ *R.I.S.*, XXII, 529; cf. Romanin, II, 184, 185.

² For a discussion of the fate of the Emperor see Gibbon, ed. Bury, VI, 444; Du Cange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople*, ed. Buchon, 1826, I, 69 ff., 80. For the death of Baldwin see *Gesta Innocentis III*, *R.I.S.*, III, 550 (cix); Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, p. 141; Albericus Trium Fontium, p. 885; *Cronaca di Morea*, Hopf, p. 421. *L'estoire d'Eracles (Recueil)*, II, 283, 285) states that the Emperor was put to death in Thessaly in 1205, but later (p. 288) it is said that nothing certain is known of his fate; cf. note 4 on the same page.

³ See Da Canale, I, clxi (p. 345); Dandolo, X, iii, 47 (col. 333); Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 535.

⁴ Robert de Clary, *ed. cit.*, p. 38: — "il parlerent ensanle li pelerin et li Venicien"; p. 56: — "li pelerin et li Venicien eurent leur nes... atornes"; p. 64: — "x. chevaliers haus hommes des pelerins et x. Veneciens"; *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, Hopf,

barkment¹. Far more probably, however, it refers definitely to the war that for twelve years, from 1256 to 1268, was waged between the Venetians and Guillaume de Villehardouin, the ambitious son of Geoffroi de Villehardouin, who joined the Fourth Crusade with its celebrated chronicler, his uncle, the Maréchal de Champagne², distinguished himself as a successful conqueror during the Frankish occupation of the Morea, and became Prince of Achaia in 1270. When Guillaume inherited the principality in 1246, one of his first exploits was the subjugation of Monemvasia and Nauplia, both of which still remained powerful strongholds of the Greeks. For these enterprises the Venetians supplied him with four armed galleys, and their aid was, according to the *Chronique de Morée*³, absolutely essential to him : —

Et quant li bons princes... vit et sot que ces .iii.⁴ fortresses empeschoient la seignorie de son pays, si se porpensa comment et en quel maniere il les porroit prendre. Si coignut que, se il n'avoit vassiaux par mer, que aultrement ne porroit venir a son entendement. Lors envoya messages au duc de Venise par le conseil de sa gent; et se acorderent en tel maniere que, se le commun donoit .iiii. gallies armées tant que il eust pris et conquesté le chastel de Malvesie et celui de Naples, et il leur donneroit et acquiteroit perpetuelement le chastel de Coron⁵ par ytel covenant que dez ci en avant il fussent tenus de donner et tenir au servise dou pays deux galies, payant li princes la panatique tant seulement de la gent.

The reduction of Monemvasia and Nauplia was a decisive step in bringing about the complete conquest of the Morea by Guillaume, which without Venetian support would not have been accomplished. In 1256, however, conditions in the island of Euboea (Italian, Negroponte ; French, Nigrepont) led to the beginning of hostilities between Guillaume and the Venetians. To make the situation referred to in the prophecy clear it should be said that Euboea, having been taken in 1205 by Jacques d'Avesnes for

p. 87 : — " Veneti cum peregrinis " ; p. 90 : — " quae promiserat peregrinis et Venetis. " See also Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, §§ xli, xlvii.

¹ See Armingaud, *Venise et le Bas-Empire*, p. 67.

² See Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, § iii.

³ § 190. See for the facts given below, *ibid.*, §§ 189-207 ; Miller, *op. cit.* pp. 98 ff. ; Rodd, *op. cit.*, I, 179 ff.

⁴ Corinth was the third fortress.

⁵ Coron had belonged to Venice since 1206. It has been suggested that by the agreement mentioned in the text Guillaume recognized the rights of Venice there ; see *Chronique de Morée*, §§ 197 ff.

his overlord, Boniface of Montferrat, had been divided into three fiefs with which he invested three Veronese nobles, who were thereafter known as the *terzieri*, or triarchs, of Negroponte. By 1209 events had brought the power entirely into the hands of one of the *terzieri*, Ravano dalle Carceri, who because of troubles with the Emperor Henry, the successor of Baldwin, and with the Pope sought the aid of Venice to establish himself in his fief. Venice, to whom Euboea had fallen by the treaty of partition, had never taken the trouble to make good her claims to it, but she willingly accepted the way now opened to her for gaining a foothold there. Ravano agreed to recognize the Doge as his overlord in return for Venetian protection, and shortly afterward a Venetian *bajulo*, or baillie, was appointed over the island¹. In 1255 Guillaume de Villehardouin on the death of his wife, Carintana, who had been one of the Dalle Carceri who held the barony in northern Euboea, laid claim to her estate, and as her heir, to the title of triarch of Negroponte. The two other triarchs, Guglielmo da Verona and Narzotto dalle Carceri, then united with Paulo Gradonico, the *bajulo*, against Guillaume. The varying fortunes of the war that followed are briefly told by Lorenzo de Monacis²: —

Veneti semper... dictam Insulam suis viribus et sanguine contra creberrimos insultus diversarum gentium defenderunt, et maxime contra Guilielmum de Vilandor, qui non obstante, quod Guifredus ejus pater recognovisset a Venetis Principatum Achajae; Ducante Rainerio Geno, Rizotum de Carceribus, et Guilielmum de Verona dominatores Terceriorum Nigropontis sub dolo vocatos ad se proditorie detinuit; cepitque Nigropontem, expellens de civitate Paulum Gradenico Bajulum cum Venetis; orta igitur ob hoc discordia inter Venetos, et ipsum Principem, Alexander Papa ne Graeci potentiores fierent Venetis in Romania, admonuit Principem, ut ab ista novitate desisteret, ne haberet materiam contra eum acrius procedendi. Quarto autem anno dicti Ducis Marcus Gradonico mittitur Capitaneus cum septem Galeis in Romania qui cum dominatoribus Terceriorum vi recuperant insulam et civitatem captis resistentibus.

Although the war centred about Negroponte it spread to a wider field, and Guillaume, enlisting the services of the Genoese, assailed the Venetians in the waters of the Aegean and even laid siege to Coron itself. But in 1259, becoming involved in a war with the

¹ See Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, pp. 143, 144; Dandolo, X, vii, 3, 4 (cols. 363, 364); Sanudo, *Istoria di Romania*, pp. 103 ff.; Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 539; Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Bury, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII, 313 ff.

² *Chronicon*, p. 144. See also Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 560.

Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus¹, his fortunes changed, for he met with heavy losses, was himself taken prisoner in the battle of Pelagonia, and remained in captivity for the next three years. Sanudo Torsello² implies that these misfortunes came upon Guillaume because of his hostility to the Venetians who had deprived him of Negroponte: — “ E se alcun mi dimandasse a che far andava il Principe con Gente a Costantinopoli, io li responderia, che credo andasse per assaltar li Veneziani, che erano ivi, e vendicarsi di loro, che li tenivan Negroponte, e li avean rotto la sua Gente sopra l'Isola, benche potria esser, che andasse per servir all' Imperator Latino, a cui era obbligato di Fedeltà e dal qual riconoscea le Terre della Morea che aveva. ” On the release of Guillaume a treaty of peace was negotiated between himself and Venice, by which the *status quo* at the time of the death of Carintana dalle Carceri was reestablished so far as the triarchs of Euboea were concerned. Guillaume was acknowledged as their overlord, and Venice kept certain lands and the right to levy certain duties³. The Euboean campaign against Guillaume was not therefore to be reckoned among the brilliant successes of Venice, and that she herself was conscious that her policy of interference in the feudal questions of the island had been unwise is very plainly shown by Sanudo Torsello⁴: — “ Ora si puol vedere chiaramente da ciascuno per le cose occorse il danno, incomodo e gravame non piccolo, che risultò a Veneziani di tor la Città di Negroponte, la qual se si avesse tolto per altra via non sarebbe seguito tanto scandolo, quanto è seguito, e però, la Signoria di Vinegia commette da quel tempo in quà e prescrive in le Commission alli suoi Baili, che non s'intromettino nè di Feudi, nè di Terre, e se non fosse cosi specificato, s'intrometteriano, come s'intromettono. ”

It has seemed necessary to set forth thus briefly the situation in Euboea in order to show the relation of the prophecy to these events. Guillaume and his followers are “ li fius des pelerins ”; without the Venetian galleys he would never have been able to attain his successes in the Morea, which enabled him to drive his entering wedge at Monemvasia and Nauplia; he sought to expel the Venetians from their territory in Euboea, and according to Sanudo his desire for revenge upon them ultimately led to his

¹ See Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff.

² *Istoria di Romania*, p. 107.

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

disaster at Pelagonia. This battle was the beginning of future losses, not only for Guillaume, but for the Latin empire as well, for his imprisonment relieved Michael Paleologus of a troublesome foe for a time, during which he retook Constantinople and began to regain by degrees Greek dominions in the Morea from the Franks. Guillaume cherished hopes of effecting an alliance with Venice against the Greeks, but in 1268 the Republic signed a treaty for a five years' truce with Michael Paleologus¹, and Guillaume, unable to maintain his Achaian principality without external help, was obliged to turn to the kingdom of Naples for support². The course of the relations between Guillaume and the Venetians thus interprets the prophecy. It is based upon events that were in the national background of Venice in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and were fresh in the memory of Venetians of the period when there is reason to believe that the *Prophecies* was written. We may see a reference to the failure of the Euboean plans in the mingled tribute and reproof to the Bons Mariniers that follows the prediction : — " Et se il leur vient aucuns destourbiers, ce sera pour ce que il auront effaciee leur bone coustume envers Damedieus et envers leur pueple³. "

The advance of Guillaume and his reduction not only of Corinth, Nauplia, and Monemvasia⁴, but virtually of the entire Morea, may perhaps be predicted in Chapter CCLXXXVIII, where it is foretold that in 1298 (variant, 1299) a mountain in Greece called Saint-Helyes will be riven asunder and a great part of Corinth and many other castles of the Morea will fall to the ground. " Et ce sera par les escrois et ainssint seront damages par leur pechies les Griffons jusques au joise. " The date is *super facie* wrong, if the prophecy refers to an actual occurrence, for it is incredible that an event befalling so late as 1298 could have made its way into Y, where, since the prediction appears in both E and R, it certainly was found, or into X, where, since it stands also

¹ See Tafel und Thomas, *op. cit.*, XIV, 92 ff. ; Navagiero, col. 1002.

² The events summarized above are related in detail by Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-145; Bury, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII, 320 ff. ; Rodd, *op. cit.*, I, chapters v, vi; Gibbon, *l. c.*, pp. 457 ff.

³ Another reference to the Fourth Crusade is contained in the prophecy in Chapter CCXXVII : — " apres ce que la grant cite que fist Constantin sera prise et desrobee par ceus de Gaule et par les Bons Mariniers. "

⁴ See *Chronique de Morée*, § 189 : — " le real chastel de Corinte, cellui de Naples et cellui de Malvesie. "

in *A*, it may have had a place¹. The forecast itself may refer to a veritable earthquake, it may be merely a fanciful species of vituperation against the Greeks, or it may be another instance of the convention in prophecy, which we have already seen exemplified², that expresses national calamity in terms of a convulsion of nature. The region where the disaster is predicted is exactly that which was conquered by Guillaume, and although a Mt. Saint-Helyes in Greece cannot be identified with much greater assurance than a Bear Mountain or a Cherry Mountain in New England, if we believe that the prophecy refers to the advance of Guillaume, we may understand its mountain to be Hagios Elias, which rises from the plain of Argolis behind Mycenae, about half way between Corinth and Nauplia, and therefore directly in the region first affected by his operations. The date in our manuscript, 1298, might easily be a mistake for 1248, 1249, the approximate period of the conquests of Guillaume.

To these same years of Frankish and Venetian domination in Greece it is probable that the prophecy in Chapter cccxx also refers: — "... les villes des Griffons ne seront mie toutes au tens du Dragon abatues, ains seront unes grans parties par les escrois. Vuirisera et Jugrepoint et Salonis et la vile de Constantin et Berganso remandront en estant enpres la mort du Dragon de Babilloinne. Mes des autres en sera abatues unes parties des murs." This means little to us unless we can identify the places mentioned and understand their significance. Greek topographical names are frequently altered in mediaeval French and Italian sources almost, or entirely, beyond recognition³, but except for Berganso this is not the case here. Vuirisera is evidently Vlisiri (Βλυζίρη), or La Glisière, the modern Véséré, Biséré, in Elis, one of the residences of the princes of Achaia, and a favorite summer resort under the Frankish lords⁴; Jugrepoint is Nigrepoint in Euboea⁵; Salonis is Salona (Amphissa),

¹ See I, 17, 18; II, 282 ff.

² II, 50, note 4.

³ See Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo*, p. 64; Beving, *La principauté d'Achaïe et de Morée*, 1879, pp. 16, note 2, 35, note 1; Tafel und Thomas, *op. cit.*, XIV, 178, note 2; Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁴ See *Chronique de Morée*, p. 53, note 2; §§ 836, 957; cf. p. cv, §§ 150, 178, 461 B; Traquair, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. XIII (1906-1907), 273.

⁵ The form Jugrepoint is interesting. The Greek name of the island, Εύριπος, was vulgarly pronounced "Εγριπος, and from the combination εἰς τὸν "Εγρεπον, Negropon was formed, which still further popular etymologizing altered into Negropont, connecting the word with the bridge over the Euripos at Chalcis. The

La Sole in French, which under the Franks was an important barony belonging to the family of the Stromencourt¹; the "vile de Constantin," it is needless to say, is Constantinople. Berganso I am unable to identify². The other names are those of important towns among the Latin possessions in the Levant in the thirteenth century, which, as such, Merlin deems worthy to escape the destruction that he foretells for the cities of the Griffons in the time of the Dragon of Babylon. If by the Dragon we understand the Emperor Frederic II³, the threatened disaster to the Greek towns might again chronologically refer to the advance of Guillaume de Villehardouin.

name appears in French sources as Nigrepont, Negripont (See Beving, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Bury, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII, 313, note 1; Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 2; Happel, *Gröste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder sogenannte "Relationes curiosae,"* 1663, III, 741); Jugrepont, therefore, is an intermediate form that approximately preserves the initial sound of the vulgar form, "Ἐγριππος.

¹ See *Chronique de Morée*, § 234; cf. pp. cxi, 85, note; Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 34; Rodd, *op. cit.*, I, 76, 153.

² In view of the extraordinary transformations of topographical names that has been mentioned above, it is perhaps admissible to suggest that Berganso may be a corruption of Περίλάρδη or Περίλάρδι, Beauregart (see *Chronique de Morée*, §§ 355, 357, 359; Buchon, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, 1845, I, 519; Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea*, 1904, p. 639; Rodd, *op. cit.*, I, 176), in the region of La Glisière, influenced by the familiar Italian name Bergamo.

³ See below, II, 196, 222.

CHAPTER IV LA MARCHE AMOUREUSE

I

LA MARCHE DOULEREUSE

Second in importance to Venice in the *Prophecies* is the Trevisan Mark, which by its love of elegance and courtly life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had justly won for itself the epithet of *amorosa*¹, but which, according to Merlin, in consequence of its sins will be called "la Marche Doulereuse".

Dedens la marche que l'en apele la Marche Amoureuse s'est herbergie la gaignor soutillete [*var.*, gentilite] qui onques issist de Troies², et pour ce que ils furent nobles, se herbergerent il en cel lieu amoureux, et que l'en ne set en tout le monde plus delitables. Or qu'en diroie-je? La gentillesce du monde est herbergie ou plus biaux lieux du monde. Et lors quant il metront leur gentillesce aussi comme pour noiant, et feront les males euvres, ja ne regardera Damedieu celle part des lors en avant. Et... la gentillesce de celui sanc sera tous espan-dus par terre ains que li Dragons soit occis³.

The first words that this prophecy brings to mind are those of Marco Lombardo in the *Purgatorio*⁴, in which he deplores the evil ways into which the people of the Marca had fallen under the rule of Ezzolino da Romano after the quarrel between Frederic II and the Papacy had embroiled Italy⁵ : —

¹ See Rajna, *Le fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*, 1900, p. 11; Id., *Romania*, IV, 180, 181; Molmenti, *Venice* (translated by H. F. Brown), 1906, I, 203, 204; Fazio degli Uberti, *Ditta Mundi*, 1501, III, cap. ii; *De Generatione aliquorum civium Urbis Paduae*, a work by an anonymous writer earlier than the fifteenth century, quoted by Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, 1836, I, 463 (Diss. xxiii).

² Chapters ix, x, xxxvi, xxxviii, xcvi. With this change of name cf. the reputed change of *Villa Gaudii* to *Mortaria* after one of the great battles of Desiderius; see Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1491.

³ On the descent of the Paduans from Antenor see above, II, 37.

⁴ Chapter xxxviii. See also Chapter cclxxxi.

⁵ XVI, 115 ff.

⁶ For the possible reference to Frederic II in "ains que li Dragons soit occis" in the prophecy see below, II, 222.

Cf. Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1580 : — "Debut sepe dicere Acylinus quod ipso dor-

In sul paese ch'Adige e Po riga
 Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi
 Prima che Federico avesse briga ;
 Or può sicuramente indi passarsi
 Per qualunque lasciasse per vergogna
 Di ragonar coi buoni o d'appressarsi.

" Quasi hortis volumptatis erat Marchia trivixana, " says the *Chronicon Estense*¹, " priusquam [Eccelini] Tyrampnidi subderetur ; sed postquam fuit ab eo afflicta, comparatione prioris status videtur esse heremi solitudo. " A more interesting passage than either of the above to compare with the prophecy is found in the *Cronica*² of Rolandino, one of the most spirited of the thirteenth-century chroniclers, who in his praise of Padua, his allusion to her origin, and his lament over her woes illustrates the force of the prophecy quoted above as well as that of others considered below : —

[Civitas Paduana] Romam ipsam est imitata in multis, in fide videlicet et in illatis sibi multis iniuriis per diversa genera tyrampnie. Numquid Padua condam est ab Antenore constituta, egresso civitatem troianam eadem hora cum Enea, conditore romano ? Numquid passa est multas tribulaciones et werras, ut ipsa Roma ? Numquid in suis civibus est offensa crudeliter, turribus et palaciis, domibus et decoribus suis dirutis et prostratis ? Nempe, si michi parcat romana Curia, jam Padua dici potest quasi secunda Roma. Nec hoc dico in preiudicium aliarum civitatum de Lombardia, set cum Paduam olim viderim rationis et iusticie baiulam, utriusque sexus civibus hornatissime decoratam, diviciis affluentem, hedificiis splendidam, bonis omnibus copiosam et sanctorum virorum undique sancta religione circumdatam, usurpatis hiis omnibus per tyranicam pravitatem, neminem condecet admirari, si ex habundancia cordis os loquitur et de mee patrie desolacione lamentor. Quam expresse desolacionem vido esse consimilem desolationi antique, quam fecisse legimus principes perdicionis in Roma et urbem audivimus ipsam tocius orbis dompnam persecuciones indignas plurimas pertulisse.

miente audit vocem Domini sui dicentem, *Accipe istum onsem et vade et vindica me de inimicis meis de Marchia Trivisana, quia te elegi in flagellum eorum* " ; Gerardo, p. 16 : — " Ezzelerio terzo... mentre che visse lo flagello della Marca Trivisana, nato in questo mondo per Divina volontà, per castigare li peccati delli miseri popoli. "

¹ P. 34.

² XII, 1 (p. 159).

II

MARMOR

The evil rule of Ezzelino da Romano and his brother, Alberico, forms the subject of by far the greater part of the prophecies that have to do with the Marca Trevisana, which in general are concerned with the misfortunes of its three leading cities, Verona, Padua, and Treviso. The long story of the connection of Ezzelino with Verona is outlined in a few words in the prophecy in Chapter XXXVI, which foretells the disasters that will overtake M., whose name will be changed to V., "la doulereuse," the seat of the beginning and end of the calamities that will befall the Marche and justly the object of the wrath of the Lord for having nourished within her walls the "mauves dragonnel."

Even if we had not another prophecy¹, in which "Marinor [variant, Marmor], qui Verone sera apelee," is mentioned, it would hardly be necessary to explain here that the city M., which will become V., is Verona, to which the name Marmor, Marmorina, and the adjective *marmorea* were early, even if not originally applied², and whose identity with Marmorina, the scene of the *Filocolo*, has been long established³. Examples of the use of both name and

¹ Chapter LXX; cf. below, p. 154, note 5; see also Chapter xcvi.

² According to the better known legends, the town was named after Verona, the wife of one of the early Trojan settlers, or it was called by Brennus, its founder, Verona, that is to say, *Vas Roma*, as a menace to Rome (See *Cronaca Alleanata*, p. 33; Galvaneo della Fiamma, cols. 545, 550). But another legend was known in the tenth century (see Giovanni Diacono, *Historia Imperialis*, a passage in an unpublished manuscript cited by Graf, *Giornale storico*, V, 125) according to which not Verona, but Marmor was the original name: — "Haec civitas ab originibus prius Marmor dicta est a copia marmorum." The question whether the town was so-called because of her rich quarries of marble, or because of the many marble edifices and structures with which she was adorned even in Roman times, has been much discussed, never decided, and remains of no consequence for our present purposes. See, among many sources on this subject, Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, II, cap. 40 (*Opera*, ed. Dümmler, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, 1877); Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, 1825-1826, IV, 65, 161 ff.; Id., *Dell'antica condizione di Verona*, 1719, p. 65; Girolamo della Corte, *Dell'istorie della città di Verona*, 1744, I, 22.

³ See Sorio, *Atti dell' istituto veneto*, Ser. 3, X, 757, 758; Novati, *Giornale di filologia romanza*, III, No. 6, 63; Ferreto de' Ferretti, *Opera*, ed. Cipolla, I, 323 (*Historia*); Id., *Can Grande*, 7, in *R. I. S.*, IX, 1197; *Liber Marchiano Ruine*, ed. Cantù, *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, 1868, V, 21, v. 56; Marzagaia, *De Modernis Gestis*, in *Antiche Cronache Veronesi*, ed. Cipolla, 1890, I, 123, 131; see also the inscription on the Torre del Gardello erected by Cansignorio in Piazza delle Erbe, — "marmo-

epithet in the fourteenth century are not infrequent, and although less abundant in thirteenth-century sources¹, they are sufficient to show that the initials of the prophecy would have proved at that period a transparent disguise for the name of the town.

Nor is the "evil young dragon" nourished in Verona difficult to identify. He is clearly Ezzelino da Romano, who in 1198, before he was five years old, was given by his father, Ezzelino il Monaco, lord of Bassano, as a hostage to the Podestà of Verona in guarantee of good faith toward the Vicentines². In another sense also the ills of the Marca may be said to have begun in Verona, inasmuch as it was the first of the Italian cities over which Ezzelino acquired rule. Rolandino, writing of the year 1227, describes a condition there, which according to other sources existed even earlier, when the city was divided into two rival factions, the Montecchi and the da Romano on one side, and the Conti di S. Bonifazio and the Marchesi d'Este on the other. "In anno Domini MCCXXVII, quamvis Verona communiter regeretur, tamen scisma creverat ibidem in tantum, quod non solum milites set populares et mercatores divisi erant in partes duas. Et alii fovebant partem comitis de Sancto Bonifacio, que erat pars Marchionis; alii partem Sallinwerre, que erat et Eccelini, et hi dicebantur Montecli³." In 1225, according to the *Liber Regiminum Padue*⁴, the Montecchi won the upper hand and expelled Rizardo, Conte di S. Bonifazio, from the city; "et tunc primo Ecelinus III assurgens habuit dominium in Verona." A reconciliation was effected between himself and the Conte di S. Bonifazio, who was allowed to return to the town. For the year 1227 the *Liber* gives a succinct account of events related by Rolandino⁵ much more diffusely: — "Eo tempore Ecelinus de Ro-

ream cum Cansignorius urbem rexit"; Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, IV, 163. On the entire subject see Cipolla in Marzagaia, *ed. cit.*, pp. 124, note, 299, note, 511; Id., *Archivio veneto*, XXIX, 53; Graf, l. c.; Renier, *Memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze di Torino*, Ser. 2, XLI, 409; Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancofiore*, 1889, I, 163.

¹ See the passages cited from the unpublished work of Giovanni di Naone, *De hædificatione urbis Patavias*, Novati, l.c., note 1.

² *Liber Regiminum Padue*, p. 296; Gerardo, p. 29.

³ II, viii (p. 32).

⁴ P. 306; *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 152; Dandolo, X, iv, 41 (col. 344).

⁵ *Liber Regiminum Padue*, p. 307; Rolandino, II, viii (p. 33); cf. Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, p. 235: — "Et sic pars Salingueræ, Monticulerum, et Ezerini occupant civitatem; fitque Ezerinus ibi Potestas, totoque tempore, quo præse-

mano habens xl homines, qui praeibant mundificando viam a nive cum singulis ventilabris, ivit cum amicis suis Veronam, et cepit eam die xxii iunii, expulso inde comite Ricardo cum suis ; et factus fuit potestas Veronae. Deinde cum exercitu venit Vincentiam, et fratrem suum Albericum pro potestate posuit ibidem. " For about twelve months (1228-1229), as Rolandino reports¹, the Trevisan towns remained in peace. In the following year " error et scisma crevit in Marchia, que paulo ante steterat sic tranquilla². " The cause of disturbance lay in Verona, where, the Conte di S. Bonifazio and his adherents having been again expelled³, Salinguerra was made podestà. The party of the Conte was, however, by no means suppressed and continued with varying fortunes to make trouble for Ezzelino. In 1235 peace was temporarily effected⁴. In 1236 the *Liber Regiminum Padue*⁵ records:—" die viii exeunte ianuario comes Ricardus expulsum fuit de Verona cum suis amicis. " In the meantime Ezzelino, holding Verona for the imperial party, sought revenge upon his enemies by inducing the emperor Frederic II to descend from Germany to Trent and advance to Verona, where he was welcomed ; from here he,—"theotonicus furor," to use Rolandino's still graphic words,—proceeded to lay waste the neighboring district and finally established himself in Cremona⁶. " Verona vero, " says Rolandino in enumerating the towns of the Lombard League, which was broken in 1236, " usque nunc nullam partem fovebat, set ab hac die in antea imperatoris parti se dedit hortatu Ecelini de Romano et quorundam expulsorum de Mantua⁷. " In the *Chronicon Estense*⁸ the subsequent misfortunes of the Marca are definitely attributed to the influence of Ezzelino, by means of which the Emperor was admitted to Verona ; the closing words of the passage sum up the part of Ezzelino in these disasters very much as the prophecy sums up the part of Verona :—

[Excellinus] Veronam obtinuit violenter ; et civitatis potentia

dit, miris artibus, et versutis simulationibus Veronenses suae partis et alios arc-tissima sibi iunxit amicitia. Quae causa fuit ut postea dictae civitatis tyrannidem occuparet."

¹ II, xix (p. 40).

² Id., III, i (p. 41).

³ Cf. *ibid.*, note 3.

⁴ Id., III, ix (p. 47).

⁵ P. 311.

⁶ III, ix (p. 47) ; *Liber Regiminum Padue*, p. 311.

⁷ *L. c.*, p. 48.

⁸ Pp. 36, 37.

exaltatus, excellentis principis Federici amicitiam acquisivit; cuius fretus virtute cunctam sibi Marchiam subiugavit. Ipsius quippe maligna instigatione imperator, potentissimus Federicus, cui praebeuit iste tyrannus yntroytum in Ytaliam per Veronam... Lombardiam voluit obtinere; cuius rei causa inter romanam Ecclesiam et Imperium, inexorabilis discordia est exorta, propter quam multa millia hominum in diversis mundi partibus perierunt. Horum malorum capud, medium et finis extitit perfidus Ecellinus.

Thus Verona sheltered Ezzelino in his youth, was the first of the Trevisan towns to yield to his sway, gave him a foothold which he used to extend his deadly power over the Marca, and afforded an entrance into Italy to the devastating hordes of the emperor; consequently she bore in the eyes of Guelph sympathizers a stigma sufficient to merit any manifestation of Divine displeasure with which she might be visited. To the time of the death of Ezzelino she preserved the character of a strongly imperial city, and the Veronese continued to be his faithful adherents¹. That the town suffered under his rule is evident from the words of Parisio da Cereta²: — "Et domnus Icerinus de Romano et Bonifacius comes de Panico electi fuerunt rectores Veronae, et Henricus de Gazo potestas Ceretae, Ceretae. Et statim duo filii Alcardini de Capite Pontis et multi alii tam milites quam pedestres de Verona fuerunt capti, et in vinculis ferreis carceri mancipati. Et eo anno turres et domus Vicecomitum filiorum Desiderati, filiorum Bonaguisae, Isnardi de Gozo... destructae fuerunt et in terram proiectae³."

III

DANEMARCHE AND MAIOLCE

The prophecies dealing with the Marca dwell especially upon the ill rule of Ezzelino in Padua. Before taking these up in the chronological order of the events that they appear to predict, it will be convenient to have in mind a few of the historical conditions to which they refer, and also to examine two prophecies that conjecturally belong among them.

Frederic II, after having reduced Cremona, as we have seen, pro-

¹ Rolandino, IV, vi (p. 61) : — "Veronenses... in quibus Ecellinus pre ceteris Marchie confidebat."

² *Annales Veronenses*, M. G. H., XIX, 9 (an. 1236).

³ For the predicted destruction of the city on the day of the death of the Dragon of Babylon see below, pp. 199, 200.

ceeded to Vicenza, "quam arsit et occupavit"¹; then, laying waste the intervening country, he advanced to Treviso, not anticipating the opposition that he met there especially from a relief force sent by Padua. Baulked in his purpose he himself returned to Germany, bidding Ezzelino go to Vicenza, where with other imperial followers he planned to carry on the campaign. This move brought him too near at hand for the comfort of the Paduans, and they at once took means to protect themselves. They elected sixteen of the leading citizens practically as a committee of safety with full power of action². They also recalled the relief force from Treviso, and sent for the Marchese d'Este, Azzo VII, "Marchie clipeus et tutela," according to Rolandino, as a defender. But certain of the sixteen chosen citizens proved false, and despatched secret letters and messengers to Ezzelino declaring themselves prepared to give Padua into his hands³.

Their collusion with him, however, being suspected, they were ordered to Venice by the Podestà, but only one obeyed the command. "Alii vero omnes iverunt per castra quedam paduani districtus et hostenderunt se tunc primo paduano communi rebelles, preter dompnum Artusinum, filium olim dompni Dalesmanini, qui de voluntate potestatis remansit rogatus, ut consuleret inconsulto communi⁴." Word then came to Padua that Ezzelino was about to advance upon Monselice, which was considered the key to the city. A force was therefore sent at once to Cartura to intercept him. The faithless members of the Sixteen here saw their opportunity: —

De predictis ergo xvi fuerunt aliqui, ut dictum fuit, qui taliter tractaverunt cum comite Geboardo⁵ et Ecelino de Romano, Vicencie comorantibus, circa festa Natalis et mense ianuarii, quod armatis omnibus, quos conducere potuerunt, et revoluto iam anno Domini et corrente MCCXXXVII, die x exeunte februario, exeuntes armata manu Vicenciam... pervenerunt Carturam; et militibus illic custo-

¹ Rolandino, III, ix (p. 48). The most detailed source for the events narrated below is Rolandino, III, ix-xvi.

² Id., III, xi (p. 49): — "Tandem quoque electi sunt xvi de maioribus civitatibus, quibus datum est arbitrium et potestas quod in hoc trepidacionis negocio adhereant consilio saniori."

³ Id., *ibid.*, (p. 50): — "De predictis namque xvi maioribus civibus paduanis aliqui scripserunt litteras clandestinas et occultas, miserunt eciam secretarios suos nuncios Ecelino quod parati erant et poterant civitatem Padue ei dare."

⁴ Id., *ibid.*

⁵ Gebhard von Arnstein, captain general of Ezzelino.

dientibus expugnatis et victis, nullo habito obstaculo, milites illos duxerunt pro captis et de plano in Monselice sunt recepti.

Dum hi milites paduani a comite Geboardo et ab Ecelino ceterisque imperatoris gentibus capti forent, placuit Ecelino super hoc gloriari triumpho, in sue partis leticiam et in tremorem adverse partis¹.

The betrayal of Monselice was regarded as removing the greatest obstacle to the entrance of Ezzelino into Padua². An attacking party was despatched against the city, but was repulsed by the Paduans. A pacific entrance for Ezzelino, however, was arranged by Artusio dei Dalesmani, that member of the Sixteen who had remained in the city³.

In spite of fair promises at the beginning of his dominion in Padua, the cruelty that marked Ezzelino's rule there speedily made itself felt. It was directed not solely against his open enemies, but also against his avowed friends, and even his proved followers became the objects of his suspicions and suffered the deadly consequences of his fears of treason. "Omnibus quos volebat Tyrannus occidere, titulum prodicionis generaliter opponebat⁴." He doubted the faith of the Marchese d'Este, who had nominally withdrawn his opposition to the imperial party on the entrance of Ezzelino to Monselice⁵, nor did some of the Sixteen who had given Monselice and Padua into his hands escape his wrath. Shortly after he had acquired possession of Padua he made an unsuccessful attack upon Montagnone, from which he was obliged to return crestfallen to Padua. The following description of the methods that he adopted for his own security which Rolandino gives⁶ is of consequence for us : —

Demum diebus illis immediate sequentibus, idem Ecelinus consuevit potestati et fecit quod accepti sunt obsides a magnatibus de

¹ Rolandino, III, xi, xii (pp. 50, 51).

² Id., III, xv (p. 52) : — " Ipse comes Geboardus et Ecelinus de Romano, asserentes se pugnare pro romano imperio, fatebantur in consillis et arengis se unam de melioribus civitatibus imperii habere devictam, scilicet civitatem Padue — quam sciebant iam procul dubio captam esse — et assererebant quod omnes habitantes in ea quasi vinculis alligatos habebant. " See also §§ xii-xiv for the importance of Monselice as an entrance to Padua.

³ Id., III, xvi (p. 53). For accounts of the taking of Monselice and Padua see also *Historia dei Cortusi*, R.I.S., XII, 767 ff. ; Maurisio, pp. 40 ff.

⁴ *Chronicon Estense*, p. 26.

⁵ See Rolandino, III, xv (p. 52).

⁶ IV, iii (pp. 56, 57).

Padua et eciam a quibusdam burgensibus, quos dubitabat velle manu tenere commune aut favere forsitan Marchionis amicis; quos obsides misit ad eius castra. Et post hec statim continue pretendens causas, quod estensis Marchio cum amicis suis spernebat mandata imperii et communis Padue, per quod illi de Montagnone videbantur existere contumaces, elegit illos, quos voluit de maioribus civitatis, milites et eciam aliquos populares; et eis ingeniose hostendens quod quidam ipsos inculpabant de contumacia resistencium potestati, quod ipse penitus non credebat, rogavit eos propter ipsorum exculpationes et ne cresceret aliqua rixa in Padua — quam dompnus noster imperator optabat in pace tenere pre ceteris suis locis — quod paucis diebus parum longe de civitate secederent, dicens quod ibi non longo tempore permanebunt. Et ita quosdam misit Carturium, quosdam ad Citadellam, quosdam ad Fontanivam et quosdam ad castrum Fontis; et fuerunt isti, preter obsides, primi detenti circa xx vel ultra. Volens autem, paucis diebus elapsis, quod eis promiserat observare, quod scilicet illic facerent parvam moram, misit ad eos de familiaribus suis milites quosdam bene armatos de Pedemonte et Theotonicos quosdam, nemine sciente de Padua, et fecit ipsos accipi de locis singulis ubi erant, et conduci ad Pratam, ubi magnam habebat fiduciam propter amicos suos et attinentes sibi proxima linea parentele. Postmodum vero de predictis obsidibus et de sic deceptis militibus, immo captis, quosdam misit in Lombardiam, quosdam in eius castra, quosdam in Apuliam hac de causa, quoniam tunc cepit primo eos proditores imperii appellare.

A comparison of the list of names of the above-mentioned hostages and of those of the Sixteen given by Pietro Gerardo shows that many of them are the same¹.

Turning now to the prophecies in Chapters xciv and xcv, we learn in the former that Danemarche will be betrayed by two brothers; the latter announces that Maiolce will meet with a great calamity. Fifteen of its knights will give over the town to the Roi de Poenie. He will send forth from its gates those people whom he does not wish to see killed, who will be scattered over the world, and

¹ Gerardo, pp. 88, 109. See also *Liber Regiminum Padue*, p. 311. With the above instance of the methods of Ezzelino cf. the following passage also from Rolandino (IV, xv, p. 69) : — " Et ecce, diebus illis, inolevit subsurratio quedam et dictum est inter Ecelini fautores quod aliqui conspiraverant contra eum, volentes civitatem Padue tradere Marchioni et quod miles quidam paduanus manens in Buvolentia, Zufredus nomine, litteras miserat dompno Adveduto Advocato de Padua, qui tunc tenebat castrum Brente contrarius Ecelino, ut veniret ad Buvolentiam accipiendam et quod eam haberet de facili. Sic itaque Zufredus ipse, captus et ductus Paduam, primo decapitatus est in foro nec convictus in aliquo scelere nec confessus. Post

he will have the fifteen knights who have given Maiolce into his power burned to death for fear that they will betray him to others even as they have betrayed the town to him. We seem to have here two consecutive prophecies of known conditions in the Marca, in both of which a scribal error has disguised the local names. Ezzelino da Romano and Alberico, his brother, who though less powerful a lord, like him, "fece alla contrada un grande assalto," were renowned as despots who brought ruin to the Marca. "Vos savez apertement les euvres de Ecelin et de Alberic son frere, com elles sont mauveses," says Martino da Canale¹, and, as will be seen from many passages cited below, the thirteenth-century chroniclers unhesitatingly attribute the woes of the Trevisan Mark to the evil reign of these two brothers². When we hear of their doings, and then read the prediction of the two wicked brethren who will work ruin to Danemarche, we cannot but suspect that *Danemarche* is a distortion, probably scribal, of *une marche*³, which is, in fact, the variant of *A*, and which it would be very easy for a scribe, not understanding the allusion, to turn into *Danemarche* by simply prefixing the letter *D*. We have already had a sufficient number of instances where the chronology of the *Prophecies* is inaccurate to recognize that the wide difference between the date of the prediction (800; variant, 900) and that of the da Romano is no obstacle to this interpretation.

Moreover, the events foretold in Chapter xcv also offer a parallel to those in the Marca outlined above. Even as Maiolce is to be betrayed by fifteen faithless knights, so was Monselice. As Monselice was given into the hands of Ezzelino, so will Maiolce be betrayed to the Roi de Poenie; Ezzelino is elsewhere denominated the "roi de Patanie"⁴, the usual form for the name Padua in the *Prophecies*, among the variants for which we find *paiemine*, *painime*, *paenie*⁵, and hence the expression, "Roi de Poenie," may here be

quem recte per dies xv in mense septembris eiusdem anni MCCXXXVIII et eiusdem conspiracionis causa, ut dictum fuit, decapitatus est in foro miles unus de maioribus de Padua, qui dicebatur fuisse primus, qui iuraverat in principio werre servire suo dompno Ecelino et aperire ei portam Molendinorum, ut civitatem ingrederetur contra tocius communis Padue voluntatem."

¹ I, cxliv (p. 436).

² See below, pp. 115 ff., 132 ff.

³ Cf. the misunderstanding of "la marche doulereuse" in Chapter xcix, which appears in *R*, *Add.*, and *H* as "la marche de la rose."

⁴ See below, pp. 130 ff.,

⁵ See I, 130, note 7; *E* reads *paiemine* for *Patanie*, I, 133, l. 18; for *painime*, cf.

applied to him. The fate of many of the Fifteen who sold Maiolce was sufficiently sinister to be forecast in prophetic language in such terms as Merlin employs. Through fear that they would betray him as they had betrayed Monselice, Ezzelino rid himself of them, even as the Roi de Poenie will burn those who betrayed Maiolce lest they should do unto him as they did unto their town¹. Unfortunately this prophecy does not appear in any of the Italian versions, where the proper names would naturally stand in a more reliable form than they do in the French texts, but the likeness in the events depicted to those that were taking place at Monselice and Padua in 1237 and shortly after justifies the assumption that we have here a copyist's error, or a misunderstanding of Monselice, which has resulted in the form *Maiolce*. Although juxtaposition in the *Prophecies* does not by any means indicate a connection of subject, it is nevertheless to be noted that the two following chapters (xcvi and xcvi) undoubtedly concern the *Marca amorosa*².

IV

LE FELON SEIGNEUR DE LA GRANT CITE DE LA MARCHE DOULEREUSE

From Chapter vii through the first part of Chapter xi, omitting Chapter viii, which in the Italian versions follows Chapter xi, the prophecies deal with the Marca. Those in Chapter vii especially foretell the ill rule of a "felon seigneur," who in the year 1238

below, p. 124. I, 146, note 14, R reads *Pavie* (Padua) and the other texts, *paimeine*, *paenie*.

¹ In the year 1248 Frederic II having gone to Apulia, Ezzelino, lordling it alone in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Feltro, and Belluno, began, as Rolandino says (V, xxiii; p. 85), "manus suas ad alciora extendere." Rolandino (VI, i; p. 87) draws a lurid picture of his rule in Padua, which increased in horror with his increasing love of power: — "ab anno predicto Domini MCCXLVIII in antea, sunt talia in tota Marchia, et maxime in Padua, perpetrata, quod Ecelini visa est ita mirabiliter exardere malicia. Nequivit enim ulterius suum occultare furorem; nec aliquem habere amicum per opera demonstravit. Imo cordis sui maliciam venunumque palam evomit, quod sub labiis portitabat." In June of that year he wreaked his rage upon Monselice: — "incipiens a camera sive terra imperii, Ecelinus in primis castrum Montis silicis et burgum et terram totam rapuit fraudulenter." (For the story of the ruse by which Ezzelino took possession of Monselice see Rolandino, l. c.). It may possibly be that there is a confusion in the prophecy between the betrayal of Monselice by the Fifteen of Padua in 1237 and its seizure by Ezzelino in 1248.

² See below, pp. 131ff.

(1237) will hold sway in the "grant (or "mestre") cite de la Marche Doulereuse," and whose power will wane "puis que il aura entour .lxxv. ans." That this city is Padua is shown not only by the substance of the prophecies, but also by the phrase in Chapter x, "la mestre cite de celle marche... qui est apelee Pataine [variant, Pavie]¹," and more clearly still by the reading of V², — "quella maestra cita che ha nome Padoa." Padua remained under the control of Ezzelino from 1237 to 1256, when it succeeded in freeing itself with Venetian help from the heavy yoke that his rule imposed upon it. Since he was born in 1194 and died, a captive in the hands of his foes, in 1259, Merlin's words, with the omission of an ".x." from the numeral, are true of him, — "puis que il aura entour .lxxv. ans ira apeticant de son pouvoir et sa saignorie." He is unmistakably the "saigneur" of the prophecy³. All the important evils of his domination foretold by Merlin are set forth vividly by the contemporary chroniclers. "Coluber tortuosus, humani sanguinis dilluvium et vorago, fons scelerum et magister," — these epithets bestowed upon him by Rolandino⁴ express the judgment of other and less vivacious writers of his time, among whom practically none are favorably disposed to him except the Ghibelline, Maurisio⁵, who wrote the history of his life from 1182-1237. In fact it appears to have been after this later date, the year of the taking of Padua, that the worst elements in Ezzelino's character made themselves felt⁶. From many passages in these sources which correspond in spirit with the prophecies⁷ it is sufficient to quote the follow-

¹ See the variants in the index, s.v., "Pataine"; cf. the form for Padova used by Martino da Canale (I, cxxxvii, cxxxviii; p. 428), *Pave*, and for the district, *Pavene*.

² Fol. 51c.

³ This is evident even without the gloss of *M*, — "Ecilino de Romano."

⁴ XII, v (p. 162).

⁵ See Stieve, *Ezzelino von Romano*, 1909. p. 1.

⁶ See Verci, I, 226 ff.

⁷ See *Annales S. Justinae*, pp. 162, 163; Villani, VI, lxxiii; *Chronicon Estense*, p. 34; Brentari, *Eccelino da Romano nella mente del popolo e nella poesia*, 1889, pp. 18 ff. See also the admonition of Bishop Gherardo di Camposampiero of Padua to Ezzelino as reported by Rolandino (I, v; p. 19) in which he warns him against the common failings of a tyrant, such as are attributed to the "felon seigneur" in the *Prophecies*: — "Scimus tyrannos aliquos in Deo nullam reverenciam habuisse, gloriosos in sua malicia pro posse fecisse mala, sprevisse iusticiam, vixisse plurimum de rapina, in tribulacione finisse vitam... Ubi nunc Pharaon vel Golia, ubi Herodis crudelitas, ubi Nero? Profecto periit memoria eorum cum sonitu... Quare vos hortamur in Domino... ne destruantur ville, victualia devastentur, compellantur vidue, pauperes et orphanus turpiter mendicare, hospitalia et sacre ecclesie dissipentur."

ing, in which one after another of the sentences uttered by Merlin in the chapters that we are considering are sufficiently paralleled to establish the identity of Ezzelino and "le felon seigneur": —

a. Por lui (i.e., Mesire Ecelin) et por sa mauvese seignorie furent ocis pres que tos li haus homes de la Marche Tervisane. Si furent entre iugies et ocis et mors plus de .xl. mille, que homes que femes que petis enfans, que gastes de lor membres: si fu plus cruel que Faraon ne Herodes¹.

b. Hic (Icelinus) vere fuit membrum diaboli et filius iniquitatis... Qui enim erat hodie, de crastina vita securus non erat. Pater petebat filium ad interficiendum et filius patrem vel aliquem sibi propinquum, ut Icilino placeret. Omnes maiores et meliores et potentiores et ditiores et nobiliores delevit de marchia Trivisina... Nec Nero nec Decius nec Dioclitianus nec Maximianus in malicia fuerunt similes sibi, sed neque Herodes neque Antiochus, qui pessimi homines de mundo fuerunt².

c. Sed completa est hodie prophetia Ovidii, dum mundus quem dicit aurem habuisse principium, redarguenda nunc fece infectus, iam ecce devenit ad tantum, quod non solum inimicus ab inimico, set nec hospes tutus ab hospite reperitur, non est fratri frater innocuus et vix adhuc filius diligitur a parente, nec sumus equidem bene certi, si hec radix naturalis effectus, que adhuc filo tenui retinetur, durare poterit in futurum³.

d. Latrones odio habuit et predones, sed illorum supplebat officium, omnes indifferenter spoliando pariter et mactando... Omnino fuit immisericors; crudelitate namque superavit sevitiam omnium tyrannorum... Callidissimus exactor erat in pecunia congreganda... Palatia pulcherrima et amplissima sibi fieri cum summa instantia faciebat, quasi semper esset victurus — in quibus tamen nunquam voluit habitare — nec non castra et turres in summis montibus et civitatibus construebat, ac si crederet se ab inimicis quotidie obsideri⁴.

e. Item quid pessima operentur dominia, quia manus impias extendunt non solum ad seculares, set et loca ecclesiastica dissipant, carcerant religiosos, turres et pallacia dirruunt, devorant divicias, pauperes orphanant et pupillos, viduant mulieres, res omnes destruunt et personas⁵.

¹ Da Canale, I, cxlviii (p. 442).

² Salimbene, p. 367.

³ Rolandino I, ix (p. 22).

⁴ *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 177. Cf. Gulielmus Ventura, *Memoriale*, R.I.S., XI, 154.

⁵ Rolandino, *Praefatio* (p. 5).

V

LA DESTRUCTION DE LA MARCHE DOULEREUSE

Another prophecy evidently referring to the period of Ezzelino's domination is found in Chapter IX, which foretells the three causes of the ruin of the Marca. These three causes are ill-gotten gain, which will bring its possessor, or possessors, to poverty, a man from the Bons Mariniers, and imperial wealth.

The ill-gotten gain may be that acquired by Ezzelino and Alberico in their confiscation of property, levying of heavy tributes, and general policy of extortion, such as is described in the citations *d* and *e* in the foregoing section as well as in very many other sources¹. This ill-gotten gain may be said to have led ultimately to the undoing of both brothers when the cities of the Marca succeeded in freeing themselves from their rule². Another interpretation, however, is suggested by comparison with the first paragraph of Chapter XI, where we learn that " par toute cele marche seront fet li haut murs et les mauveses tours des mauves jains. Aussi seront eles abatues et mises aval la terre par celui orgueilleus saigneur sanz pitie et sanz debonerete. " The Italian versions continue with a slight variation from the French, " infino a tanto che quello malvagio guadagno sera tuto consumato in quella marca. Et giamai il nostro signor Iesu Cristo riguardera i[n] quella parte dove se farano i malvagi guadagni sicomo fa a coloro che lo renegano³. " These words reflect conditions that prevailed in the Paduan territory in the early thirteenth century, when with the greater development of the communal spirit the political importance of the guilds increased and the wealthy nobles were obliged to leave their ancestral feudal castles, which had been the centres of the refinement for which the Marca was renowned, and become citizens of Padua itself in order to take part in the civic life, where their rights as lords were being encroached upon by " il popolo. " Here, chiefly for their own protection, they built great palaces defended with many towers⁴, and thus, in the words

¹ Cf., for example, *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 163:—" Ipse bona episcopatum, abbatium, canonicatum et fere omnium ecclesiarum in suis sceleratis operibus consumebat. " See also the references to Villani and Rolandino above, II, 115, note 7.

² See below, pp. 128-136.

³ V, fol. 51c.

⁴ See Scardeone, *De antiquitatibus Urbis Patavinæ*, in Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, 1704-1725, VI, pars iii, 31:—" Idcirco ii ad omnem

of the *Annales S. Justinac*¹, Padua was "divitiis etiam et gloria plurimum decorata." But that the wealth of the lords of these palaces was regarded by the people in their jealous struggle for power as "mauvais gaaing," won by the owners through unjust oppression of their vassals, is evident from the *Statuti del Comune* of the thirteenth century, which continually illustrate the severity with which the commune sought to deprive the signory of its authority². When Padua came under the rule of Ezzelino, its lofty walls and towers were "abatues et mises aval la terre," or simply pre-empted by him. "Serpens insuper callidus et astutus omnes pulchras domos et fortes et loca iuxta portas et pontes in civitatibus constituta emeri studiosissime procurabit, et post paucos dies vitam simul et pretium venditoribus auferebat," the *Annales S. Justinac*³ record for the year 1252. Rolandino⁴ relates that when Ezzelino began to take measures for his own safety after having entered Padua, some of the prudent citizens went forth from the city secretly, and on their failure to return when summoned, their houses were destroyed. "Hec autem domorum destructio inolevit, tempore procedente, in tantum, quod plus quam domorum medietas, turrium et palaciorum in Padua iacet hodie; si quis vidit integram et videt desolatam ad presens."

The second cause of the calamities of the Marca is, so far as I am able to offer any interpretation of it, best explained by the events narrated below in the following section. The third calamity is attributed to the "roetes d'or et d'argent du champion au chief d'or." He who will take these "roetes" will come to an ill end, "car il en sera occis a martire." By the "roetes d'or"⁵ apparently imperial coin is designated. The prophecy then may be explained as a purely general reference to the misfortunes that will overtake the Marca through favors distributed by the emperors

eventum firmiores deinceps aedes cum vastis turribus sibi tam intra moenia quam foris in agris erigere et munire coeperunt: quae adhuc passim multae extant et multae nostra etiam aetate dirutae et funditus demolitae fuerunt."

¹ P. 155.

² See Roberti, *Le corporazioni padovane d'arti e mestieri*, in *Memorie del R. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, XXVI, No. 8, 40-44.

³ P. 163. Cf. the passage from Da Canale cited below, p. 122.

⁴ IV, iii (p. 57). Cf. XII, i (p. 159): — "Numquid in suis (i. e., of Padua) civibus est offensa crudeliter, turribus et palaciis, domibus et decoribus suis dirutis et prostratis?"

⁵ For this term see below, p. 146.

as they advanced into Italy from the north, which won them followers, for whom one of their opponents, as Merlin shows himself to be, would naturally foretell destruction. On the other hand, it seems more probable that it refers to the special imperial grants given to the family of da Romano, from the time when Ecelo, the *capo stipite*, came to Italy as a German soldier with the Emperor Conrad II (probably in 1036), and was invested by him first with the fief of Onara, not far from Bassano¹, and later with the castle of Romano². Through the emperors, therefore, the family, which was the curse of the Marca, was given a foothold there, for successive generations it received their favor, and its last unhappy member, Alberico, because of his adherence to the imperial cause, was put to death "a martire" by his foes³.

An excellent illustration of the prophecy as a whole is afforded by the lament of Rolandino⁴ over the condition to which the Marca was reduced by the rule of Ezzelino : —

Ecce nunc manifeste videmus quanta orribilia et nephanda tirapni tales operantur in civitatibus, quibus regnant. Ubi nunc innumerabilis, immo laudabilis multitudo populi paduani, dispersi crudeliter et mortui ante tempus ? Ubi diviciarum copia ? Ubi turres et hedificia, domus et palacia, loca et habitacula delicata ? Sunt namque per fas et nefas hec tria sublata de Padua, immo de tota Marchia tarvisina, non per barbaros vel Iudeos, non per Medos vel Sarracenos, non per Sacromatas vel Britannos, non per Tartaros vel Chaldeos. Et, o detestabilis illa dies, qua, tumescente superbia, invidia subintrata, argento forsitan mediante vel auro, in Marchia vigor evanuit, tepuit fides et veritas, prudentia fruguit, karitas, rectitudo, sapientia et curialitas sunt corrupte ! Set agamus gracias fomiti graciaram quod malefactorum memoria cum sonitu periit et commune paduanum, licet multis incussum fluctibus, tamen amodo divina et apostolica gracia reformatum, in propria conservabitur libertate, exemptum quidem a talibus peccuniarum exaccionibus et a tantis et sic diversis dispersionibus personarum, quales et quantas numquam intulit hominibus Pharaon nec Nero neque cruentus Anibal nec Busiris, non Sille nequicia vel Herodis.

¹ Rolandino, I, vii (p. 20).

² On the early members of the da Romano family see *ibid.*, i (p. 15, note 4); Verci, I, 48 ff.

³ See below, p. 135.

⁴ VII, xlii (p. 109).

VI

LA GRANT GUERRE DES BONS MARINIERS POR LA
MARCHE DOULEREUSE

In *B*, 15211, 98, *A*, *M*, *C*, and the Italian versions Chapter IX is immediately followed by a prophecy¹ that is concerned with events important in both Venetian and Paduan thirteenth-century history. Because of the ruin of the Marca caused by the influence of the Emperor ("por les roetes d'or et d'argent du champion au chief d'or") "li Bon Marinier auront une grant guerre... et cuidera l'on que il soient amende de lor avoir. Mais je voil bien qu'il sachent qu'il en apovriront a cent doubles qu'il en seront en la guerre dont il s'ousteront puis, mais ce sera a tart." This prophecy is so closely paralleled by the account which Da Canale gives of the active part that under the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249) Venice began to take in the war between the Emperor and the Pope that the passage² is given here in full: —

Sachies, Seignors, que au tens de Monseignor li Dus Iaques Teuples estoit la guerre de Monseignor l'Apostoile mult enracinee avec li Empereor; et de cele racine estoient les Venesiens si dou tot envelopes, que combien il se vosissent oster, si ne s'en poroient il oster; que Monseignor li Empereor avoit done la seignorie de la Marche Tervisane a Mesire Ecelin de Roman, que sire estoit a celui tens de Verone et de Visence et de Pave et de Este et de Moncels et de Tervisane tote, fors solement la cite; et Monseignor li Dus la defendoit encontre li effors de Mesire Ecelins. Et sachies que son frere charnel de pere et de mere, que l'en apeloit Mesire Albric, en estoit sire; et por la proiere de Monseignor l'Apostoile, l'aidoit Monseignor li Dus³, que totesvoies quant Mesire Ecelin venoit de sor Tervise, li Venisiens s'en aloient en Tervise a mil et a .c., trestuit armes; et quant Mesire Ecelins fesoit fere li damage des bles, et Monseignor li Dus donoit as Tervisens les vitailles. Et sachies, que Venise en despendi tant de son avoir, que une bone cite n'a tant de moble; que cele guerre qui estoit a celui tens entre les .ii. freres, dura grant tens; et chascun an venoit Mesire Ecelin a grant host de sor Tervise, et totevoies s'en aloient les Venisiens aider Tervise; et defendirent les Venisiens si bien cele vile, que Mesire Ecelin de Roman, qui estoit a celui tens si puissant home que il avoit en sa aide tote la partie de l'empire, ne fu si puissant que il peust avoir la segnorie de Tervise. Encor veul je que vos sachies,

¹ I, 66, note 11.

² I, cxxi (p. 408).

³ See below, II, 133 ff. for the relation of Alberico to both Pope and Emperor.

que Monseignor Iaques Teuples, li haut Dus de Venise, aidoit a tot son pooir la partie de Sainte Yglise, por la priere de Monseignor l'Apostole ; et tant fist, et il et tos les Venisiens avec lui, que Monseignor l'Apostole fu bien de Venise : et totevoies, en tos leus ou Sainte Yglise avoit besoing de Venise, Monseignor li Dus li donoit secors. Et sachiez, que ie ne veul pas oblier ce que Monseignor li Dus fist as Pavens ; que Monseignor li Enperere, lors quant il comensa la guerre a l'Apostole, il conduist si grant plante de paiens en Lombardie et en la Marche, que il en fist garnir totes les forteresses ; et sachiez, seignors, que Mesire Ecelins en avoit en la Marche Tervisane grant plante. Il avoit par mainte fois requis pes a Monseignor li Dus, mes il ne la peut avoir ; et quant Mesire Ecelins voit que en nule maniere ne peut avoir pes as Venisiens, si en fu mult corocies.

There is no need to rehearse here the long course of the war that ensued. Some of its chief incidents in which Venice was concerned are foretold in other prophecies to be examined later¹. The important part played by the Venetians in the crusade against Ezzelino which they undertook at the behest of the Pope and which resulted in his defeat and death, and especially their services in freeing Padua from his rule are recounted below². For this assistance both Paduans and Trevisans, especially the former, in 1268, showed themselves basely ungrateful from the Venetian standpoint, always disposed to make the most of any lapse on the part of a rival neighbor such as Padua. The events of this year explain the remainder of the prophecy, which continues with the sweeping assertion that "li Bon Marinier troveront autant de felonie en l'une partie come en l'autre et encore plus. Dont il diront que celes gens seront mauvaises envers aus, qu'il ne lor auront tant de bien fait qu'il ne lor sachent gre. Ains diront apertement que Dex lor laisse veoir la destruction des Bons Mariniers et si les auront il norris et eschapes de mort et de faim." In 1268 Venice suffered from a famine which the Doge, Lorenzo Tiepolo, sought to relieve by sending messengers to Padua, Ferrara, and Treviso to buy food ; "nec ab eis ingratissimum subventionem obtinere potuit," Dandolo³ con-

¹ See below, pp. 123-125, 133-136.

² Pp. 123 ff. Cf. *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 176 : — "Ecelinus namque toto tempore sue tyrannidis...frequenter Venetos multis iniuriis lacessivit. Sed ipsi, sicut viri astuti et donis sapientie et prudentie pre cunctis populis Italie predotati, tacite dissimulando tempus congruum expectabant, in quo possent tyranno pro meritis respondere ; et ipsorum expectatio non est suo desiderio defraudata. Ipsorum namque virtutis potentia et consilio Padua est devicta, et postmodum ab impetu Ecelini viriliter est defensa."

³ X, viii, 2 (col. 378) ; see also Sanudo, *R. I. S.*, XXII, 566.

tinues; " et contra eos indignatus, et maxime erga Paduanos, mercationibus, quae hinc inde deferuntur, nova imposuit vectigalia, et ut victualia, quae a Promontoriis Ravennae citra mare deferuntur, intrarent Venetias,cautius solito mare et Portus custodire fecit; quod Bononiensibus, qui totius Romandiolae dominium usurpaverant, turbationem induxit. Dux autem ad exterarum nationes navigia mittens blada ad saturitatem recuperavit. " Da Canale¹ gives a much more elaborate account of these circumstances and adds to his story some reflections which admirably illustrate the prophecy: —

Mult me merveil des Pavens, que ne se recordent des .xxii. ans que il furent es mains de Mesire Ecelin de Roman, que si cruelment les domagerent, lors quant il leur fesoit trenchier les testes, et les fesoit pendre... et a batre lor maisons a tere; et il estoient si avugles, que li pere demandoit a Mesire Ecelin de detrenchier son fils et li fils li pere, et l'un frere l'autre; et Veneciens les aida a hoster de celui ser-vage... Que vos diroie ie? Pavens ont fait bone pes a usuries, que lor todra lor maison et lor chans et lor vignes; et Veneciens auront bles et vitaille a plante a tos jors mais.

Encore me merveil ie plus de Trevisans; que il ne se recordent de Mesire Alberic de Roman, combien de tens il lor tint en sa subjection. Et disoit que il estoit de la partie de Sainte Iglise; et lor fesoit trenchier les testes et abatre lor maisons a la tere, et les chasoit de Trevisse... En Venise furent il reseu et lor femes, et done lor fu a manger et a bouire, et deniers por despendre. Tot ce que Veneciens lor firent de bien, ont il oublie.

VII

LE GRANT DOMAGE DE LA MESTRE CITE DE LA MARCHE DOULEREUSE

The conditions predicted in general terms in the prophecy that we have just examined are foretold with greater detail in Chapter x, which continues to recount the woes that will befall the "mestre cite de la marche... qui est apelee Pataine²," and especially a great "damage," not to be forgotten by the pagans in possession of the town, which will take place in 1256 and will be brought about by the will of those within Pataine.

¹ II, ccc, cccii (p. 652). See also Sanudo, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, II, iii, cap. i (p. 50); see below, p. 142, on the conduct of Ferrara.

² I. e., Padua.

The events of 1256 which explain this prophecy are related at length by Paduan and Venetian chroniclers, and the cruelties of Ezzelino's rule in Padua which led to them are circumstantially narrated in harrowing pages of Rolandino and Parisio da Cereta. In 1256 matters had reached such a pass that Pope Alexander IV sent Filippo, Archbishop of Ravenna, to the Venetians to preach a crusade against Ezzelino, bidding them, since he was excommunicate, go to Padua and wrest it from his hands. The Venetians readily answered the papal summons and were joined in the crusade by the Trevisans, the Paduans who had been exiled by Ezzelino, the Ferrarese, and Vicentines. Under a Venetian commander, Marco Badoer, they prepared to storm Padua, the Venetians, according to Da Canale,¹ playing an effective part in the assault. "Ciaus de la vile se defendoient mult bel : mes li aubalestriers de Venise getoient sovent et menu li quarels, et si espesement que ciaus dedens n'osoient metre lor visages as murs por defendre la vile. Et lors fu mis li feu dedens la porte et quant cil dedens virent ce, il abatirent l'enseigne de sor li mur a la terre, et se mistrent trestuit en fuie ; et les Venisiens et l'autre gens monterent de sor li murs, et pristrent la vile de totes pars : si entrerent trestuit dedens parmi la porte. Fuiant s'en vet Mesire Anceys², que Pave avoit a garder a tote sa compaignie ; et Mesire Felipe li Arcevesque se mist dedens ; et lor fu Mesire Marc Courin³ Poestes de Pave, tot ensi com Pavens li avoient promis⁴." Rolandino gives further details which throw light upon the prophecy. The crusaders having entered the city began to loot it. "Et duravit hec rapacitatis insanies fere per dies octo, ita quod hüs diebus fuit nobilis illa civitas paduana pauperior quam eo tempore Zenusii de Ruthena, quo ab Athilla destructa canino, translata mutavit locum ultra flumen, quod erat Padue munitio primitus a latere occidentis, et nunc ibi Ruina dicitur ubi ante Athillam primo fundata erat et Patavium dicebatur⁵." The misfortunes of the Paduans were not terminated by these events. On learning of the loss of the town Ezzelino took a hideous revenge upon its unhappy

¹ I, cxxxiv-cxli (pp. 424-432).

² Ansedisio dei Guidotti of Treviso, the nephew of Ezzelino and podestà of Padua from 1249 to 1256.

³ Marco Quirino.

⁴ I, cxxxix (p. 430). For the story of the crusade, the fall of Padua, and the flight of Ansedisio, see the entire Eighth Book of Rolandino.

⁵ Rolandino, IX, i (p. 123).

citizens who were in his army. He decided to imprison them all in Verona in order to prevent any complicity with their friends in Padua : —

Et fuerunt numero .xi. milia personarum et ultra de solis his de Padua et paduano districtu, quos in carceribus Verone positos et detentos vir ipse perdicionis et homo inaudite iniquitatis morte mala, tempore procedente, perire fecit fame, siti, frigore, nuditate, aliquos suspensio, aliquos quoque gladio, alios vero igne. De tanta quoque multitudine captivorum nunquam ducenti Paduam redierunt. Et habuit Ecelinus predictorum omnium, quos sic mortaliter carceravit, equos, arma, tentoria, vestimenta, pecuniam cunctaque ornamenta, que tulerant studiose ad Ecelini decorem et ad sui magnificenciam warnimenti. Iam ecce secundo diebus istis depauperata est civitas paduana ; primo namque diviciis per milites santi Petri, secundo personis et rebus per vicarium Antichristi. Set depauperacionis prime nulla est comparatio ad secundam ; inopia namque rerum poterit restaurari, set non est restauracio personarum. Imo nulli extat ambiguum quod humani generis tanta facta perditio, in Verona specialiter in etate presenti, viris perditis, mulieribus viduatis, dampnificavit populum paduanum in tantum, quod neque secunda etas neque tertia neque quarta poterit restaurare, quod iniqui et tyrampni pravitatis abolevit¹.

This passage explains the concluding prophecy of Chapter x, which foretells that "si grant justice sera fet dedens (i.e., in Padua) et si grant mortalites... que li sans d'euls fera la clamour a nostre sires Jhesu Crist, dont le remenant d'eus en mourront presque tuit en chartre." In general the application of the records from the chronicles quoted above is too plain to require comment. One phrase, however, needs explanation, namely the reference to "cil qui de painime sont en cel tens d'or en saisiime," who will recount to their descendants the woes of the "mestre cite." This expression becomes intelligible by comparison with the manuscript variants for Pavia, Pataine, that have been spoken of above², *paemine*, *paenie*, which show that here too *painime* certainly indicates Padua. It should also be noted that the prophecy represents the troubles of the Marca as a punishment for her sins. Pietro Gerardo, himself a Paduan, does not hesitate to make the same implication³ :

¹ Id., IX, viii (p. 129). See also Da Canale, I, cxl (p. 430) ; Nicola Smerego, *Chronicon*, R. I. S., VIII, 100 ; *Annales Veronenses*, p. 15 (an. 1256). On the legendary elements in the story, especially the number of victims, see A. Bonardi, *Leggende e storielle su Ezzelino da Romano*, pp. 9 ff.

² II, 113.

³ P. 16.

" Ezzelino terzo... mentre che visse lo flagello della Marca Trivisana, nato in questo mondo per Divina volontà per castigare li peccati delli miseri popoli. " But the prophecy is more specific and states that it is especially because of the ills that the Paduans will have wrought against their neighbors that they will be visited with the Divine displeasure. That by these neighbors the Venetians are meant we may feel very sure. With no other of the towns near by had Padua had a feud of longer standing or more persistent bitterness than with Venice, and in Venetian eyes she had not hesitated to commit a series of offences against the Republic, for which she usually had had occasion to repent¹. The prophecy accordingly in this phrase represents a Venetian point of view. The above facts reported by Rolandino also suggest a possible interpretation of the second cause for the destruction of the Marca foretold in Chapter XI, " un homme qui sera atret des Bons Mariniers ". This may refer to the pillaging of Padua by the crusading forces (called by Rolandino the " prima depauperacio ") that had won an entrance under the Venetian commander Marco Badoer.

VIII

LES TRAITRES BRISANS

In Chapter cccxxii there is a prophecy, which, although not having directly to do with the Marca, is so closely connected with the events that we are recalling that it is best examined here. In this prophecy Merlin announces that " la grant traison que feront [cels de Montclars que] a celui tens de mil et .ii.lvi^c.iii. ans seront apelles traitres Brisans, sera fet en senefiance de la traison Jhesu Crist. Il seront traitres aussint come furent li Juis... Et des lors en avant que il seront trais et donnees en servages nus ne sera saingneur de soi meismes. Itant vueil je que il sachent, fet Merlin, que mar verront celle traison que tiex se tourneront vers eus qui mout les amoient. Et celui qui en saisine en sera le comperra mout chier avant que trois ans soient passes que de par l'apostoille en sera la vengeance prise. "

¹ " In questo mezzo, " Marin Sanudo says (*R.I.S., Raccolta*, XXII, 1715), writing of the year 1110, " vene discordia grande, benchè sempre fusse rixa tra Padovani e Veneziani. " For various instances of " discordie " see Dandolo, IX, xi, 12 ff.; xiii, 9 (cols. 263, 264, 280); Da Canale, I, lxxii ff. (pp. 354 ff.); Rolandino, I, xiv (p. 25); Janotii, *Dialogus de Republica Venetiana*, in Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, V, i, 25, note.

The treason of Brescia, by which the city, a strongly papal adherent, was betrayed into the hands of Ezzelino, and the penalty that the Brescians paid for entrusting themselves to his rule, are graphically described by Da Canale¹, whose words sufficiently explain the prophecy without those of any other chronicler. After Ezzelino learned that Padua was irrevocably lost to him, he determined to wreak his anger upon Brescia, and forthwith began a war against the town : —

Cele vile avoit estee jusque a celui tens de la partie de Sainte Yglise... Que vous diroie ie ? Mult furent les Brissans a celui tens parfis au service de Sainte Yglise, et furent preus et hardis por defendre lor vile. Mes a celui tens que Mesire Ecelin s'en ala de sor Brisse a host apres ce que il ot perdu Pave, ils furent si avugles, que il ne conurent li bien dou mal. Il avoient en lor compagnie tote la chevalerie d'une vile que l'en appelle Mantoe et li peuple aveuc : il avoient por yaus gouverner celui Alegat meesme qui prist Pave en la compagnie des Venisiens: et avoit leisee Pave a garder as Venisiens.

Quant celui Alegat, qui l'en apeloit Mesire Felipe, que Arcevesque estoit de Ravene, ot assemble son host por rencontrer Mesire Ecelin qui venoit a host de sor Brisse ; il fu trais et pris et done a celui Ecelin que il avoit tant guerroe, et li fu donee Brisse, que il estoit venus por defendre la : dont ciaux Brissans en firent tel marche, que il en perdirent a cent doubles. Et quant Mesire Ecelin de Roman fu en saisine de Brisse, il comensa a faire si grant juise de Brissans, com il avoit fait en la Marche Tervisane, et encore plus aspre veniance...

Mult furent esbais ciaux de la partie de Sainte Iglise apres ce que Brisse fu rendue a Mesire Ecelin... Quant Monseignor l'Apostoile sot l'aventure, que pris estoit li Arcevesque de Ravene, il en fu mult dolent et mult corocies, et dist a ses clers : Sachies que ce celui Ecelin vit longuement, il honira la crestiente. Et lors eslut un Arcevesque de Borgoigne, et li donna la legacion en leu de l'Arcevesque de Ravene; et li dist : Ales vos ent en Venise et en Lombardie, et dones la crois as Venisiens et as Lombards ; et que il facent tant por Sainte Yglise que li orgueil des ii freres soit abatus².

¹ I, cxli ff. (pp. 432 ff.).

² Rolandino (XI, ix, x; pp. 150, 151) adds further details that lead to a somewhat better appreciation of the prophecy, for he dwells upon the treachery of the Brescians, who made but a poor defense of the town, and enlarges upon their harsh fate under the rule of Ezzelino : — “ Et breviter, civitatem et Brixiam quasi totam dedit exterminio et ruine, multo magis, quam olim fuerit ruine dedita tempore terremotus, de quo supra legitur... Unde cum nunc Brixia secundo quodammodo dedita sit ruine, sit eciam divisa in partes, illos quoque scismaticos exaltaverit et duxerit ad honores, quorum unus (i.e., Ezzelino) scisma fecit in Marchia, alter (i.e.,

The betrayal of Brescia occurred in August, 1258. In September, 1259, Ezzelino was taken captive, and mortally wounded in the crusade instigated against him by the Pope¹; thus the last sentence of Merlin's prophecy was fulfilled.

The reading which attributes this "traiison" to the people of Montclers seems needlessly harsh to them. Montechiari, an important Brescian fortress², lying south-east of the town of Brescia, near Castiglione delle Stiviere, perhaps the best known modern town in the close vicinity, had no responsibility in the taking of Brescia by Ezzelino in 1258. It was successfully besieged by Frederic II in 1237, and after its surrender his forces laid it waste³. It is probable that since the story of the chronicles represents the Montichiarians as more sinned against than sinning, their conduct at this time in surrendering to the imperial forces has been confused in our prophecy with that of the Brescians in 1258. In the sixteenth-century account of the fall of Brescia by Cavriolo⁴ there is a somewhat similar situation, for events which are ordinarily reported of the siege of Brescia in 1237 by Frederic, immediately after he had taken Montechiari are placed at the time of the surrender in 1258.

Marchese Pallavicino) in Lombardia, prophetia illa iam est intellecta veraciter, que condamnata reperta fuit in lapide quodam marmoreo, dum fodiebantur fovee in munitionem Brixia et defensam, lapide illo siquidem sub terra longe abscondito, sculptaque littera prophetic mirabiliter et formata. Inquit enim :

*Brixia, prava nimis, urbs deformata ruinis,
Scinderis in partes ; solitas non deseris artes,
Scismatis auctores ad summos ducis honores.*

Satis illic aliquis habet amodo amplam materiam et diffusam qua potest cuiusque prudentis animus observari, ut noscant, qui debent, noscere tirapnias, fugere proditores, pravum vitare dominium et usque ad mortem defendere libertatem. Nullum est sane diluvium, nulla pestis, nullum incendium vel gehenna, quod tantam inferat miseriam tolerantibus, quam sub iniquo dompno privacio libertatis. Neque enim sine causa reperitur in iure, quod nequeat homo liber precio numerario comparari. "

With the above verses, cf. below, p. 154. Galvaneo della Fiamma, *De Gestis Azonis Vicecomitis*, R. I. S., XII, 101, interprets them by occurrences of 1337; see Rolandino, *l.c.*, note. On the events cf. *Chronicon Estense*, pp. 31 ff.; *Historia Cortusiorum*, R. I. S., XII, 772; on the reputation of Brescia, *Liber Marchiane Ruine*, ed. Canth, *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, V, 26, vs. 156.

¹ See below, p. 129.

² See Salimbene, p. 471; *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 156.

³ For an account of the surrender see Malvesius, *Chronicon Brixianum*, R. I. S., XIV, 909 (cap. cxxv); Salimbene, p. 93; Rolandino, IV, iv (p. 58); *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 256.

⁴ *Historie Bresciane*, 1744, p. 101.

IX

LA MORT DU ROI DE PATANIE

The closing scenes in the drama of Ezzelino's life are foretold in Chapter LXXIV in a prophecy that is unintelligible unless we have in mind certain events that were taking place in Lombardy and the Marca between 1256 and 1259. In 1256, at the time when Archbishop Filippo was preaching the crusade against him in Venice, Ezzelino was forming plans to attack Mantua, with which he was already in hostile relations¹. Hearing of the fall of Padua, however, he withdrew from Mantua² and made an attempt to regain Padua. In the defence there was a large force of Mantuan soldiers upon whose presence Rolandino³ lays great stress: — "Fuerunt illic in magna parte milites mantuani, quos scilicet compellebat amor quodammodo naturalis. Dicunt enim qui recolunt, quod quidam specialis amicitie vigor quasi radicans antiquitus extat inter Mantuam et Paduam longis temporibus iam transactis." Ezzelino's efforts proving fruitless here, he made the successful attack upon Brescia that has been described above. In the same year, 1258, the Mantuans united with their Lombard neighbors, the Brescians, against their common foe⁴ and suffered severely at the time of the surrender of Brescia to Ezzelino⁵. In 1259 for the purpose of putting an end to his intolerable power⁶ a league, including Mantua, was formed among certain of the Lombard communes, who were loyal to the Church. Ezzelino himself was then planning to take Milan. His skilful manoeuvres to this end, and the brave efforts of Milan and the allied Lombard towns to frustrate them are related at great length but with vivid animation by Rolandino⁷. Successful though the Lombard allies were, they suffered severely from the depredations of Ezzelino. "Ipse autem coluber tortuosus, humani sanguinis dilluvium

¹ See Rolandino, VIII, i (p. 111); *Annales Mantuani*, M. G. H., XIX, 22, 23 (an. 1247, 1255); *Annales Veronenses*, p. 15 (an. 1256).

² See Rolandino, IX, vii (p. 127).

³ X, iv (p. 135).

⁴ See *Annales Mantuani*, M. G. H., XIX, p. 23 (an. 1258).

⁵ See the passage from Da Canale quoted above, II, 126. Rolandino, XI, x (p. 150).

⁶ *Ibid.*, xv (p. 155).

⁷ XII, i-ix (pp. 159 ff.).

et vorago, fons scelerum et magister, cum facere iam nequeat quod presumpsit, spumanti quadam rabie indignatus, vertitur in furem, et tanquam desperans ulterius suaque intencione fraudatus motusque limphante sevicia, discurrere cepit per Mediolani confinium, loca et castra finitima dissipando pro posse¹. " After a hot pursuit, in which he had almost succeeded in making his escape, Ezzelino was finally surrounded by his foes near Cassano on the banks of the Adda and taken captive — according to one tradition, wounded in the foot and later in the head, — and shortly after died in custody².

In the prophecy of Chapter LXXIV, Merlin announces that " tres devant Patanie sera une si tres grant mortalites de gent sarrazinoise que plus de .xl.m. hommes en seront [ocis], et li rois de Patanie en sera fendus par mi la teste jusques es dens. " Maistre

¹ *Ibid.*, v (p. 162).

² *Ibid.*, viii, ix (p. 166) : — " Hii (i.e., Azzo d'Este and other nobles) siquidem principes et barones aliique multi nobiles et magnates civitatum, castrorum, villarum aliorumque locorum, communia de Lombardia et Marchia, de Romagna et aliunde, Ecelinum circumdederunt, ceperunt et tenuerunt. Et fuit in illis quidam, secundum multorum dictum, qui Ecelinum — sic circumdatum et jam quasi non Ecelinum, set virum captum et indefensum — bis vel ter in capite rusticane percussit, excusans improprium suum et dicens quod hoc fecit in cuiusdam sui fratris vindictam, quem pede uno fecerat mutilari... Set Marchionis utriusque et Bosii dovarensis et magnatum ceterorum nobilitas noluit tollerare quod virum tantum et tam famosum instantis turbe frequentia factis ledere debeat aut dictis. Ipsum ergo prius ad tentorium dompni Bosii, deinde, prout in tali casu decuit, ad Soncini castrum honorabiliter conduxerunt. Et adhibitis sapientibus medicis... habitus est Ecelinus in tali et tanta cura, qualem laudare posses per Albricum habitam vel forte per aliquos eius fidelissimos de Romano. Est autem sapientibus notum quod medicina forte potest differre mortem, nequid autem tollere vel fugare... Nam ecce quod Ecelinus, olim tante altitudinis homo, in predicto anno Domini die .xi. post predictam captionem eiusdem, sublatu de medio huius vite, diem clausit extremum, et... sepultus est in Soncino. "

Da Canale (II, cxlvii, cxlviii ; pp. 440, 442) follows the same tradition of the wounding of Ezzelino. See also Ventura, *Memoriale*, R. I. S., XI, 155, 156 : — " Dum esset in exercitu Eccelinus contra Cremonenses, percussus fuit ex uno quarello in genu, sive in tibia... Audientes hoc Cremonenses irruerunt in eum, et cum viriliter pugnasset, atque vidisset res suas in maximo discrimine, equum suum impulit in flumine, qui eum salvum in alteram transtulit ripam ; sed cognitus ab adversariis et insequutus et in ultimum discrimen adductus, ministri Eccelini haec videntes volneraverunt eum in capite ad mortem " ; Pipino, col. 697 : — " capitur Exolinus clava ictus in capite " ; cf. *Historiae Cortusiorum*, R. I. S., XII, 773 ; *Annales Mantuani*, ed. cit., p. 23 (an. 1259). In the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (*Le novelle antiche*, ed. Biagi, 1880, No. cxxi) Ezzelino is said to have struck his head against the pole of the tent in which he was a prisoner, and thus to have taken his own life. On these varying traditions see Stieve, *Ezzelino von Romano*, p. 125, note 25.

Antoine inquires how this shall be brought about, and Merlin replies: "Ce sera que li poien de Patanie ont pris guerre a ceus de la terre qui jadis fu Virgile, et cil ont en leur aide ceus de Lombardie et sont orendroit devant Patanie a la mellee;... que d'une partie que d'autre en morra grant plante. Mes li Lombart seront hui desconfit et fuiront l'un ca et l'autre la, et se ce ne fust la mort du roi de Patanie qui sera occis, il commenceront la chace que mar eussent il leur pies mellez cele part li Lombart. "

By "li poien de Patanie" we must understand Ezzelino, "roi de Patanie (païenie)," and his followers, who are called "poien" because of the confusion between *Patanie* and *païenie* that has been already exemplified, or because they were the enemies of the Church, against whom the crusaders who had wrested Padua from Ezzelino were fighting and whom the chroniclers again and again denote as "infideles" and "heretici". The war that the pagans of Padua will begin against the land of Virgil is the war that Ezzelino carried on against the Mantuans, who allied themselves with other Lombard towns ("cil ont en leur aide ceus de Lombardie") and some of whom were present at the later defence of Padua. To this defence the opening sentence of the prophecy refers. "Gent sarrazinoise" may be merely a variation of the expression "li poien," or it may be accounted for by the fact that Ezzelino employed Saracens in his forces¹. The king of Padua who was wounded in the head is plainly Ezzelino², but he was not wounded before Padua nor at the time of the great destruction of his followers there. In these particulars the prophecy is inaccurate. Yet it may be seen from the swiftly moving narrative of Da Canale that the loss of Padua was the first link in the chain of events that led to the death blow of Ezzelino and that are foretold in the rest of the prophecy. As compensation for his reverses at Padua he directed his campaign against Brescia; his abominable cruelties there induced the formation of the league against him by the Lombard communes and thus led to their conflict with

¹ See, e.g., Rolandino, VIII, i (p. 112) : — "Legatus (Archbishop Filippo)... suos confortabat assidue ut secure starent et niterentur et gentem quasi barbaram et heresim expugnarent, muniti signaculo sancte crucis et in servicium Iesu Christi."

² See Rolandino, IV, i, vi, ix (pp. 55, 61, 63); VIII, ii (p. 113); *Annales Veronenses*, p. 10 (an. 1237).

³ Ezzelino was in effect "le roi" of Padua. In the years after he took the town, those who professed themselves of his party began, according to Rolandino (IV, vi; p. 60), "ipsum quasi per excellenciam dompnium nominare, nomen eius proprium per summam reverenciam subticentes."

him that culminated in their final pursuit and capture of him on the banks of the Adda; and but for his death they might well have regretted the day when they opposed him.

X

LA VILLE QUI DEPARTIE SERA EN TROIS PARTIES

The prophecies in Chapter xcvi and the first part of Chapter xcvi are also connected with the Trevisan Mark. Once more Merlin announces trouble for the people of the Marche Amoureuse as a penalty for their sins. In 1258 they will be "comme essilies. Et des lors en avant la ville departie [sera] en senefiance de son non, ce est en trois parties." They will be betrayed as Cain betrayed Abel. "Il le salua et puis l'ocist,... que il seront menes a ce qu'il cuideront estre sauves. Mes il seront trais et li apostole meismes en sera deceus." The betrayer will suffer and before 1275 "sera osten et lui et ses hoirs desus la terre si que l'en ne les porra trouver en vie, ains seront essilies et mort." The Italian and French texts then diverge. *V*¹ reads: — "Dime, Merlino, disse maestro Antonio, como sera quella traditione, che tu vai dicendo? — Meti in scripto, disse Merlino, che questo advenira per el dragoncelo che a quel tempo sera nutrito in quella Marca. Et questo sera al tempo del champion che morira in contumacia, el qual havera de molte rodete d'argento." The French text is as follows: — "Di moi, Merlin,... fet mestre Antoine, comment avendra celle traison que tu vas disant? — Met en escrit, fet Merlin a mestre Antoine, que li draconciaus qui a celui tens sera norris en cele marche, et droitement a celui point quant li champions qui morra en contumance sera tres devant Marmor em parlera a [plain] et entre celui et un autre orgueilleus chevalier, qui riens ne saura de celle traison ains aura des roetes d'argent a grant plente." The versions agree in the sequel that these "roetes d'argent" were given to their possessor by the Good Mariners and the Pope as an inducement to loyalty toward the papal party.

The "ville qui departie sera en senefiance de son non en trois parties" is to be interpreted as Treviso² in accordance with a

¹ Fol. 67 a.

² If we adopt the Italian reading *terra* for *ville*, the prophecy may be understood as referring to the Marca Trevisana as a whole.

In the last prophecy in Chapter xcvi concerning the "poissons" of the Pope (see below, II, 160, note 1), I would suggest that again Treviso is indicated by

popular etymology, which losing sight of the early Latin form *Tarvisium* derived *Treviso* from *tre visi*, basing the derivation on a legend of the origin of the town that exists, among several others, in a variety of forms : the Trojans after they had founded Padua built a tower on the site of Treviso, on which they carved a figure of the three-faced goddess, Hecate; or, the tower of the *Donzella di tre visi* was one of the gates of Padua, which led directly to the region where Treviso was built; or again, the town was named in honor of the three-faced goddess Prudenza, who was worshipped by the inhabitants of the land before Christ¹. In the lack of authentic early sources for this etymology the evidence of the *Prophecies* that it was known in the thirteenth century is interesting². Although Treviso was not literally divided into three parts during those unhappy years when she was enduring the signory of the da Romano, she was, in the condition to which they reduced her, a land divided against herself, as Rolandino³ describes her : — “Hodie tota Marchia, subjecta werre, destructioni subiacet et ruine. Inter fratres et proximos, cives et convicinos seminata est zizania, hodia, dolositates et rixa, fraudes, versucie et rapine, decepiones et similtates, mortes et inimicie capitales.”

Events of this period explain the prophecy. In 1239 Frederic II, while making a sojourn in Padua after Treviso had opened its gates to him⁴, having effected a temporary reconciliation with

“V.V.V.,” and that the “ville qui desus les fontainnes fu fete” is Padua, because of the etymology that derived the name from *padule* (*palude*) owing to the marshy situation of the town. Villani, I, xvii : — “Padova [Antenor] le pose nome perch’era infra paduli e per lo fiume del Po che vi corre assai presso che si chiamava Pado.” See Fazio degli Uberti, *Ditta Mundi*, III, iii : —

*Da Pado over dal padul prese el nome
Che presso ne a assai questa citade,
Brenta la cierchia e chiude come un pome.*

See, however, also the description of Treviso (*ibid.*, III, ii), “che de chiare fontane tutto ride.” I know of no historical events that explain the prophecy satisfactorily.

¹ See the sixteenth-century chronicler, Giovanni Bonifacio, *Historia Trivigiana*, 1591, I, 5.

² See Azzoni, *Considerazioni sopra le prime notizie di Trivisi*, 1840, pp. 172 ff.; cf. especially the early fifteenth-century elegiacs of Bartolommeo Burchelato, who unreservedly accepted the popular etymology of the name, in *Commentariorum Memorabilium multiplicis Historiae Tarvisinae Locuples Promptuarium*, 1616, pp. 229, 561, 679; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 1720, V, 486.

³ I, ii (p. 17).

⁴ *Id.*, IV, xi (p. 65).

his powerful opponent, Azzo d'Este, unwisely took as hostages for his fidelity his son and daughter-in-law, Rainaldo and Adelaita, both of whom he sent to Apulia, " *dicens quod hoc erat pro bono pacis*," so Rolandino reports. Adelaita was the daughter of Alberico da Romano, lord of Bassano, who had heretofore been an active supporter of the imperial cause. But infuriated at this treatment of his daughter¹, joining forces with the opponents of Frederic, within a month he hastened to Treviso, which was in imperial hands, took it, and held it². His open defection from the empire was welcomed by Pope Gregory IX. In a letter of 1239, he commends Alberico to the Bishops of Grado and Castello as a faithful son worthy of praise³. In fact documentary evidence shows that many papal concessions were freely made to him and that the Holy See valued him as an important asset on its side of the quarrel with Frederic. Alberico also speedily allied himself with the Venetians, and in 1240 he united with them, the Conte di San Bonifazio, and the Mantuans in an expedition against Ferrara, which was held by the imperial adherent, Salinguerra⁴. It seemed wise to the Venetians to aid Alberico when Treviso was attacked by Ezzelino, as we have seen from the passage quoted above⁵ from Da Canale: " *et por la proiere de Monsignor l'Apostoile l'aidoit Monseignor li Dus, que totesvoies quant Mesire Ecelin venoit de sor Tervise, li Venisiens s'en aloient en Tervise a mil et a .c., trestuit armes, et quant Mesire Ecelins fesoit fere li damage des bles, et Monseignor li Dus donoit as Tervisens les vitailles.* " In spite of the attentions of the Pope and the Venetians, however, Alberico's hostility to Ezzelino did not outlive a rebuff administered to him by the Paduans, who, evidently distrusting his loyalty, when he offered in 1256 to undertake the defence of Padua against Ezzelino, met him with a humiliating refusal⁶.

¹ Id., V, i (p. 71): — " *Cum Albericus idem haberet karam plus cunctis suis desiderii et thesauris.* "

² Id., IV, xi (p. 66).

³ Verci, I, 301: — " *Hinc est quod ipsius desiderio grato concurrentes assensu eundem nobilem in devotione Ecclesie et defensione Catholice fidei, et libertatis Ecclesiastice persistentem, nec non terram et alia bona sua sub B. Petri, et nostra protectione duximus admittenda.* " See also Id., I, 302; III, 89, 90, 205, 232, for indications of the favor accorded to Alberico by successive pontiffs; Rolandino, IX, v (p. 126), note 3.

⁴ Rolandino, V, i (p. 71); see below, p. 140, note 4.

⁵ II, 122.

⁶ Rolandino, IX, x, xi (p. 130).

Bitterly incensed, he abandoned their cause and in the following year agreed to a public reconciliation with Ezzelino. This reconciliation proved the undoing of Alberico¹. He was excommunicated by Pope Alexander IV in June, 1258², and under the influence of Ezzelino entered upon a reign of terror in Treviso, which in time brought upon him a deadly vengeance.

Rolandino is not alone among the chroniclers in giving the impression that the hostility between the brothers was feigned and that Alberico was deceiving the Pope as to his fidelity³. Da Canale,

¹ *Annales Veronenses*, p. 15 (an. 1257); Verci, III, 289; Rolandino as quoted below, note 3.

² See Verci, III, 301.

³ See Rolandino, recording events of 1256 and 1257 (IX, v; p. 126) : — " Illi enim, qui castrum Cigotum tarvisini districtus habebant, sperantes adhuc forsitan quod illi de Romano, cum haberent adhuc Tarvisium, possent Paduam rehabere, castrum Cigotum reddiderunt Albrico de Romano, qui Tarvisium possidebat, pretendentes hanc causam, quod ipse scilicet videbatur favere Ecclesie. Nam in eo tanta dolositas versipellis latitaverat usque modo, quod crediderant aliqui, eum longis iam retro temporibus fratri suo Ecelino contrarium extitisse. Set hoc credulitas nequaquam locum habuit apud illos, qui noscunt naturalem amorem fratrum... Sane aliqui de Padua, de Tarvisio, de Baxano, et aliunde, sive liberi, sive de ipsorum familiis, sunt penas et mortem perpassi, qui crediderunt fratres illos inter se inimicari ad mortem. Immo de certo consilio et sciencia utriusque unus eorum parti adhesit Ecclesie, alter parti imperatoris ut utriusque partis uterque secreta cognosceret et illos apcius possent disperdere quos volebant. Nam et cautissimus abbas ille Sancte Lucie primo et abbas factus postea Sancti Felicis de Vicencia, quidam alter eciam, nomine Moscardinus de Pedemonte, nocte multis vicibus unius fratris ad alterum tulit litteras et secreta. " (XI, i; p. 145) " Dubitabatur adhuc in Padua, quid facere proponerent iniquitatis filii Ecelinus et Albricus; et huic dubitationi suberat causa duplex. Nam nec videbatur dolositas Ecelini a suis versuciis declinare, nec bene certum erat, si frater eius Albricus, ad ceteros falsus et versipellis, latenter favebat fratri, quamvis se adhuc fidelem Ecclesie appellaret. Memores ergo sapientes de Padua, quod olim vir sapiens et astutus dompnus Stephanus Badoarius de Veneciis illos de Romano domuerat, ecce iam elegerunt et tunc ad regimen vocaverunt psius dompni Stephani filium, dompnum Iohannem Badoarium, pro sequenti anno in Padua rectorem et potestatem, virum utique sapientem et probum, moribus et legalitate decorum, multa cordis magnanimitate fortem et animosum. Et inceptit suum regimen more solito in festo sancti Petri de iunio predicti anni MCCLVII. Hoc autem intellexerunt predicti fratres et amodo, missis hinc inde nunciis, monstrare incipiunt fraudulenter et fingunt quod inter eos nova concordia contrahatur. Incepit etiam Albricus novam tyrannidem exercere in Tarvisio, ubi solus dominabatur milites et populares torquere plus solito, ecclesiis, viduis, orphanis et pupillis imponere dura vectigalia et tributa, quosdam punire gladio, quosdam igne, quosdam occidere in tormento, in carcere alios, alios exulare. Unde multi Venecias tunc, multi Paduam fugerunt. Et sic idem Albricus, se adhuc nichilominus asserens de sancte matris Ecclesie parte et obtinens Tarvisium sibi soli, fatebatur publice in suis consiliis et arengis, dicens quod ad honorem sancte Ecclesie secreverat granum

too, though less emphatic in his assertions than Rolandino, implies that Alberico's betrayal did not come as a great surprise to the Church, and that she was not taken wholly unawares by his defection¹ : —

Endementiers que Mesire Ecelin estoit en saisine de cele vile (i. e., Brescia), avint que son frere Mesire Albric se tint a lui, et li dona Tervise. Et sachiez, que il avoit garde por Sainte Iglise .xvii. ans et plus; et avoit fait si felenesse justise en Tervise, com de faire trenchier testes et pies et mains, et de trenchier mamelles et nes a femes, et de abatre tors et maisons a terre; et disoit que ce fesoit il as traitors de Sainte Iglise : et Mesire Ecelin fesoit faire autretel, et disoit que ce fesoit il as traitors de la corone. Quant li .ii. freres furent acordes il comencierent andeus la guerre encontre Sainte Iglise; et mult furent esbais ciaux de la partie de Sainte Iglise apres ce que Brisse fu rendue a Mesire Ecelin. Mes de Tervise ne furent il a maleise ne corocies; que il n'avoient onques eu ferme creance que Mesire Albric fust de la partie de Sainte Yglise : entre deus le tenoient. Se Mesire Albric avoit este orgueilleus et cruel devant, il fu apres assez pis.

Da Canale's narrative proceeds with the preaching of the second crusade against Ezzelino, which, as we have seen, brought about his end. As soon as the news of his death reached Venice, an expedition under Marco Badoer was despatched by the Doge to Treviso to rescue the town from Alberico. The Trevisans immediately surrendered and appointed Marco Badoer their podestà. Alberico had already fled from Treviso to the castle of San Zeno when the Venetians arrived. Under the command of Marco Badoer, an allied force composed of Venetians, Paduans, the Marchese d'Este, and the Vicentines at once proceeded to San Zeno; the inhabitants were allowed to leave the castle with the exception of Alberico and his family. "Maintenant fu rendu li chastel, et Mesire Albric et sa feme et ses enfans et son juge montrerent de sor la tor, et ce fu por noiant que sa mainee meesme les dona a ciaux de hors. Que vous diroie je ? Quant il furent pris, ciaux a cui il avoient forfait, n'attendirent pas jugement; ains mistrent main a lor espees, et firent la justise; et fu Mesire Albric detrenchie, et ses enfans et son juge; et sa feme et sa fille fu arse, et une soe fille de bast ardirent Tervisans .ii. ans apres. En tel maniere, com je vos ai conte,

a paleis, serpentes a virgulto reiecerat et lupos per Dei gratiam expulerat ab ovilli." See also *Id.*, V, xxi (p. 84); Salimbene, p. 364; Bonifacio, *Historia Trivigiana*, ed. cit., p. 266.

¹ I, cxlii, cxliii (pp. 434, 436).

fu destruit li lignage de Ecelin apres sa mort, que ja remest nului an vie¹. ”

The connection of the prophecy with the above events is plain. Its earlier part is explained by the betrayal of Treviso by the lord who by its people and the Pope was supposed to be loyal, who was later overtaken by an unhappy but deserved fate, and with his heirs was utterly destroyed. In the second part the text of the Italian versions is intelligible, if we understand the “dragon who will be nourished in the Marca” to be Ezzelino, as in the prophecy in Chapter xxxvi², and the “champion who will die in contumacy,” who will have received “roetes d’argent” from the Pope and the Venetians, to be Alberico. The French text is not so clear. According to it, the treason will begin when the “champion who will die in contumacy” will be before Verona. From Rolandino³ we learn that Frederic, who was at Vicenza, was about to go to Verona at the time of Alberico’s seizure of Treviso in 1239 — his first hostile act toward the Empire, or, if his hostility to the Empire was feigned, his first step in his policy of concealing his loyalty toward his brother and the Emperor. To this period the phrase in the prophecy may possibly refer, and the remainder would then be interpreted as meaning that at that time, Ezzelino (the dragon nourished in the Mark) will use his influence (“em parlera a plain”) with another orgulous knight⁴ who will have abundant silver, namely Alberico. This explanation, however, leaves the phrase, “qui rien saura de celle traison” unintelligible. The general meaning of the prophecy in its essentials is nevertheless clear.

XI

LES II FEUS DESUS LE PAU

An obscure and confused prediction in the first part of Chapter xv, although not directly connected with the Marca, has to

¹ Da Canale, I, cl (pp. 444, 446). Rolandino (XII, xiii ff., xvii; pp. 168 ff, 172) after his detailed account of the crusade against Alberico and his capture, dwells upon the complete extermination of his family. See also *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 178 (an. 1260); Salimbene, p. 363.

² See above, II, 107.

³ IV, xi (p. 66).

⁴ Cf. the expression of Da Canale (I, cxliv; p. 436) in the speech of Doge Renier Zeno when the crusade against the two brothers was being preached in Venice: — “i ne se puet tenir por crestien celui qui ne met cuer... por abatre li orgueil que il ont.” See also, I, cxliv; p. 438: — “Votre servise fait mestier a Sainte Yglise por abatre li orgueil de ciaux .ii. freres.”

do, like the prophecy concerning Brescia, with events that are so closely interwoven with those examined above that it may suitably be interpreted here. On the Po in the city F. two fires will burst forth, "li uns grant et li autres petit." Each will desire to extinguish the other; the little fire will increase and will put out the great; the great will blaze up again and quench the little, and will remain "sire du Pau." The little fire then will be rekindled by the help of another and will extinguish the "sire." "Et lors prendra si grant orgueil que il cuidera que james [ne li] vaille riens l'aide que il aura eu, et souventes fois cuidera que li feus soit du tout estaint, mes ains que li Dragons soit occis allumera uns autres feu, et combatra encontre celui si durement que ansdeus seront presque estaint." Because of this there will be battles and bloody death among "les citoiens."

The city F. on the Po is Ferrara¹, "la gran donna del Po," which now lies south of the main stream at the point where the river breaks into the Po di Primaro and the Po di Volano for its descent to the sea, but which was regarded in the thirteenth century and even later as directly on the Po², although in the twelfth century the Rotta di Ficarolo, a new channel, had been opened, which ultimately changed the main bed of the stream. Ferrara is one of the numerous Italian towns whose history in the thirteenth century is merely the record of a burning rivalry between two leading families of the place, now smouldering, now bursting into conflagration when fanned by an agitating breath³; indeed few of the factional strifes that harassed Italy in this period were more bitter and more widespread than that which had its centre within her walls. It raged between the Adelardi, representing the nobility, and the Torelli, who, although noble, were supported by the people. These families are introduced in the *Chronica Parva Ferrariensis*⁴ as already rivals before the year 1140, the Adelardi led by Guglielmo di Marchesella and the Taurelli by Salinguerra. At the death of Guglielmo, who left no male heir, the house of Este, allied by marriage with the Marchesella, became the leaders of the Adelardi,

¹ See for the variants and the marginal note in *M*, I, 73, note 2.

² Fazio degli Uberti, *Ditta Mundi*, III, ii: — "Lungo Ferara el Po tutto fa fronte"; Da Canale, I, xcvi (p. 382). On the importance of the Po at Ferrara see *Chronica Parva Ferrariensis*, R. I. S., VIII, 475-478; Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, ed. C. Laderchi, 1847-1848, I, 63 ff.

³ See Muratori, *Antichità* (Diss. 51), IV, 433.

⁴ *L.c.*, col. 481.

and, although there were some intervals of peace, even of their joint rule in Ferrara, they remained rivals of the Taurelli. From 1207 to 1215 the two factions were in turn expelled and restored with such dizzy frequency that each may be said to have lived normally on the point of exit or return, and our prophecy might be applied in a general way to almost any time within that period or even earlier. But the indications are that it refers expressly to occurrences following 1215, when the established hostility assumed a more serious aspect. In that year the Taurelli were represented by Salinguerra, the son of the elder Salinguerra, podestà of Ferrara in 1195, son-in-law of Ezzelino da Romano and openly his friend¹, while the Adelardi were led by Azzo d'Este, who on the death of his elder brother Aldrovandino had become Marchese d'Este as Azzo VII. He was still a boy, and was known as "Azzo novello" — "adhuc in puericia posito et iam quasi novella planta in id etatis fructus uberrimos promittente," in the words of Rolandino². "Tunc remansit," says the *Chronicon Estense*³, "in honorabili domo estensi Aczo... parvulus, multis debitis et angustis oneratus." Azzo VII, then, would be appropriately designated in the prophecy as "li feus petit." This provides a point of departure for the interpretation.

For the year 1221 the *Chronicon Estense*⁴ records: — "De mense augusti magnum proelium fuit inter dominum Marchionem estensem et dominum Salingeram, et tunc expulsa fuit pars domini Salinguere de Feraria et combusta domus sua, et paucis diebus elapsis facta fuit pax inter eos." Rolandino says nothing of this expulsion and speedy reconciliation, but relates⁵ the disturbances of the following year: —

Cum post mortem marchionis Azonis et eius filii Aldrevandini solus in Estensi domo remansisset Azo novellus, adhuc etate juvenis set prudencia et probitate maturus, ut plurimum, habitabat Ferrarie. Ubi multos amicos multosque vassallos habebat; et erat Salinwerre, vir sapiens et astutus, de numero vassallorum ipsius. Qui cum forte potens esset amicis, divitiis et honoribus magnus in civitate et cum ipse cum suis amicis haberet omnes honores quasi et officia civitatis, crevit discordia inter amicos Marchionis et Salinwerre in tantum, quod

¹ Rolandino, I, ix (p. 22).

² I, xii, xv (pp. 23, 26). In his father's will Azzo is mentioned as "Azzolinum novellum"; see Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, 1717, I, 404.

³ P. 9 (an. 1215).

⁴ P. 11.

⁵ II, ii (p. 30).

Marchio cum parte sua de civitate exivit. Et sic exules facti sunt de propria patria Ferrarienses quidam suisque bonis omnibus et possessionibus sunt privati. In cuius iniurie ulcionem ipse Marchio Ferrarienses expulsos et omnes amicos suos quoscunque et undecunque potuit, sive de Lombardia, sive de Marchia, sive de comitatu Rudigii, congregavit et hostiliter accedens Ferrariam, castramentatus est iusta Padum. Timens vero Saliwerria prodicionem, ad hanc devenit concordiam, quod Marchio cum c de suis militibus et amicis intret civitatem ad tractandam concordiam, quod Ferrarienses utriusque partis possint pacificare ad invicem et concorditer permanere. Intravit ergo Marchio isto modo. Set postmodum visum est Ferrariensibus intrinsecis quod ii, qui intraverant, victualia malo modo acciperent pro se et suis equis, domos eciam, ut contingit in talibus, enormiter devastarent. Unde factus est magnus tumultus et clamor per civitatem : *Ad arma, ad arma!* moriantur et pereant inimici. Insurrexerunt partes utrinque et qui cum Marchione intraverant, partim mortui et partim sunt de civitate expulsi... Hoc autem factum est anno domini MCCXXII¹.

Salinguerra remained lord of Ferrara, and although in 1224 Azzo with his supporters attempted to lay siege to the town and even succeeded in taking the outlying Ferrarese stronghold, Fratta, he was effectually prevented from re-entering Ferrara by the wiles of Salinguerra, of which he appears to have been strangely suspicious².

So far the prophecy applies to the events. The small fire extinguished the large in 1221, when Azzo drove Salinguerra from Ferrara ; " l'orgueil et la vitance " of the little fire made trouble for it in 1222, either when Azzo treated Salinguerra as his vassal, according to Rolandino, and the discord about respective honors was the cause of the expulsion of Azzo and his followers, or more definitely when he and his adherents entered the city to arrange for peace, and their conduct, rightly or wrongly, was made an excuse for driving them out. It might well have been predicted that during the subsequent rule of Salinguerra for a few years the little

¹ The *Liber Regiminum Padue*, p. 305 (an. 1222) records the same events, but accuses Azzo VII of entering the city under pretence of peace for the purpose of taking possession of it; the more generally accepted view is that Azzo himself was duped by Salinguerra into a nominally peaceful entry; see Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, i 827, XVII, 323.

² See Rolandino, II, iv-ix (pp. 31 ff.); *Liber Regiminum Padue*, p. 306 (an. 1224); *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 152 (an. 1224); Dandolo, X, iv, 38 (col. 343); Muratori, *l. c.*, 333.

fire "n'osera mes esgarder cele part¹." "Contribulatis Marchionis amicis in Marchia tarvisina, cum haberet Salinwerra Ferrariam," Rolandino says² in describing the conditions of 1227. During the next twelve or more years the two factions became increasingly identified with the two great parties to the struggle that was rending Italy, Salinguerra with the Empire, Azzo with the Papacy. In the year 1240 the fortunes of Azzo brightened, and with the aid of allied forces, in which the Venetians became of capital importance³, he entered Ferrara, and Salinguerra was taken prisoner and carried to Venice, where he died in captivity. Thus "non par soi mes par autrui effors" Azzo, "li petit feus," drove out his rival⁴.

The troubles of Azzo, however, did not end with the final expulsion of Salinguerra. "Un autre feu" was lighted and blazed out against him in the person of Ezzelino, who continued the struggle from which Salinguerra was eliminated. In 1241 Ezzelino was at

¹ It is to be observed that Martino da Canale uses this same phrase of Azzo in the passage quoted below, p. 142, — "que n'osoit Feraire neis regarder."

² II, ix (p. 33).

³ See above, II, 133.

⁴ The account of these doings given by Rolandino (V, i; p. 71) parallels the prophecy so noticeably that it is quoted here *in extenso*: — "Languores igitur et angustie multiplices adhuc angere videbantur Marchionis amicos, dum scilicet in Padua, in Verona, in Ferraria, in Vicencia nullus auderet de Marchione ipso nec de ipsius amicis facere mencionem... Set quoniam Deus, dominus et pater iusticie, equitatis adiutor, superbos frangit et conterit, benignis et humilibus subvenit et misericors sepe porrigit manum lapsis, cum iam per Dei gratiam Marchio sua loca predicta recuperasset, quamvis Ecelinus predictas civitates haberet, tamen aliquanta prosperitas quodam modo Marchionem ipsum eiusdemque amicos movit et animavit ulterius ad maiora. In eodem namque anno MCCXL, mense februarii, placuit dompno Iacobo Theopolo, duci Venetiarum, comiti de Sancto Bonifacio, Albrico de Romano... placuit etiam Mantuanis communiter omnibus obsidere Ferrariam. Et habuerunt predicti omnes amicos suos quoscunque habere potuerunt et undecunque. Sicque fuerunt omnes cum Marchione et ipse cum eis; fueruntque ibidem eciam nuncii romane curie cum legato dompno Gregorio de Montelongo et quantitas quedam Bononiensium et Mediolanensium, ita quod illic fuit exercitus copiosus. Itaque cum esset dux Veneciarum in propria persona ibidem et conducerentur naves multe et magne de Venecias per aquas Padi, parate et turrite, ut hinc posset civitas expugnari de facili, Salinwerra, qui erat intrinsecus, quamvis iam foret annosus homo, probus tamen, sapiens et astutus, cum ipsis Ferrariensibus dilectis suis civibus subditis et amicis longo tempore viriliter se defendit. Tandem ordinatum est quoddam colloquium, quod ipse Salinwerra veniret extra; et venit, ut loqueretur cum magnatibus de exercitu pro facto pacis et concordie pertractando. Sic ipse, cum fuit extra, missus est Venecias curiali modo et digna reverencia custoditus; ubi post aliquot annos debita nature persolvit et eidem in eius morte omnes

Verona, "ubi manens insidiatus est Marchioni estensi et taliter machinatus est cum quibusdam, quod terra estensis fere tradita fuit in manus Eccelini et inimicorum Marchionis et sue partis¹." In 1242 he sallied forth from Verona to Lonigo. "Et ibi occulte stando fecit ignem poni in Montagnana, que nunc tenebatur pro parte Marchionis et per ipsum Marchionem, volens ipsam aut per ignem capere aut Marchionem habere, si posset²." Later in the same year, "hostiliter equitavit ad Este et fruges et omnia, praeter castrum sive rocam, radicitus devastavit³"; and so the warfare went on — not to follow it in detail⁴ — in a weary course which is described by the sentence in the prophecy, "Dont il avendra puis que li citoien se combatront l'un contre l'autre, et en morront presque tuit." In 1256 we find Azzo begging for aid from the Pope against Ezzelino⁵, and in 1259 taking a prominent part with his Ferrarese forces in the final battle, where he was present among the nobles who surrounded Ezzelino and took him prisoner⁶. It is apposite to compare with the prophecy the rotund enconium on Azzo, which follows the account of his death in the *Annales S. Justinæ*: — "Et ideo misericors Dominus merito eum ab adversariis custodivit et ipsum de intumescentis maris fluctibus ad portum salutis dirigens de inimicis suis fortissimis fecit eum videre mirabilem ultionem. Vidit namque excellentissimum Federicum imperiali honore privatum, astutum Salinguerram incarcerationum, tumidum Ecelinum facta clava mactatum et lubricum Albricum in conspectu suo horribiliter trucidatum."

The chronicles fail to supply us with a sufficient explanation for the prediction that the little fire after being reinstated in Ferrara will become so proud that he will count the aid that he has had as of small worth. This statement may be merely due to the convention

maiores et nobiles de Veneciis magnam fecerunt reverenciam et honorem... Ingressus est Marchio cum legato et dompno duce ac ceteris maioribus in Ferrariam et honorabiliter sunt recepti."

See also *Chronicon Estense*, p. 17 (an. 1240); Dandolo, X, v, 25 (col. 351); Ricobaldo Ferrariensis, *Historia Imperatorum*, R.I.S., IX, 129 ff.; Da Canale, I, lxxxvi-xcvi (pp. 368 ff.).

¹ Rolandino, V, v (p. 74).

² Id., V, viii (p. 75).

³ Id., V, x (p. 77); see also V, xxi (p. 84); VI, vi (p. 91); X, xii (p. 140).

⁴ For such details see Verci, III, Lib. xx-xxiv.

⁵ See *Annales S. Justinæ*, p. 165.

⁶ See Rolandino, XII, vi, viii (pp. 163, 166).

⁷ P. 184.

of prophecy which attributes many troubles that befall man to Divine retribution for his sins, and often for the sin of pride ; but it would appear here to be more than simply a general assumption that Azzo deserved his future troubles with Ezzelino because he was *prepotente*. In tone the prediction recalls that discussed above¹, which evidently concerns the refusal of the Paduans to supply grain in the famine of 1265 to the Venetians, who consequently charged them with ingratitude. Ferrara was among the towns to whom the Doge appealed for help at the same time, and like Padua it refused aid — because of the pernicious influence of Genoa, if we trust the implication of Da Canale². “ Dou Marquis d’Este ne me mervail ie pas si durement, que il ne se recorde pas de son aiol, que n’osait Feraire neis regarder, se il ne donasent des bles a Veneciens. Mes se il li fust en remembrance, coment Monsignor Iaque Teuple, li Dus de Venise, s’en ala a Feraire a bele compaignie de Veneciens, et osta de Feraire Mesire Saltenguerre. li mortel henemis de li Marquis Ason, et fu dounee Feraire au Marquis ; bien m’est avis, que se il n’eust eu l’aiguillon de Iene, et il fust remembre de se que Monsignor li Dus mist en sasine son aiol de Feraire, que il eust dones des bles as Venesiens. ” The famine occurred in the reign of Obizzo II four years after the death of Azzo VII, and the incident is worth mentioning here only so far as there is a possibility of a confusion between the two lords in the mind of the writer of the prophecy, which led him to attach to Azzo himself the stigma of ingratitude for past favors, for which his troubles with Ezzelino were a punishment.

¹ II, 121.

² II, ccc, ccciii (p. 650) ; cf. Dandolo, X, viii, 2 (col. 378).

CHAPTER V

THE VENETIAN ORIGIN OF THE *PROPHECIES*

It is impossible to review the foregoing prophecies without noticing certain definite facts in regard to their contents. The Venetians are not only the most important people in them, but they are almost invariably represented as blameless and supreme. There are, in fact, but two implications that they will meet reverses or lapse from their lofty standards of conduct, and both of these are couched in softened terms : — “ Quant il auront destorbier Nostre Sire les conseilera pour ce que il ont en lui creance bone et ferme¹, ” and, “ Se il leur vient aucuns destourbiers, ce sera pour ce que il auront effaciee leur bone coustume envers Damedieux et envers leur pueple². ” The prophecies, moreover, reflect the principles of justice and piety upon which the Venetian state was founded, and indicate familiarity with her customs and her proudest monuments. They furthermore treat of some of the most notable points in her history, — her romantic beginnings, her relations with Ancona, Pisa, Genoa, and the cities of the Marca, her taking of Ferrara from Salinguerra, and of Padua from Ezzelino, exploits both of which were considered by her chroniclers to be two of her greatest successes on land³, and finally her conquests in the East. In connection with the crusading prophecies it is especially to be noted that those relating to the expedition under Domenico Michiel and to the Third and Fourth Crusades are more exact and agree more closely with historical sources than those relating to the Carolingian and the First Crusades. In other words the expeditions in which the Venetians were prominent are evidently more familiar to the writer than those in which they took a legendary or inconspicuous part, though even with these latter they are to their own glory connected. Moreover their neighbors of the Marca, whose affairs were closely bound up with theirs, for weal or woe, receive only a little less attention than they.

¹ Chapter LXVII.

² Chapter CCLXXVIII.

³ See, e.g., Da Canale, I, cxxxv, cxliv (pp. 426, 436); Sanudo, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, II, iv, cap. iii (p. 52).

As we come upon these predictions, strewn through the *Prophecies*, but forming locally and chronologically the most concentrated body of tradition found in its pages, and explicable in many instances only as an expression of Venetian sentiment and memory, we are forced to the conclusion that they are the compositions of a Venetian writer. "Les Bons Mariniers auront amendeés leur vies desus toutes les autres gens du monde¹" is a tribute that would not have been paid to the Venetians except by one of their own number. It is true that Venice by her wise administration of her state and by her prowess at sea called forth expressions of admiration even from her rivals. "Felix Veneciarum commune!" Rolandino writes² from the troublous life of Padua, "cum cives illi in agendis suis omnibus adeo ad communitatem respiciat, ut Veneciarum nomen iam habeant quasi numen et iam fere iurent per Veneciarum reverenciam et honorem"; and perhaps the most famous early tribute to the maritime power of the Republic comes from a hostile quarter in the often quoted lines of Guglielmo of Apulia³, written in the time of Robert Guiscard: —

Non ignara quidem belli navalis et audax
Gens erat haec; illam populosa Venetia misit,
Imperii prece, dives opum, divesque virorum,
Qua sinus Adriacis interlitus ultimus undis
Subjacet Arcturo, sunt huius moenia gentis
Circumsepta mari, nec ab aedibus alter ad aedes
Alterius transire potest, nisi lintre vehatur;
Semper aquis habitant, gens nulla valentior ista
Aequoreis bellis ratiumque per aequora ductu.

Yet as a rule their methods of exerting their power were not such as to make the Venetians beloved of their contemporaries, and the reputation that they had won for themselves is admirably illustrated by Salimbene's⁴ characterization of them: —

Veneti avari homines sunt et tenaces et superstitiosi et totum mundum vellent subiugar sibi, si possent, et rusticiter tractant mer-

¹ Chapter LIII. Cf. the boast of Sansovino, *Del governo dei regni et delle republiche*, 1567, p. 149: — "La republica de Vinitiana hoggi per grandezza, per nobiltà, per ricchezza, e per tutti quell'altre parti per le quali l'huomo può in questo mondo sentir qualche felicità, superiore a tutte l'altre del mondo..."

² III, xi (p. 50).

³ *De Rebus Normannorum in Sicilia, Apulia et Calabria*, IV, 277-285, in *R.I.S.*, V, 272.

⁴ P. 481. Cf. Sanudo, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, II, iv, cap. iii (p. 52).

catores, qui vadunt ad eos, et care vendendo et multa passagia in diversis locis in suo districtu ab eisdem personis eodem tempore accipiendo. Et si aliquis mercator portat ibi merces suas ad vendendum, non potest eas secum reducere, immo oportet quod vendat eas ibi, velit nolit. Et si aliqua navis non sua cum mercibus ex aliquo infortunio maris declinat ad eos, non potest inde recedere, nisi prius omnes merces suas vendat ibidem. Et dicunt, quod ex voluntate divina processit, quod navis illa declinavit ad eos; cui contrariandum non est.

We may be sure that only a Venetian pen would have heaped upon Venice such praises, dwelt upon her virtues and her exploits with such tender pride, or betrayed so intimate an acquaintance with her history, her traditions, and her customs as we find in the *Prophecies*. The predictions that we have been examining in the three preceding chapters supply decisive evidence that in its present form the *Prophecies* is certainly in part a Venetian work, parallel to a great extent in tone and content to the chronicles of Martino da Canale and other Venetian annalists, although the events of which it treats are projected in prophetic fashion into the future instead of avowedly recording the past.

There are also various secondary and minor features of the *Prophecies* that while they are not all exclusively Venetian, are in complete harmony with the theory of a Venetian origin for the work, and in some cases point distinctly to it¹. The stories of

¹ The prophecy concerning St. Samuel in Chapter cLi, deserves a word of notice here, though it has not substantial weight as evidence for a Venetian origin of the book. For this legend I find no source, but it is distinctly Venetian in character. St. Samuel will have for his fields of labor Fetonia, the district lying between the Tagliamento and the mouths of the Po (see Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 3; Galliccioli, *Memorie venete*, I, 82; Filiasi, *Memorie storiche*, III, 66, 68, 173, 174, 235, 241), and Egypt, even as those of S. Marco were Aquileia and Alexandria. St. Samuel will die at Acre (See for the sanctuary of St. Samuel at Acre in the thirteenth century Michelant et Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, 1882, p. 235, § 13; see for other reputed burial places Dandolo, V, i, 4 (col. 68); Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Bergeron, *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*, 1735, col. 24), and his body, like that of S. Marco, will be taken to Venice by the Bons Mariniers. This last feature, it is needless to say, is peculiarly Venetian; long indeed are the lists of relics of saints brought by her ships returning home from distant parts, in the words of Lorenzo de Monacis, "a Catholico populo in talibus studioso in hanc felicissimam Rivoalti civitatem exquisita cura et summa veneratione translata" (*Chronicon*, pp. 43 ff.; cf. Filiasi, *op. cit.*, VI, pte. i, 319, note 2). At Acre itself Sanudo (*R. I.S.*, XXII, 525 ff.) reports that many treasures were acquired, — the body of St. Stephen, a cross of gold with a piece of the wood of the True Cross in it, and other precious objects. The prediction concern-

treasure found in the sea in Chapters XIV, XVII, CCIV, and CCVII belong to a type extremely common in a maritime community like Venice; the routing of the devils by St. Pol and St. Cir¹ represents a class of legend congenial to the imagination of the Venetian people and that later became highly popular among them²; the frequent contumely cast by Merlin upon those merchants "qui fausseront leur marchandise"³ not only emanates naturally from a commercial centre, such as Venice, but reproves a class of offenders whom the Republic by her strict regulation of her import and export trade treated with especial severity⁴; in fact one of the stipulated duties of the *Consoli de' Mercanti*, a board instituted in 1224, was to exercise jurisdiction over the falsifying of merchandise⁵; the anecdote of the merchant of Heraclea, the adventures of Pope Alexandre, the story of the tribute of the churches demanded by the Dragon of Babylon⁶—all these passages indicate a Venetian influence. It is very significant that the term "roetes d'or," which is regularly used throughout the *Prophecies* for "money," is merely the rendering into French of "redonde d'oro," the accepted designation of the apocryphal early Venetian coins traditionally minted by Pietro Badoer⁷. The presence of a large number of predictions that concern the Orient also indicates the familiarity with its peoples and places to be expected in Venice, whose commerce had long brought her into close communica-

ing St. Samuel is certainly one for which Venice would have been an altogether natural birthplace, or at all events, whatever its origin, it would have been readily accepted there. The church of S. Samuele in Venice, it should be added, is said to have been founded by the family of Boldù, or Bolulo, who came from Heraclea and Equilo to Rivoalto (see *Chronicon Altinate*, p. 28; Sanudo, *Raccolta*, XXII, 21, note 3; *Splendor Urbis Venetiarum*, in Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, V, ii, 20).

¹ Chapter CCXLIX; cf. in Chapter CCLXXVII the similar legend of St. Appollinaris at the neighboring town, Ravenna.

² See F.M. Crawford, *Gleanings from Venetian History*, I, 267, 268.

³ Chapters XXV, LXXVII, CLXXIV, CCXXII, CCLXXXII, CCCXVII.

⁴ See Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 197 ff.; Id., *Curiosità di storia veneziana*, 1919, pp. 76-91; Marin, *Storia civile e politica del commercio de' Veneziani*, 1798-1808, V, 171 ff., 183. Just dealings are, however, frequently inculcated upon merchants in mediaeval didactic writings; see Ch.-V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge d'après les moralistes du temps*, 1925, pp. 16 ff.

⁵ See Romanin, II, 374 ff.

⁶ See below, pp. 232, 216 ff. 209 ff.

⁷ See Molmenti, *Vita privata*, I, 185, 187; Galliccioli, *Memorie venete*, I, 366; II, 54, 55; Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto*, 1852, p. 337; Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana*, 1854, p. 209, note 1, 210.

tion with the East. It is not surprising that Merlin says of the Bons Mariniers, " mout ameront mon livre¹, " or that the *Prophecies* continued to enjoy a popularity in Venice which is attested by the fact that two of our four Italian texts announce that they were translated there².

¹ Chapter cclxxx1. See also 1498, fol. 9d (above, I, 467; cf. V, fol. 48c), a prophecy that appears to have been suggested by that concerning the *Livre de Tolomer* in C; see below, pp. 329 ff.

² Interesting testimony to the vogue that prophecies attributed to Merlin enjoyed in Venice is supplied by the *Zornale* of a Venetian bookseller for 1484-1485 in a manuscript of the Marciana, where the records show that three Latin copies of the *Prophetie de Merlino* passed through his hands. See H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, pp. 432, 439, 444, 445. These *Prophetie*, of course, should not be confounded with the romance.

Prophecies of the Merlinesque type, which, however, have no place in our versions of the *Prophecies*, foretelling the fate of the Republic, were current in Venice as late as the sixteenth century, according to Jean Lemaire de Belges, the secretary to Marguerite of Austria, wife of Philibert of Savoie, and the author of a tract, *La légende des Venisiens* (*Oeuvres*, ed. Stecher, 1882-1891, III, 361 ff.), which he wrote in 1509 in the interests of France and Austria, who after the League of Cambrai had been united in hostility against Venice. In the *Prologue* he brings together various prophecies in support of his contention that the end of the Venetians draws near. They themselves, he avers, have long known that they were destined to suffer ruin at the hands of a King of France, and indeed a prophecy to that effect is represented in a mosaic in S. Marco, which shows a cock plucking out the eyes of a fox, the cock symbolizing the Most Christian King, and the fox the nature of the Venetians. The Venetians also have known that the fall of the clock tower of a certain neighboring city foretold their destruction; the tower had fallen ten years earlier, and accordingly they await their ruin. " Ces choses je ne scay comment ilz les savent, mais je scay bien, que l'an mille cinq cens et six, es festes de Pentecouste moy estant à Venise, on me dit que l'abbé Joachim Calabrois, lequel avoit esprit de Prophetie, et flourissoit environ l'an mille cent cinquante, leur avoit préfiguré leur decadence telle que nous la voyons par deux Lyons volans, dont ilz font leurs armes, lesquelz il leur ordonna tirer en marbre au pavement de l'eglise saint Marc. " One of the lions was mighty and swollen and was swimming amid waves with only his hind legs resting on the shore, but the other, which was thin and wasted, lay stretched out on land with his hind legs touching the water. The Abbot Joachim had explained that the first Lion signified that so long as the Venetians were " seigneurs de la navigation " they would have no strife with the Christian princes, but would live in prosperity; the second Lion, on the contrary, signified that when they should lose their supremacy at sea and should seek to extend their power on land they would incur the wrath of the princes and would be totally undone. Now the Venetians, Lemaire continues, have been deprived of their power at sea by the Portuguese and are seeking to gain a foothold on land; wherefore the prophecy is being fulfilled. A somewhat similar conception of the Venetian power at sea is found in a prophecy in 1498, fol. 9a (" Du Bon Marinier " etc.), published above, I, 465, and contained in all the Italian texts except S.

In connection with the Venetian influence in the *Prophecies* there should also

The French versions of the *Prophecies* purport to be translations from the Latin, in accordance with the convention adopted by many mediaeval writers for the sake of giving an air of greater

be mentioned the curious compilation of predictions made in 1386 by the hermit Telesforo da Cosenza, *De Magnis tribulationibus in proximo futuris*, contained in a small volume of tractates entitled *Expositio magni prophete Joachim*, published in Venice in 1516 and 1518 (fols. 5-44). Telesforo (fols. 8 ff.) being in distress of mind because of the Great Schism of 1378 that was still rending the Church, and having prayed that its future course might be revealed to him, was visited in a dream by an angel, who bade him consult the writings of St. Cyril, the Abbot Joachim, and other well known prophets for an answer. He therefore entered upon a long and weary search for the desired writings, and when he had at last collected them, he brought together, in fine disarray, into one volume such parts as bore upon his subject, and proceeded to interpret them with political and anti-imperial intent. Among the minor works that he had discovered and utilized were two attributed to Merlin, — a *Revelatio de summis pontificibus*, and a collection of vaticinations of Merlin Ambrosius. The former, to judge from the predictions evidently derived from it by Telesforo, notably one concerning an angelic pope, had no connection with the *Prophecies* (see below, II, 176) ; it should be classed with the vaticinations modelled upon those of Joachim de Flore which were current under the name of Merlin in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see below, pp. 153, 185 ff.). That the second work was none other than the *Prophecies* was not recognized by Kampers in his study of the sources of Telesforo (*Kaiserprophetien und Kaisersagen in Mittelalter*, 1895, pp. 237 ff., 244, § 11), but the predictions quoted by Telesforo from the *Liber Merlini* are with one exception contained in the Venetian text of the *Prophecies*, and also in either R or 1498. The references to book and chapter of the *Liber Merlini* which Telesforo gives are not always in strict agreement with the corresponding prophecy in the Italian versions, the only sources which divide the material into numbered books and chapters. This fact and the occurrence of the prophecy that is not contained in our texts indicate that Telesforo had a slightly different version before him, and hence imply the existence of a text that we no longer possess. The prophecies from the *Liber Merlini* are all redactions rather than literal renderings of the corresponding Italian material, and all are connected with the Venetians. The text is illustrated by small woodcuts, some of which at the headings of the excerpts from the *Liber Merlini* represent Venetian personages or scenes, explained by captions beneath, which are evidently, as Kampers said (*op. cit.*, p. 248), interpolations made by the Venetian redactor (or editor) for the Venetian press. Exactly to what point these interpolations penetrate the material of the original is not clear from the discussion of Kampers, and can be ascertained only by an examination of the manuscripts, which I have not seen. The bulk of the prophecies, however, must have formed part of the work of Telesforo. They are few in number and the same prophecy is sometimes repeated, as the following list with the corresponding sections of the *Prophecies* shows: — Telesforo, fols. 18, 23, *Liber Merlini*, III, vii ; R, Chapter VII (prophecy concerning the "homme fort," p. 64) ; V, col. 51b, III, viii. — Telesforo, fol. 21, *Liber Merlini*, II, i ; 1498, fol. 9d (prophecy concerning the bishop of the Bons Mariniers ; see above I, 467) ; V, fol. 48c, II, ii. — Telesforo, fol. 22, *Liber Merlini*, III, xxvi ; R, Chapter LIII ; V, fol. 55c, III, xxiii. — Telesforo, fol. 22, *Liber Merlini*, II, ii ; 1498, fol.

authority to their productions¹. It was, however, certainly composed in French. This is the language into which according to all the French manuscripts it was translated from the Latin, and from which according to *V*, *P*, and *S* it was translated into Italian². This last statement is sufficient evidence that Italian was not the original tongue. The *Prophecies* thus takes its place among the French works composed in Italy, and especially in Venetia, Lombardy, and the Emilia, from approximately 1230 to 1350, the period; during which the popularity of French as a recognized literary language of north Italy is attested by not merely a large number of Italian copies of French manuscripts, but also by original works composed in French by Italian writers³. Their reasons for selecting French as a vehicle of expression were voiced by Brunetto Latini⁴, and repeated by Martino da Canale⁵ in words that have become the *locus classicus* on the subject, " por ce que langue franceise cort parmi le monde et est la plus delitable a lire et a oir que nule autre. " Martino da Canale, indeed, comes more closely into comparison with the author of the *Prophecies* than any other of the various Franco-Italian writers of whom we know⁶, and

roa (prophecy concerning the " homme extrait du lignage au premier sire des Bons Mariniers; " see above, *l.c.*); *V*, fol. 48c, II (in an unnumbered section following Chapter ii, and therefore presumably in Chapter iii). — Telesforo, fol. 23, *Liber Merlini*, III, xlv; *R*, Chapter Lxvii; *V*, fol. 61b, c, III, xxix, followed by 1498, fol. 9a, b; see above, I, 465, 466; *V*, fol. 48b, c, II, i, ii. — The prediction that I fail to identify in any of our versions of the *Prophecies* is cited by Telesforo, fols. 18, 21, 23, from the *Liber Merlini*, IV, xvi, and foretells the aid that the Venetians will give to an English king in an expedition to the Holy Land.

For discussions of Telesforo and his work see Häussner, pp. 38 ff.; Kampers-op. cit., pp. 167 ff., 237 ff.; Id., *Die deutsche Kaiseridee*, pp. 124-128; Lea, *Inquisition*, III, 11; Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 1721, I, ii, 508 ff.

¹ See below, II, 328 ff.

² *P*: " the vulgar tongue. " See above, I, 48. It was originally translated into French, according to *S* (fol. 55r; p. 84) from Hebrew, and according to Pal. 949 (fol. 121c) " de gramadega " (*sic*). A note on the inside of the cover of *P* says that the work was translated " dalla lingua fiamminga (cioè provenzale). "

³ For a discussion of the subject of Franco-Italian literature see especially, P. Meyer, *La langue française en Italie*; also P. Paris, *Nouveau journal asiatique*, XII (septembre, 1833), 246 ff.; P. Meyer et G. Paris, *Romania*, IX, 497 ff.; Bartoli *I primi due secoli della letteratura italiana*, p. 126; Rajna, *Propugnatore*, III, i, 213 ff.; ii, 58 ff.; Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, 1900, pp. 228 ff.; Bertoni, *Attila*, pp. vii ff.; Yule, *Marco Polo*, I, 86 ff.

⁴ *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. Chabaille, p. 3: — " por ce que la parlerre est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens. "

⁵ I, i (p. 268). Cf. Meyer, *Romania*, XV, 263.

⁶ For a list of these writers see *Romania*, IX, 501, 502; Meyer, *La langue fran-*

the pronounced similarities between his work, the *Chronique des Veniciens*, and the *Prophecies*, with which the *Chronique*, written about the year 1275, was strictly contemporary, add confirmation to our other evidence for the Venetian origin of the former. Both works are written from the same Guelph standpoint and are alike in their loyalty to Venice. The words that we have been hearing from our own author are almost equalled in ardor by those of Da Canale: — "la noble cite que l'en apele Venise, qui est orendroit la plus belle et la plus plaisant dou siecle, ploine de biaute et de tos biens; les marchandies i corent par cele noble cite com fait l'eive des fontaines¹." How close a similarity in phraseology often exists between the *Chronique* and the *Prophecies* has been seen in the parallel passages cited from the two works in the preceding chapters². Some of these resemblances are doubtless due to the acquaintance of both writers with French romance, which led them to employ stock expressions of French narrative literature, such, for example, as "Ci endroit dit li contes que," "Seigneurs, je vueil que vous sachiez," "Si me terai a tant de... et vous conterai de," "Mes plus ne vos en conterai por ce qu'il n'appartient a mon

mise en Italie, pp. 20 ff., 30 ff. On Da Canale see Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 231; Bartoli, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 1878-1887, III, 16 ff.; Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, 1882, pp. 19 ff.; B. Ravà, *Venise dans la littérature française*, 1916, pp. 107 ff.

¹ I, ii (p. 272).

² See, e. g., II, 39, 30; 45, 46; 114, 116; 121, 122; 125, 126; 140, note 1; 159, note 3; 170, 171.

The *Prophecies* indirectly throws light upon a doubtful point in the biography of Martino da Canale. Although it is not questioned that he was of Venetian stock and lived many years in Venice, no record of his birthplace exists, and because of his easy use of French it has been suggested that he was born in France, or at all events had spent a long time there. In a verse in the metrical prayer to St. Mark which he introduces into his chronicle (II, ccxvii; p. 672), after speaking of the basilica of S. Marco, he adds, "Ni i ert plus bele iglise jusque a Monlion." Polidori, the editor of the *Chronique* has conjectured (p. xvii) that in this line there may be evidence that Martino was born at Lyon, since *Monlion* admits of a division into two words, *mon Lion*, and can therefore be explained as a reference to his birthplace. Read as one word Polidori interprets it as *Mont Lion*, namely the hill above Lyon (La Fourvière), at the foot of which stood the old cathedral of Saint-Jean, here brought into comparison with S. Marco; Polidori infers that Da Canale must have seen Saint-Jean, and hence must have been at Lyon, even if he were not born there. But in the *Prophecies* (Chapter LI, p. 111) the same place is mentioned with the same purpose as in the *Chronique*, namely to designate a point at a distance from Venice; a destructive smoke will issue from Lago di Garda which will ruin all the country "jusques a Mounlion [*var.*, Monloon, Mont dou Lyon] et jusques au pais des Bons Mariniers." This similarity in usage in two Venetian sources tends to show that

livre, ains tenrai mon droit conte." "Que vous iroie je devisant ?" Da Canale writes purer French than the majority of the contemporary

the phrase was a Venetian expression, employed perhaps with less exaggeration than our " from Dan to Beersheba," and " from China to Peru," and less vagueness than the Old French " jusqu'à l'arbre sec" (cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 132), but with a like purpose. Its presence in the *Prophecies* proves that the verse by Da Canale gives no support to the idea that Lyon was his native town, neither does it necessarily imply that he had been in Monlion.

I know of no wholly convincing identification for Monlion. Lyon, as an important ecclesiastical and commercial centre, might have come to be quoted proverbially in Venice in such an expression as that of the two passages; the church of Saint-Jean, however, was never one of the great cathedrals of France, worthy to be compared with the basilica of S. Marco (See Kleinschanz, in *L'art à Lyon et dans la région lyonnaise*, 1914, pp. 74 ff.). Monlion also figures in one of the episodes in 350 (fol. 413 a; see above, I, 386) in a list of places at which the allies of the Saxons, namely, pagans of any description, have been slain, — " que a Roine [I conjecture Rome] que a Monlion que de la la mer es parties de Jherusalem que a Kamaalot que a la Roche aus Saisnez que en Carmelide." It would be simple naïveté to hold the writer here to historical or geographical accuracy, yet if by Monlion he means Lyon, he may have had in mind the Saracen invasion of the Rhone valley, when Lyon was stormed in 725 (See Charléty, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1903, p. 30). It is evident that the scribe of 98, which reads " Mont dou Lyon," did not recognize the place as Lyon in Chapter LI; otherwise he would not have inserted the article. An analagous form for the town Laon frequently occurs in the French epic, — Monlaon, with the variants Monloon, Monleon, Monlëun, Mont Laon, Mont Loon, Mont Leon (See E. Langlois, *Table de noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, 1904, s. v., " Laon"), one of which agrees with a variant in the *Prophecies* for Mounlion, i.e., Monloon. This agreement, however, has no significance for us, since it might have been produced by an exceedingly easy scribal error, and there is no inherent reason to identify the Monlion of either Da Canale or the *Prophecies* with Laon, in spite of the cathedral of Notre-Dame that beautified the town. On the other hand, if the passage in 350, fol. 413a, supplied the only instance of the word, we might be inclined to see in it a blunder for Milan, a traditional centre for pagans (see below, p. 172), the name of which appears in numerous forms in the *Prophecies*, — Malangne, Meilan, Melan, Melen, Melenin, Meleum, Mellan, Mielan, Milan, Millan (Cf. the variants for Milan in the *chansons de geste* in Langlois, *op. cit.*, — Melant, Mellant, Melanz, Milan, Meilant, Meullenc). It is also true that Monlion is easily explained as Milan in Chapter LI; the evil smoke will spread over the country on either hand from Lago di Garda, on one side as far as Milan, on the other as far as Venice. The verse from Da Canale lends itself to the same interpretation — " from Venice in a direct line across Italy to Milan (where there is the fine church of S. Ambrogio) there is nothing equal to S. Marco." But although Da Canale might have deliberately adopted the form Monlion for Milan in order to bring the name into line with the other rhyme-words in one that he was employing — *savon, devocion, maison*, (cf. the same series earlier in the poem, *maison, devocion, dou Lion*) it is not very probable that another author would have made an equally arbitrary use of it in two disconnected passages. The Italian translators of the *Prophecies* certainly did not recognize the place

Franco-Italian authors, whose pens usually bewray their origin¹. It would be interesting therefore to compare his language minutely with that of the author of the *Prophecies*, but it is impossible to do this with accuracy. The manuscript of Da Canale is unique, and as Paul Meyer has pointed out, the errors in French that it contains are almost certainly to be attributed to the copyist²; whereas we know that the material of the *Prophecies* has passed through too many hands before reaching us to admit of any certainty as to its original linguistic forms. *M* shows Venetian influence in its language; the other manuscripts are in similar case to those of the romantic compilation of Rustician da Pisa. The French of this compilation as we have it is, for instance, greatly superior to that of Rustician's other work, the *Voyages de Marco Polo*, because the latter, having come to us through an Italian manuscript, remains almost in the form in which Rustician wrote it down at the dictation of Marco Polo, while the romance has passed through the hands of manifold French scribes who would naturally have corrected defects in its language³. But although we cannot draw reliable inferences as to the quality of the French that the author of the *Prophecies* wrote, his evidently close familiarity with French romance and with its forms of expression lead to the conclusion that he had no mean acquaintance with the language⁴.

as Milan, for they preserved the form Monlion. Neither Monteleone in southern Italy, where Frederic II built one of his castles, nor the hillock near Genoa, referred to by chroniclers as Mons Leonis, the site of a camp that appears to have had a certain importance in the twelfth century (See *M.G.H.*, XVIII, 62, 95; *Annali genovesi di Caffaro*, ed. Belgrano, 1891, I, 169) is adapted to our references. Thus there are objections to any of the identifications that most naturally suggest themselves, and an altogether satisfactory explanation remains to be found.

¹ See Macaire, ed. Guessard, *Les anciens poètes de la France*, 1866, pp. lxxiii, xcix ff.; *Propugnatore*, III, 214; Gautier, *L'entrée en Espagne* (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Ser. 4, IV), pp. 219, 269; Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

³ See *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 24; Yule, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 6, 58, 83; P. Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff., 250 ff.

⁴ A minor illustration of the author's dependence upon French sources is supplied by a reference to the exclusively French form of the symbolical lay communion (I, 190, §4), which together with a passage in the *Lancelot* (Sommer, III, 13) may be added to the examples of the ceremony in mediaeval French texts collected by Professor G. L. Hamilton in his valuable article in the *Romanic Review*, IV, 221 ff. The French symbolic communion consisted in the administration of the sacrament by placing blades of grass instead of the wafer in the mouth of a warrior dying on the field of battle, whereas the Italian rite and that of other continental countries, with the exception of France, substituted a clod of earth

If, as a Venetian, he desired to perpetuate the memory of the deeds of the Republic, what could have suggested to him the choice of a prophetic rather than a chronicle form ? His immediate inspiration was undoubtedly derived from the prophetic verses dealing with the fate of various cities in Italy that were current during the thirteenth century¹. We know of two sets of verses of this class that were composed, one certainly before the *Prophecies*, and the other, if not before, so shortly after that it may be regarded as illustrating a contemporary mode of expression. This latter series consists of rude and dark verses attached to Merlin's name, known as the *Versus Merlini*, *Futura praesagia Lombardiae*, *Thusciae*, *Romagnuolae*, *Marchiae-Anconitanae*, *Apuliae*, *Marchiae*, *Franciae*, *Alamanniae*, *Provinciae*, *Hispaniae per Merlinum declarata*, which are quoted by Salimbene and by Alberto Milioli². In the contents there are no immediate parallels — so far as their obscurity allows us to discern their meaning — to those of the *Prophecies*, although many of the same cities, not, however, including Venice, are made the subjects of predictions in each. The other collection of verses, apocryphally attributed in some sources to Michael Scot, the court astrologer of Frederic II, exists in many manuscripts and is quoted also by Salimbene³. Although the state of the manuscripts makes it impossible to define exactly the original form and extent of the composition, it is clear that the predictions were written in the first place to point out the fate of those Lombard cities that arrayed themselves against the Emperor Frederic II, and that to the original verses others were added in the course of time. They were produced in the main before the death of Frederic

for the wafer (For discussions of this subject see G. L. Hamilton, as above ; J. D. M. Ford, *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 197 ff.). The reference in the *Prophecies* appears in all of our manuscripts, except those that are defective in this part of the text, and shows that the author was using a French source for the incident that he foretells. For a passage that offers an analogous situation to that in the *Prophecies* see the example of the French form of the rite cited by Ford, *l.c.*, p. 199, from the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, where its appearance is to be attributed to the Spanish author's free use of French and Provençal sources.

¹ Cf. Ward, *Catalogue*, I, 372.

² Salimbene, p. 539; Albertus Miliolis, *Cronica Imperatorum*, M.G.H., XXXI 664; cf. *ibid.*, p. 351, on the relation of these two versions. The verses are also published in *R.I.S.*, VIII, 1177 ff.; San Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, 1853, pp. 265 ff.; and in part, from a manuscript of Ivrea, by Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv* XXX, 378 ff.

³ Pp. 361 ff.; ed. with comment, Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 358 ff. See Haskins, *Mediaeval Science*, p. 276.

and by his partisans, for in common with the *Versus Merlini* they are written from the Ghibelline point of view¹. In several instances they treat of events foretold by Merlin in the *Prophecies*², and although less definite in expression than the latter, they are similar to them in type and scope. It needs no demonstration that prophecy was in the air in Italy in the *dugento*. In both learned and popular sources it was employed for record or for admonition; prophecies were placed in conspicuous positions in the mediaeval Italian towns for political or personal reasons very much as the political *affiche* is posted today in the streets of Paris³; and vaticination had become one of the established means for conveying antipathetic sentiments between the Emperor and the Pope⁴. In this flourishing period of prophecy it also became common to attribute to Merlin, as to the Sybil, the Abbot Joachim of Flora, and other famous seers predictions that had no authentic or traditional connection with them, but which commanded greater attention when attached to their names⁵.

¹ See *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 349 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 369, notes on vv. 4 ff., and below, pp. 173 ff.; 372, notes on vv. 23 ff. and above, II, 123, 124; 372, note on vv. 26 ff., and II, 117 ff.; 375, note on vv. 63-72, and II, 12, 13.

³ See, e.g., the verses concerning Brescia quoted above, II, 126, note 2; Rolandino, III, xi (p. 49, note 5); X, xvii (p. 143); Salimbene, pp. 546, 612; Robert de Clary, *La prise de Constantinople*, xcii, in Hopf, p. 70.

⁴ See Holder-Egger, *l.c.*, p. 379; Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. 514, 515; Graf, *Roma*, p. 731, note 16; Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee*, pp. 72, 73; see also below, pp. 176 ff., 186 ff., 196.

⁵ See Holder-Egger, *ibid.*, XV, 143 ff., 147 ff., 174 ff.; Taylor, *Political Prophecy*, pp. 134 ff.; see also, e.g., Balduinus Ninovensius, *Chronicon*, M.G.H., XXV, 535; Albericus Trium Fontium, col. 832; Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres du Tresor*, ed. cit., p. 91 (I, ii, 94); Jean des Preis d'Outremeuse, *Ly myreur des histours*, ed. Borgnet et Bormans, 1864, V, 187; Salimbene, pp. 43, 241-243, 247, 359, 360, 512, 532-537, 539.

One prediction of this class should be noted here, because it has been said also to have a place in the *Prophecies*. In the *Chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois* by Guillaume de Tudèle and an anonymous poet, written in 1213-1219, reference is made to a prophecy of Merlin that foretold the death of Simon de Montfort, who was killed by a stone from a catapult at the siege of Toulouse. The Pope says (ed. P. Meyer, 1875-1879, vv. 3487 ff.) that no love will be lost between Raimon, the nephew of Jean sans Terre, and Simon de Montfort.

*Car be o vil Merlin, que ju bos devinaire,
Qu'encar vindra la peira e cel que la sap traire,
Si que per tolas partz auz iretz dir e braire :
Sobre pecador caia.*

When Simon is hard pressed at the siege of Toulouse he exclaims (vv. 7078 ff.)

It was entirely in accordance with custom to cast political statement into prophetic form, and with the mental habit of the period to clothe a record of the past in the garb of prediction uttered by Merlin.

that now Merlin's words are about to be fulfilled. Professor Paul Meyer in his edition of the *Chanson* (II, 193, note 1) connected the prophecy with a prediction in the *Prophecies de Merlin*, Chapter LXX (which he knew through 1498, fol. 84 a), but a few years before his death he told me in conversation that he no longer accepted this identification. Chapter LXX (I, 129) prophesies the advance of a redoubtable pagan giant, at the head of a mighty host, against the walls of Jerusalem. " Mes la merveille Dieu le tuera, et par une pierre qui istra d'une perrere, qui parmi le chief le ferra... Cele pierre sera ostee de Marinor, une cite qui jadis aura este du langage a celui poien... C'est celui Marinor qui Verone sera apelee. " The stone will be held in reverence, and will be gilded and set upon a column before the chief gate of Jerusalem. The only point of contact between this prediction and that of the *Chanson* is that each foretells a mortal blow from a stone launched at a leader in battle. Therefore, even granted that a reminiscence of the latter may be detected in the *Prophecies*, it cannot be regarded as a current saying of Merlin that is embodied there. As we shall see later (pp. 346 ff.), the date of composition of the *Prophecies* as a whole excludes the possibility that the *Chanson* was influenced by it. The prophecy of Chapter LXX finds a rather closer parallel, albeit not very close, in certain crusading sources which tell of single-handed combats in the Holy Land between a Christian champion and a Saracen giant. A familiar instance may be cited among the legends that have gathered about the name of Robert Curthose; see G. Paris, *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, Ser. 4, XVIII (1890), 207 ff. Such a contest, from which the arm bone of the giant, like the fatal stone from Marmor, is preserved as a sacred relic, is recorded in the *Chronique de Terre Sainte (Les gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud, 1887, p. 19, § 77) : — " A .m.cc.xix. prist le roy Johan de Breue Damiate et se combaty cors à cors à .i. sarazin quy estoit à pié et estoit plus haut à pié que home à cheveu de .i. bras, et le roy Johan li tailla la teste, et fu porté(e) à Acre .i. hos de son bras e fu pendue à sainte Crois à veir à la gent par merveilles. " Cf. the gem preserved in a column before the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, mentioned by Robert de Clary, *La prise de Constantinople*, in Hopf, p. 68, lxxxvi. More immediately relevant to the prophecy, however, is a traditional exploit of Ezzelino il Balbo, lord of Bassano, the grandfather of Ezzelino da Romano, who is said to have gone to the Holy Land, probably in the crusade of 1147 (see Antonio Godi, *Chronica, R.I.S.*, VIII, col. 73; Maurisio, *Cronica*, p. 5; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, 1838, III, 224), where, according to Maurisio, he distinguished himself in a single-handed victory over a Saracen giant : — " Hic... moribus et scientia ceteros precelebat in omnibus quod, cum tempore quoddam ivisset ultra mare, ibi dominus exercitus Christianorum et dux belli atque vexillifer electus fuit et constitutus. Cum autem inter paganos quidam tam fortissimus et stature magnificus cunctos Christianos sic bellando superaret quod nullus ei bellando resistere poterat, nec audebat, hic tante fuit audacie quod solitarie pugnavit cum eodem ipsumque videntibus Christianis interfecit; quod profecto mirabile et quasi monstruosum omnibus visum fuit. Unde super omnes Christianos ibi tunc gloriam habuit et honorem et cum laudibus et triumpho magnifice repatriavit. " The

The foregoing chapters have shown us that an important part of our version of the *Prophecies* was written by a Venetian approximately between the years 1272 and 1279. It remains to be seen how far the other elements in the book are in accord with this provenience and date.

reliability of this story has long been exposed to doubt, for it rests upon the sole authority of Maurisio, a devoted adherent of the da Romano family, ardent in his glorification of its members, but falling at times into chronological errors that impair his testimony (See Verci, I, 107 ff.; Maurisio, *l.c.* notes 2, 3; Brentari, *Storia di Bassano*, 1884, pp. 87, note, 88, notes 1, 2). Evidence, however, that Ezzelino's combat with a Saracen giant, whether authentic or not, was traditionally connected with his stay in the Holy Land, is supplied by certain frescoes of Bassano. Here he is said to have erected in 1158 a church in honor of the Virgin, which was consecrated in 1331 under its present name of S. Francesco (See Ferrazzi, *De Bassano e dei Bassanesi illustri*, 1847, p. 77). In 1177 the painter Guido Bolognese adorned it with frescoes, which were whitewashed when the church was restored early in the eighteenth century and are now known only from contemporary descriptions (See Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, 407; Verci, I, 111-113; *Id.*, *Notizie intorno alle vite e alle opere di pittori, scultori e intagliatori della città de Bassano*, 1775, pp. 2 ff.). They depicted various exploits of Ezzelino in Palestine. In one of them a crusader knelt before the Virgin and S. Liberale, behind whom stood a page holding a horse with housings bearing a shield with a dragon rampant, while fastened to a neighboring tree was the crest from the head of a Saracen and a shield also emblazoned with a dragon rampant, interpreted as the device of the Saracen giant, whom Il Balbo, the kneeling knight, had slain. This fresco, therefore, preserved until the eighteenth century the memory of the story that Maurisio records. Of this tradition we perhaps have a trace in the prophecy of the stone from Verona that will put to death a Saracen giant. Ezzelino is associated primarily with Bassano, and also with Treviso and Padua, where he lived at one time, as well as with Vicenza, of which he was podestà and which was bound by ancient ties of friendship to Verona (See, e.g., Godi, *op. cit.*, col. 71). There are no records of his having held office at Verona. This does not, however, vitiate the supposition that the story of Maurisio may have been in the mind of our author when he concocted his strange prediction, for not only might the Trevisan Mark, where Ezzelino had attained to great power and had extensive possessions, be referred to in the language of the *Prophecies* by the name of one of its leading cities, but Verona was also so closely connected with the later members of the da Romano family that by a confusion with his son, Il Monaco, or his grandson, Ezzelino III, Il Balbo might have been said to come from there. The statement that the city had belonged to the lineage of the pagan giant we must in that case understand as an anachronistic allusion to Verona, later the domain of Ezzelino III, as the abode of pagans, in accordance with the conception expressed in other prophecies, where Ezzelino is called the "Roi de polenie" (See above, II, 113, 130). These facts are worth bearing in mind as furnishing a possible interpretation for the prophecy, yet their agreement with it is by no means close enough to be entirely convincing.

CHAPTER VI

JOACHISM IN THE *PROPHECIES*

I

LA MAUVESE EUVRE DES CLERS

Almost as frequently recurrent a subject in the *Prophecies* as the excellence of the Bons Mariniers is the widespread corruption of the Church. In 1260, Merlin announces, men and women will be so depraved that even excommunication will have no terrors for them. "Et ce leur avendra pour leur pechiez et pour les mauveses essamples du clergie ou toute la mauvestie sera¹." The "mauveses essamples" of the clerics and the abuses of their privileges, against which Merlin's words are directed, are the crying evils that form the darker side of thirteenth-century ecclesiasticism, and are the object of satire, invective, or rebuke in countless literary sources of the period. Innumerable parallels to our prophecies might be cited from chronicles and didactic writings, but the general conditions that they foretell are quite too well known to every student of the century to detain us long². We are on familiar ground when we find Merlin either predicting or revealing by his superhuman discernment such sins among priests and prelates as licentiousness³, gluttony⁴, extortion⁵, simony⁶, nepotism⁷, and the injustices of the Roman curia⁸. Although neither clerk, priest, abbot, nor

¹ Chapter cclxvii; cf. Chapter clii.

² For a detailed account of these conditions see Lea, *The Inquisition*, chapter i; Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 1907. See also the *Liber de prelatiis* in Salimbene, pp. 96 ff.

³ Chapters ciii, ccxliiv, ccxlv; see above, II, 25.

⁴ Chapters ccxxviii, ccxxx, ccxlv. The standard example of ecclesiastical gluttony is furnished by Pope Martin IV and "l'anguille di Bolsena e la vernacia;" cf. *Purgatorio*, XXIV, 20-24. See also Salimbene, pp. 113, 518; *Histoire littéraire*, XXIII, 137, 138.

⁵ Chapter xxiii; see below, p. 158, note 1.

⁶ Chapter ccxxvi; see below, pp. 159 ff., 167, 175 ff.

⁷ Nepotism is implied in Chapter xcvi. On nepotism among the popes see e.g., Salimbene, p. 170.

⁸ See below, pp. 159 ff.

bishop escapes unscathed, the preponderating emphasis is laid upon the offences at the court of St. Peter, as well as upon those evils of which it was primarily the cause. The episodes of the exacting prelate¹ and the licentious priest² illustrate admirably the conditions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as they are concisely set forth by Lea³. "Not only did the humblest priest wield a supernatural power which marked him as one elevated above the common level of humanity, but his person and possessions were alike inviolable. No matter what crimes he might commit, secular justice could not take cognisance of them, and secular officials could not arrest him. He was amenable only to the tribunes of his own order, which were debarred from inflicting punishments involving the effusion of blood, and from whose decisions an appeal to the

¹ Chapter XXIII. For a parallel to this incident, which exemplifies the protection afforded exacting prelates by the Holy See, cf. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, II, 59 (an. 1196). On the uselessness of an appeal to Rome against the abuses of the barons, who take their tithes from clerics and give churches to secular priests, see "La Plainte d'Amour," *Romania*, XV, 294. See also Martène, *Thesaurus*, II, 90-93, 99, 100, 150, 151, 192; Salimbene, pp. 114 ff; Piero della Vigna, in Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires*, p. 164; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, I, 73 (Dist. ii, cap. 9); Lea, *The Inquisition*, I, 9-12.

One of the sources of continual friction between clergy and people that prevailed in the thirteenth century was the exaction of tithes, which gave the priesthood an opportunity for extortion. With this evil the strange story of the tithe quarrel in Ancie in the *Prophecies* (Chapters CCXCII, CCXCIII) is connected. This incident is paralleled by Salimbene's account (pp. 594 ff.) of a tithe quarrel in 1280 in Reggio between the bishop and the clerics of his diocese on one side, and on the other the people of Reggio, led by the Captain and twenty-four Defenders of the People, who insisted that the clergy had demanded too large a tithe. The leaders were in consequence excommunicated by the bishop, and the town was laid under an interdict. The people in anger appointed twenty-five other Defenders, who passed "multa statuta prava contra clericos"; no man should pay them tithes, eat with them, give them any counsel or assistance, bake bread for them, or serve them in any way, and a heavy penalty was imposed for the breach of any of these provisions. The quarrel was after a time composed on condition that nobody should be compelled to pay tithes except as his conscience bade him (Cf. Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Du Pin, *Histoire des controverses*, I, 381, below, p. 181). It should be noted, however, that the people of the Duc d'Ancie, although the "chappelain" has been unjust in his demands, are themselves represented as in the wrong in their contumacious behaviour.

² Chapters CCXLIV, CCXLV. See Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 1872, I, 194 ff.; *Histoire littéraire*, XXIII, 148. Cf. in the legend of the Obsequies of the Virgin, the cutting off of the hands of the priest who had dared touch the bier; see S. Reinach, *Revue archéologique*, XX, 334 ff; G. Millet, *ibid.*, pp. 339, 340; Mâle, pp. 294.

³ *The Inquisition*, I, 2, 10.

supreme jurisdiction of distant Rome conferred too often virtual immunity."

The tone of the *Prophecies* regarding the papal court is indicated by the metaphorical name used throughout the work for the cardinals of the Church, who are regularly designated as "tireors de cordes." This term is unmistakably applied to them in various passages, and is used as a synonym for cardinal in the Italian versions¹. In Chapter xxx, for example, when Bishop Tholomer, Merlin's scribe, is elected one of the "tireors de cordes," and leaves Gales for Rome in obedience to the papal summons, V² makes it plain that he has been elected a cardinal, for although the text reads "l'apostolico de Roma lo fece uno di tiradori de corde," the rubric to the chapter is, "Como l'apostolico da Roma fece maestro Ptolomeo cardinale," and Merlin a little later addresses him as, "Maestro Ptolomeo, episcopo fino a qui, ma hora cardinale." The significance of the expression is explained at the end of Chapter ccxlv in a prophecy foretelling the false judgments that from cupidity will be given at the Roman curia, "et ce sera fet par les tireurs de cors, que l'un tirra ca et l'autre la³," and also by the advice that Merlin gives Tholomer on his departure for Rome, which shows that the name has reference to the influences that tended to draw the cardinals from the path of righteousness, now on one side, now on the other, and to the temptations to

¹ See Chapters xi, liv (p. 115, note 3), clxv, ccxlv; V, fols. 26a, 62c, 80d.

² Fol. 49a.

³ See Chapter clii, where it is said of the members of the Papal court, "il iron t boutant ca et la." In V, fol. 48b, in the passage corresponding to 1498, fol. 9b (above, I, 466), in a clause added to the last sentence of the paragraph ending, "et luy dourra mauvais exemple pour les ames et pour les corps," it is also said that evil examples will make Venice "tirar diverse corde." The same figure is used in the continuation of the passage, 1498, fol. 9c. There may have been in the writer's mind some association with the proverbial phrase, "avoir deux (moult) cordes en son archon," since the cardinals did not hesitate to have more than one string to their bows in seeking to attain their ends. On the use of this proverb in thirteenth-century French see E. S. Sheldon, *Romanic Review*, XIII, 76 ff.

The expression "tireor des cordes" should be added to the examples of significant resemblances in phraseology between Da Canale and the author of the *Prophecies*, for in the verses addressed to St. Mark (p. 672) already mentioned (II, 150, note 2) Da Canale uses it:—

*Et mantaigne Venise sans nule discorde,
Pes, bone volente, sans tirer male corde,
Soit en Venise, biau Sire, por misericorde.*

simony, " qui inter ecclesiastica crimina primum tenet locum¹," which too often led them to forget the single aim that should have been theirs. " Des lors en avant que tu seras avecques les autres tireours des cordes, garde toi d'issir de la droite voie ne pour amour ne pour haine ne pour avoir. Tel compagnon aura leu desus toi, qui te fera guenchir chescune fois, mes se tu ne lui ganchis ne ca ne la, lors les auras touz desouz tes pies. Et quant il te saura tel que por riens ne ganchiroies, il te fera donner les grans [dons]. Mes gardes bien que riens [n'en prengnez] que puis que l'en prent aucun don(s) il i est obeissant. " Again and again in the *Prophecies*² the cupidity and the simony of the cardinals, which led to injustice at the curia are dwelt upon. " Nus ne les voudra maintenir. Et sachent que lor[s] feront fere roetes d'argent que leur portes seront brusies et ceus du gouverneur abatues a terre pour roetes d'argent. Il seront a celui tens plains de .ii. pechies, qui ce que je te di lor fera fere. Li premier pechie sera de luxure, et li autres pechies sera des roetes d'argent, dont il seront si convoiteus que a cent doubles les ameront que il ne feront nostre saignour Jhesu Crist... Il donront les faus jugemens souvent et menu, non mie selonc reson ne selonc justice, mes selonc les roetes d'argent... Li quiex aura plus d'argent, se il va a la cort au gouverneur il aura bon jugement ou soit droiture ou non³. " The root of all this evil is found in "roetes d'or et d'argent. " " Les roetes d'or et d'argent en seront a cestui tens trouvee, et en feront des lors en avant le jugement terrien en la cort de monsaignor saint Pere. Et ce sera fet par les tireurs de cors... Uns feus istra par ces roetes d'or que presque toutes les terres des crestiens ardra une grant partie⁴. " Such words as these show that Mer-

¹ Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale*, IX, ii (fol. 125); on simony see *ibid.*, chapters II-XXXVI.

A similar name that betrayed their grasping tendencies had been given the cardinals in the Pseudo-Joachite work, the *Expositio Onerum Isaiae* (cf. *Neues Archiv*, XV, 144), which, as Salimbene reports, was quoted by Hugues de Digne in a reproof that he administered to them : — " Et augmentastis honorem vestrum moderno tempore multipliciter... Quapropter melius denominavit vos abbas Ioachym de ordine Floris carinales nominando, quia revera optime scitis carpere et emungere et exhaurire marsupia plurimorum. "

The term "poissons," applied to ecclesiastics in Chapters xcvi, xcvi, and cii, has a parallel significance according to the explanation given in 1498, fol. 26c (see I, 476; II, 236(d)).

² Chapters lvi, clxv, cliv; cf. Chapter xcix; see also below, II, 164 ff., 176, 177

³ Chapter clxv.

⁴ Chapter ccxlv; cf. Chapter ccxliii. See also, e.g., Petrus Cantor, Migne, *P.L.*, CCV, 98 (cap. xxvi); Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* (written

lin, adherent of the Church as opposed to the Empire though we have seen him to be, is nevertheless a zealous rebuker of the corruption of the papal court, which formed one of the most heinous blots upon the Church in the thirteenth century¹.

With the exception of the prophecy relating to the Saracen attack in 849² all of the predictions concerning Rome foretell the disasters that will come upon the city³ because of the evil doings of the cardinals. In the first of these⁴ Merlin announces a great and universal war that in the year 800 will have its beginning among the Romans, who from that time will never be free from strife. It will be caused by one of the " tireors des cordes qui por roetes d'argent voudra brisier la porte de fer et de passe fer... Et il desliera les roetes d'argent as Rommains et par celes roetes chaceront li Rommains leur gouverneur fors de la cite, et commenceront lors [la] guerre contre lui. "

The " tireor de cordes," who will be born in Navarre, will die in contumacy ; the " gouverneur " will remain outside of Rome for five (variant, six) years ; the Romans will then go to fetch him from the place where he will be, namely, a " chastel .xv. lieues de Rome," which in the time of another " gouverneur " will be destroyed. In short Merlin foretells the expulsion of a pope (" le gouverneur de Romme ") from the Eternal City by means of the machinations and bribery of a contumacious cardinal. Of the many popes, who for one reason or another fled from Rome during the period that concerns us here, none left under circumstances that so nearly tally with those of the prophecy as Alexander III. Even the conditions of the conflicts within the sacred precincts of St. Peter's, when Gregory VII was forced to flee from the Emperor Henry IV

in 1392), ed. Langlois, 1891, pp. 25, 26 : — " Consideret [apostolicus] etiam qualiter ubique terrarum ecclesie romane subjectarum clamatur, cum aliquis de symonia arguitur. Nonne videtis qualiter dominus papa et cardinales munera recipiunt ab ipsis quibus beneficia conferuntur, presertim ab illis quibus de prelacionibus providetur ?.. Videtis quod duo electi, quorum etiam unus habet ius, venire solent ad curiam, demum post factas ab ipsis magnas expensas et munera recepta, laboribus et periculis viarum ac curie sustentis, inducitur uterque et aliquando compellitur alter renunciare suo iuri, totum in manibus domini pape ponere ? "

¹ It is perhaps because of this attitude toward the Church that Graf was led to consider the *Prophecies* favorable to the Emperor (*Giornale storico*, V, 199).

² See above, II, 78, note 1.

³ On the many predictions and beliefs concerning the end of Rome current in the middle ages see Graf, *Roma*, Chapter xxii ; cf. especially for references to the famous metrical prophecy, " Roma diu titubans," above, II, 154, note 4.

⁴ Chapter xi.

and the antipope, Clement III, to the Castel Sant'Angelo, from which he was released by Robert Guiscard, and when the adherents of Frederic II drove Gregory IX from the basilica to seek refuge first at Viterbo and afterwards at Perugia, fail to satisfy the terms of the prophecy. On the other hand, while Hadrian IV, the predecessor of Alexander III, was still living, Octavian, the Cardinal of Sta. Cecilia, a partisan of Frederic Barbarossa, and known to be avaricious and a fomenter of schism¹, with two brother cardinals, "male data et accepta pecunia²," had entered into a plot to secure the papal throne for one of their number when it should become vacant. At the time of the conclave on the death of Hadrian in 1159, however, when the final ballot proved to have been cast in favor of Rolando Bandinelli (Alexander III), and the *immantatio* was about to take place, Octavian, hastily slipping on a mantle brought with him for the purpose, in spite of the efforts of the adherents of Alexander to tear it from him, dashed to the altar, and in a voice loud above the tumult proclaimed himself Pope Victor IV.

Ceca itaque ipsius ambitione taliter procedente, reserantur porte ipsius ecclesie que a senatoribus firmate fuerant et armatorum caterve quas pretio conduxerat ilico in auxilium ipsius scismatici cum magno strepitu, evaginatīs gladiis concurrerunt. Et quoniam solatio episcoporum et cardinalium omnino carebat, armatorum turbe ipsum undique circumdabant.

Fratres vero aspirantes tam execrabile facinus et a seculis inauditum, timentes etiam ne ab eisdem conductis armatis erectum adorare ydolum cogerentur in munitionem predictę ecclesie cum suo electo sese pariter receperunt; ibique novem diebus ne ullo modo possent exire, fecit eos quorundam senatorum consensu quos pecunia oblata corruperat die noctuque armata manu cum omni diligentia custodiri³.

At the end of the nine days, when Rolando was released from the *munitio* of St. Peter's, he left Rome and went for safety to Ninfa, where he was consecrated pope, taking the name Alexander III. With the exception of a few weeks he was obliged to remain outside of Rome from September, 1159, to November, 1165, spending the greater part of the first two years (September, 1159, to

¹ See *Historia Pontificalis*, M. G. H., XX, 541, where Octavianus is denominated "cupidus et in genere suo rapax." See also *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 391; Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, IX, 177, note 1; X, 13, 14, 20, 21.

² See Gerhoch von Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, in M. G. H., Libelli, III, 371.

³ *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 398.

June, 1161) at Anagni, Terracina, Ninfa, and other Campagna towns, and the rest of the time principally in France, from where he was recalled to Rome by the faithful, who believed that the moment for his safe return had come. In 1167 when Frederic Barbarossa effected his entrance into Rome, Alexander took refuge at Benevento, which continued to be his chief residence until, after his reconciliation with Frederic at Venice in 1178, he returned to Rome¹.

Thus as the "tireur de cordes" of the prophecy "par roetes d'or," so Octavian "pretio" and "pecunia oblata²," violated the Holy See³, drove the "gouverneur," Alexander, from Rome, and forced him to remain "fors de la cite" for six years, part of which he spent among the *castelli romani*. The great war, then, of the prophecy is the fierce struggle between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen emperors, which, although it did not begin with Frederic I and Alexander III, reached in their reigns so unprecedented a degree of intensity and assumed so unremitting a form that in the dim terms of prophecy its beginnings might have been attributed to this period⁴.

There are four details in which the prophecy does not agree with the facts. The first is in the date; the second is in the recall of the Pope, for the adherents of Alexander did not summon him back to Rome from a castle near the city, but from France. Neither of these discrepancies excludes the suggested interpretation of the prophecy, for the first, as we have already seen by many examples, is negligible, and the second is merely a trifling inaccuracy into which the author may have lapsed purposely in order to add to the obscurity of his words, or inadvertently from an imperfect acquaintance with the facts. The third detail is in the statement that the castle where the Pope will take refuge will be destroyed later in the time of another "gouverneur." We do not know that

¹ See Jaffé, II, 147 ff.: *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 397-446; *R.I.S.*, III, i, 448 ff. Gerhoch von Reichersberg, *l.c.*, pp. 304 ff., 359 ff. For a collection of sources treating of the election of Alexander see Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae*, 1862, II, 455 ff. For the events outlined above see Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, X, 8 ff.

² See Romoaldo di Salerno, *Annales*, *M.G.H.*, XIX, 430: — "Octavianus interrim cepit pecuniam multam per Urbem expendere et senatores et populum ad suum auxilium provocare." "Romains" in the prophecy may be used merely of the curia; see Ch.-V. Langlois, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

³ On the expression "brisier la porte de fer" see below, pp. 165, 166.

⁴ Cf. the prophecies discussed above, II, 13 ff., and below, p. 168, where the war between the Empire and Papacy is described in similar terms. See also the expres-

this applies to any of the numerous castles in the Campagna where Alexander stayed in his six years' absence from Rome, but we do know that Benevento was his residence in his second period of exile, and that because it belonged to the Church it was besieged by Frederic II in 1241 and after its capitulation was razed to the ground¹. Hence we seem to be detecting our prophet here in a lapse of memory, or rather in a confused recollection of Alexander's two exiles. The fourth discrepancy is the statement that the "tireor de cordes" will be born in Navarre, for Octavian had no connection with Navarre in France, or with the Lombard town, Novara, for which *Navarre* may be a mistake², but was of noble Roman birth³, and belonged to the family of the Crescentii, who were the lords of Monticello in the Sabine mountains⁴. The prophecy, in short, is one of those which are too closely in agreement with historical fact not to be associated with it, yet that differ from it, explicable in some, inexplicable in other points.

The two further prophecies that have to do with Rome accord in spirit with those arraigning the cardinals. In the first when Maistre Tholomer is about to leave Merlin and go to Rome as cardinal, he inquires "Combien doit finir la mestre cite du monde?" Merlin replies that it will go from war to war, from the day that strife will begin within its walls. "How can I amend *la crestienne loi*?" Tholomer at once demands; and Merlin replies with the advice already quoted, "When your companions seek to bribe you, spurn their gifts." This is an implication that the venality of the cardinals will be the cause of the wars that will lead Rome to destruction⁵.

sion used by Otto von Freisingen (*Chronicon*, *M.G.H.*, XX, 275) in speaking of the disturbances between Alexander III and Victor in 1152: — "*maximum schisma ecclesiae oriri coepit.*"

¹ Richardus de S. Germano, *Chronicon*, *R.I.S.*, VII, 1046.

² This mistake has been made in the name of Philippe de Novare (Old French, Novaire), the author of the *Quatre temps d'âge d'homme*, who is frequently called in early texts Philippe de Navarre; see G. Paris, *Romania*, XIX, 99 ff.

³ See Otto von Freisingen, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*, *M.G.H.*, XX, 406: — "*de nobilissimo Romanorum sanguine.*"

⁴ See *Annales Casinenses*, *M.G.H.*, XIX, 311; Ricardus Cluniacensis, *Chronicon*, in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, IV, 1112; Gregorovius, IV, 566.

It is barely possible that because Guido, the Antipope Pascal III, the successor of Octavian and his accomplice in the plot to obtain the papal throne on the death of Hadrian, was from Crema, our author erroneously attributed a north Italian origin also to Octavian, who was closely associated with Guido in men's minds. But what led him to select Novara rather than any other Lombard town?

⁵ See Graf, *Roma*, p. 730, where a prediction of Sta. Brigida, who foretold the

"La crestienne loi" can be amended only as the cardinals keep themselves free from corruption. In the other prophecy¹ concerning Rome Merlin makes the unfaithfulness of a bishop the occasion for a diatribe against the cardinals. The bishop has failed to mete out justice to a sinning *prouvoire*, "pour ce que il estoit auques puissant." "Il a brisie son decre," Merlin exclaims in wrath; "aussi comme sera brisie la porte de monsieur saint Piere quant il aura este ou siege que il aporta d'Antioche .G.G.G.G.G.G.G. [G]. Et au nouviesme jour [*var.*, G.] sera abbatue la porte a la terre. Et ce feront les tireurs de cordes." The charge is plainly against the simony of the cardinals, but the text, as may be seen from the variants, leaves us in doubt as to the exact meaning of the prophecy. That the G's refer to various occupants of the papal chair named Gregory is certain, and also that the better reading seems to be supplied by *B*, which gives ".G." for "jour"; but whether Gregory VII or Gregory VIII is meant by the preceding G's is not clear. The height to which ecclesiastical corruption had risen in the reigns of these three popes, and the campaign against simony conducted by them, especially by Gregory VII and Gregory VIII are well known to all students of mediaeval history².

The expression "brisier la porte de fer," which occurs in these prophecies and also in those quoted above³ needs a word of explanation. It evidently signifies the desecration of the Church of which the cardinals by their love of money will be guilty, the doors of the Church being the barrier against the entrance of the unbelieving and the impure. The *ostiarii* of the Church, says Honorius d'Autun⁴, are given at their ordination her keys, "ut videlicet credentibus januas ecclesiae aperiant, incredulis claudant, et templum Dei quod ipsi sunt virtutibus aperiant, vitiis claudant."

destruction of Rome because of the corruption of the Church, is given together with various other prophecies attributing the disaster to moral causes.

¹ Chapter ccxlv.

² For Gregory VII see Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, VII, 29 ff; for Gregory VIII, *ibid.*, X, 334 ff.; Migne, *P.L.*, CCII, 1561 (epist. xxiii); cf. Salimbene's characterization (p. 6): — "Hic fuit vir religiosissimus, cuius mundus in maligno positus non fuit presentia dignus"; for Gregory IX, Gregorovius, V, 146, 147; Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. cdxvii ff. The accounts of the life of Gregory IX, be it said, dwell more upon his contest with the Emperor than upon his struggle with the corruption of the curia; see *R.I.S.*, III, 575 ff.; Bower, *History of the Popes*, 1844-1845, III, 552 ff.; W. Miller, *Mediaeval Rome*, 1901, pp. 64 ff.

³ II, 160, 161.

⁴ *Gemma Animae*, I, clxxv, in Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXII, 598.

In the *Prophecies* the figure is based directly upon the massive gates of bronze ("de fer et de passe fer") that closed the entrance to the atrium within the quadriportico before the Old Basilica of St. Peter¹. Enormously heavy, they were regarded with veneration, and were reputed to have been brought to Rome from the temple of Solomon. The atrium, known as the *paradisus*, to which they formed the entrance, was richly adorned with marbles, and here beneath a bronze canopy supported by porphyry columns stood a marble statue of St. Peter with his right hand raised in benediction and his left hand holding the keys². To the devout believer the gate was a symbol of St. Peter's power as the custodian of Heaven³, and to state that the cardinals will break down the bronze gates of his shrine is tantamount to charging them, under a figure full of picturesque contemporary meaning, with violation of the sanctity of the Church and with the sacrilege of admitting corruption and vice within her walls.

How important a part in our understanding of the composition of the work as a whole is played by the prophecies dealing with the corruption of the curia is evident after an examination of the account of a visit paid to Merlin by three "tireurs de cordes," which, apart from the romantic adventures, is the longest episode in the book. It is found with no variations of consequence in all of our versions⁴ except the defective manuscripts *H* and *C*, and even the former gives a fragment of it⁵. Unquestionably, therefore, it is one of the original and persistent parts of the work. Although entirely uninteresting in itself, it serves to throw important light upon the nature of the *Prophecies*. Its outline is simple, but its elaborations are numerous.

¹ See Tiberio-Alfarano, *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, ed. Cerrati, 1914, p. 18, note 1, for a quotation from a Barberini manuscript of Grimaldi (Lat. 2733) where the doors are described as "portae aeneae maximi ponderis, non vacuae sed solidi operis et magnae crassitudinis."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 18, 116.

³ See the implication in the dedicatory inscription of Honorius I on the left wing of the Porta Argentea of the basilica (*Liber Pontificalis*, I, 323): —

Lux arcana Dei, Verbum...

.....
discipulis praecepta dedit, Patrumque beatum
hos inter primum sanxit et egregium,
cuius in arbitrio caelum terramque reliquit
pandere vel potius claudere cumque velit.

⁴ Chapters xxxix-L.

⁵ See above, I, 18.

Three of the wisest prelates of the papal court, Bertous d'Allemagne, Phellis de Milan, and Gregoire de Rome, come to Galles to visit Merlin for the purpose of testing his "sens et creance." By his startling acquaintance with the past life of each and by his indefatigable shapeshifting Merlin, to their utter bewilderment, convinces them of his supernatural power. Of this he presents to them two especially embarrassing manifestations; first when, after having taken the form of a clerk and by the gift of a golden goblet successfully tempted each in turn to promise ecclesiastical preferment to a certain aspirant, he proceeds to expose their simony, and again when he reveals that they have been guilty of preventing the marriage of maidens who were their wards in order to retain their dowers. He is questioned by the prelates on his belief in the Trinity and the sacraments of the Church, and fully persuades them by his replies that he is "voirs disant et parfes en la loi de sainte eglise." Thus having established his reliability and orthodoxy, he addresses various prophecies to them before they depart acknowledging in spite of the disconfiture to which they have been subjected that they have found him "bon et loial et sage envers Dieu et envers le siecle."

The life of Merlin is one long series of shapeshiftings, and this story may be compared with many another in the pages of Robert de Borron and elsewhere, which are employed merely to magnify his power as an enchanter, and which, owing to their ironic element in his befooling of mortals by his constant changes of form, serve almost as comic interludes in the longer narratives of which they form a part¹. Our incident, like the satires against the clergy which abound in the *fabliaux*, undoubtedly offered additional entertainment to lay readers in its mockery of high dignitaries of the Church and its relentless revelations of their foibles², as well as in its exaltation of Merlin, the son of a devil, at their expense. In so far, then, the episode is commonplace; its redeeming interest for us lies in its non-romantic elements, which are sufficiently important to be considered at some length. Of these the most significant are the prophecies addressed by Merlin to the prelates, which with the exception of two that are historical are entirely connected with internal conditions of the Church and the religious orders, and especially with their failings.

The three cardinals of the prophecy hail from Germany, Milan, and Rome; to each Merlin delivers an individual prediction that has to do with the place of his provenance. The name of the first

¹ See *P. M. L. A.*, XXIII, 275.

² See Bédier, *Les fabliaux*, 1893, p. 292.

prelate is familiar. Bertous d'Allemagne (Bertholdus de Alamannia, Berthold von Regensburg, Berthold of Ratisbon) was a famous Minorite preacher, who was born in the first quarter of the thirteenth century at Regensburg, where he died in 1272. He travelled extensively, preaching in his own and other lands, and probably visited Italy¹. He was a distinguished member of his order², and wherever he went attracted enormous crowds by his eloquence. He never attained to a churchly dignity higher than that of "sacerdos et praedicator³," nor so far as we have evidence did his wanderings lead him to Greece, where Merlin announces that Cardinal Bertous is destined to go. There is no reason to suppose that his life supplied any foundation for the reproof that Merlin addresses to his namesake in the *Prophecies*; indeed he himself preached fervently against the very sins with which Merlin charges the latter⁴. The reason for attaching his name to one of the cardinals of the story, at first puzzling, becomes less so after a study of the prophecies addressed to him and his fellow prelates.

By the pride of Germany, Merlin predicts to Bertous⁵, a great war will be begun before 1220[1230], "que tout li mondes empirera, dont chescun ville sera esgaree et en seront fetes .ii. parties en chescun lieu, [dont presque] la moitie des hommes dou siecle en mourra, que occis que en contumace. Si vueil que vous sachiez que ceste contumace est dite por ce que il ne deguerpiront les parties jusques a la venue du Dragon de Babilloine. Et lors droitement a cele venue en recommencera une autre et sera encontre Jhesu Crist cil de la partie du Dragon de Babilloinne. Et si di que cil d'Allemagne en seront tuit essillies por cele mauvese partie." The war brought upon the world by German pride before 1220 or 1230 is, of course, again the contest between the German emperors and the Popes, which raged in the latter part of the twelfth and throughout the

¹ See Salimbene, pp. 559 ff.

² See Roger Bacon, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 1859, I, 310 : — "Frater Bertholdus Alemannus qui solus plus facit de utilitate magna in praedicatione quam fere omnes alii fratres ordinis utriusque." Cf. Hofmann, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1867, II, 374.

³ Salimbene, l.c.

⁴ For the life and preaching of Berthold see Schönbach, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, CLIV (1907), 5 ff.; Pfeiffer, *Berthold von Regensburg, seine Predigten*, 1862; Gärtner, *Berthold von Regensburg*, 1890; Matrod, a series of articles in *Etudes franciscaines*, XII, XIII, XIV; *Analecta franciscana*, I, 417; III, 239.

⁵ Chapter XLV.

thirteenth centuries. By it the cities of Lombardy had been divided in the time of Frederic Barbarossa, hence before 1220, the year in which Frederic II was crowned at Rome. The two factions which will create schism "en chescun lieu" are the papal and imperialistic parties, whose misdeeds Justinian declared to Dante "son cagion di tutti vostri mali". They existed in numerous towns long before they became defined respectively as Guelphs and Ghibellines¹, when they are regarded by the chroniclers as having been introduced into Italy from Germany by Frederic II. Jacopo da Acqui, indeed, goes so far as to insist that the names themselves are Frederic's own invention²: "Dum autem sic magna guerra stat quasi in tota Italia inter Ecclesiam et imperatorem, dixit imperator Fredericus: *Ego tale semen seminabo in Lombardia et Ytalia quod nunquam bene poterit eradicari*. Et tunc ore suo imperator dixit, *Pars imperatoris vocabitur Gibelina et pars sacerdotum vocabitur pars Guelfa*." An account of the two factions that closely resembles our prophecy is given by Villani³, according to whom the death of Buondelmonte marked the beginning of the Guelph and the Ghibelline factions in Florence: —

I maladetti nomi di parte guelfa et ghibellina, si dice che si crearono prima in Alamagna, per cagione che due grandi baroni di là aveano guerra insieme e aveano ciascuno uno forte castello l'uno incontra all' altra, che l'uno avea nome Guelfo e l'altro Ghibellino, e durò tanto la guerra, che tutti gli Alamanni se ne partiro, e l'uno tenne l'una parte e l'altro l'altra; ed eziando infino in corte di Roma ne venne la questione e tutta la corte ne prese parte e l'una parte si chiamava quella di Guelfo, e l'altra quella di Ghibellino, e così rimasero in Italia i detti nomi.

To this account Ricordano Malespini adds⁴, "onde molto male

¹ *Paradiso*, VI, 99.

² See Muratori, *Antiquità*, Diss. II, especially p. 427.

³ Col. 1585.

⁴ V, xxxviii. Cf. Sanudo, col. 548.

⁵ Col. 946. See also, Giustiniani, I, 410; Salimbene, p. 380: — "Porro in Florentia ex parte ecclesie dominati sunt Guelfi, ex parte imperii Ghibelini: et ex istis duabus partibus in tota Tuscia partes denominate fuerunt et sunt usque ad presens tempus, et omnes biberunt de calice ire Dei et potaverunt usque ad feces. Et quicumque melius habuit, gloriari non potest, quod gladium divine indignationis et ultionis evaserit, quia, si in civitatibus suis scismata et divisiones fecerunt, divisi fuerunt similiter et ipsi ab ira vultus eius, scilicet vultus Dei... Igitur omnes supradictas partes et scismata et divisiones et maledictiones tam in Tuscia quam in Lombardia, tam in Romagnola quam in marchia Anconitana, tam in marchia Trivasana quam in tota Ytalia fecit Fridericus, qui condamnatus dictus est imperator."

ne següi, e següirà, se Dio per sua pietà non rimedia." By the flaming up of these parties under Frederic II, commonly regarded as the Antichrist¹ — the Dragon of Babylon, — whose contumacy placed him "encontre Jhesu Crist" and consequently brought ill upon his land, the second part of the prophecy is explained — "Et droitement a cele venue en recommencera une autre [partie]²." That the expressions "une autre partie," "cele mauvese partie," "la partie du Dragon," refer to the Ghibellines, in spite of their having been included in the foregoing prophecy, is made the clearer by a comparison of what is said of the "partie" here with a passage by Da Canale descriptive of the Ghibellines, which in its turn is also paralleled by another prophecy plainly referring to them. The latter³ is connected with the prediction of the war between Salinguerra and Azzo d'Este in Ferrara⁴, which was one of the important phases of the struggle between Guelphs and Ghibellines, and which ended in reverses for the latter. "Mes li citoien des villes," Merlin says, "aront touz jors mellee [*var.*, mes] le feu [alume] qui james ne faudra... Cestui feu... descendi avecques li deable, quant il fu boutes fors du ciel," and an account of the fall of Lucifer follows. Da Canale⁵ after recording briefly the taking of Cesena from the Guelphs and the expulsion of Malatesta da Rimini in 1275 by the great Ghibelline leader, Guido da Montefeltro, points out in exactly the same terms the woes that the "mau-vese partie" of Guido has brought upon the land : —

... Je veul que il soit seu combien de mal est venus au siecle por la mauvese partie que cort parmi le siecle. Et cele mauvese partie fu comencie el ciel; ce fu li orgueill que fu trabuchies dou ciel. Et ie veul bien que un et autre le sachent que tos ciaux que mainteurent orgueill, se il nel trabuchent en cestui siecle et il ne s'amendrent, que il trabucheront en l'autre; et seront boute en abisme, ausi com fu

¹ See below, pp. 186, 196, 222.

² The text of *V* (fol. 58c, d) is here clearer than that of the French versions : — "Onde sciascuna cita ne sera imbrigata : et serano facto do parte per plusor lochi de gli omeni del mondo : e cui per questo ne morira : e cui ne stentera : e cui ne cadera in contumacia : imperoche elli non abandonerano le parte la quale durerano infino ala venuta del Dragbon de Babilonia. Et alhora dritamente a quella venuta incominciera un altra parte la quale sera contra la lege de Jesu Christo." The last sentence shows that "partie" is the substantive to be supplied with "autre."

³ Chapter xv.

⁴ See above, II, 136 ff.

⁵ II, cccxxxix (pp. 698 ff.).

Lucifer, que fu trabuches dou ciel iusque in abisme : por ce que il fu li maistre comenceor de l'orgueil, en fu il gueredones selonc sa deerte. Et se aucun venist avant que deist que il a guaaignes par sun orgueil, je li responderai, que il ne dit pas voir; et que se il ot guaaignes en cestui siecle ne or ne ariant par sun orgueil, il est danes en le autre siecle, en arme et in cors¹.

It is distinctly, then, the attitude of Guelph toward Ghibelline that is reflected in the prophecy of Merlin to Bertous.

Immediately following it comes a prediction addressed to Phellis de Milan. So far as I have been able to determine, Phellis has no historical counterpart. His father is said to be Escarbonax, a pagan, evidently with reference to the heretical character of Milan, which, as we shall see, is emphasized in the *Prophecies*. To Phellis Merlin foretells² the part of Milan in the resistance of the north Italian cities to the encroachments of the German emperors: — "En celle cite sera premierement commenciée cele partie. Si vueil que il le sachent que il en aront le pieur destorbier, et sera si grant que tout li mondes en parlera, et tuit cil de sa partie en afoiblira. Mes ains que li Dragons viengne, pour ce que point de foi n'aura dedens soi, en aura asses pis, sans ce que je en ai dit ca en arrieres. Si leur dorra si grant colee cil qui de sa partie auront este, que il auront ases a soustenir por Lombardie et pour Alemaigne et pour Romme, et empirera tout li mondez."

During the period with which we have to deal there are two confusing elements in the history of Milan which should be recognized in order to make the Milanese predictions intelligible. The first is found in her constant wars with her neighbors, especially with Pavia, which were inextricably connected with her resistance to the emperors; under her leadership or that of Pavia, the smaller Lombard towns ranged themselves on the side of the Papacy or the Empire, according as their own interests and their local quarrels prompted, with frequently shifting alliances among themselves. Milan, too powerful to countenance imperial encroachments, was with the exception of a few intervals consistently Guelph. In the second quarter of the twelfth century, in the rivalry for the imperial succession between Lothair of Saxony who was

¹ With these passages cf. that from the *Libre de Sidrach* cited below, II, 235 (a). See also the comparison between Frederic II and Lucifer made by Albert von Beham, *Conceptbuch*, ed. C. Höfler, 1847 (*Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, XVI), p. 62.

² Chapter XLV.

supported by the Pope, and Conrad II, the Hohenstaufen claimant of the throne, Milan in 1130, declared herself for Conrad, who shortly after received the Iron Crown at Monza; and according to one tradition it was in Milan herself that Frederic Barbarossa was crowned with the Iron Crown, after he had entered Italy by way of Turin in 1155 and had laid waste Asti. "Tunc Imperator Federicus venit Mediolanum, quem Archiepiscopo Ubertus de Pirovano cum immenso gaudio coronavit," Galvaneo della Fiamma says, and he further tells us that during a truce in the war that soon began between Frederic and Milan, some of the Milanese nobles allied themselves with the emperor and going to him at Monza renounced their allegiance to their own city¹. Frederic speedily began an advance upon Milan, but was routed in a mighty battle. Thus it will be seen that there is some basis in historical tradition (whether reliable or not) for Merlin's prophecy that "la mauvese partie" shall begin in Milan².

The second element that tends to confusion in Milanese affairs is the reputation that in spite of her papal tendencies Milan won for herself throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the most heretical spot in Lombardy, itself a nest of heresy. In the eleventh century she had been the seat of Manichaeism, and for two hundred years longer she was the principal centre for the Patarini and the Cathari, as well as the refuge for the persecuted heretics of Languedoc; indeed, if we are to believe Étienne de Bourbon³, at one time she harbored seventeen sects within her walls. The very circumstances which we have been recalling above, and her absorption in the contest with the Empire made her prone to leave heresy unmolested and to offer to its roots a genial soil⁴. It is furthermore easy to understand that heretics by supporting whichever of the two great opposing factions had at the moment the upper hand could take cover under its wings, and that thus they do not necessarily appear in political affairs only on the side of the Ghibellines⁵.

¹ Cols. 634, 640.

² For a general account of this period of Milanese history, see W.F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, 1906, chapter v; cf. Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, chapter vii, §§ i, ii.

³ *Anecdotes*, p. 280; cf. p. 215; Rotondi, *Archivio storico*, Serie 3, VI, i, 3 ff.

⁴ Cf. Chapter cclxxxvii with II, 158, note 1, and Chapter clii; for the corruption of the Church owing to the spread of heresy see II, 25.

⁵ Cf. the often quoted reply of Frederic II to the injunctions of Gregory IX that he depart on a crusade to the Holy Land in 1236 when he was in the midst of his war with Lombardy, that the Milanese were more heretical than Saracens and

At the same time from the papal point of view and that of the Guelph chroniclers heretics and Ghibellines were to be classed together; both were opponents of the true faith and of the law of God¹. These confused relations allow us to presuppose that the "mauvese partie" that will have its rise in Milan was to the Guelph prophet as clearly the heresy which he identified with the Ghibelline party as the party itself, which he has just predicted will be "encontre Jhesu Crist."

In punishment for her sins, Merlin declares, two disasters will overtake Milan. Two great reverses suffered by Milan in the varied course of her war with the emperors are dwelt upon by the chroniclers. The first of these marked the culmination of her determined hostilities against Frederic Barbarossa, which began shortly after he had been crowned with the Iron Crown, when he destroyed Tortona, a town to which Milan was friendly, and in whose behalf she at once manifested her displeasure². It is not necessary here to trace the course of the struggle in which Frederic vainly sought to curb her independent spirit, until at length in 1161 at the end of a siege nine months long, he compelled her to surrender and ruthlessly exacted as the penalty for her insubordination her total destruction³. The second disaster was the battle of Cortenuova in 1236, when Frederic II administered a signal defeat to the Milanese forces, in which their podestà, the son of Jacopo Tiepolo, the Doge of Venice, was taken prisoner and hanged with all his companions by the imperial command "in maius ipsius opprobrium sempiternum," as Jacopo da Acqui says; the *car-*

more worthy of suppression; for the orthodoxy of Frederic and his attitude toward the heretics of Milan see Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. cxcii, cxcix, cc, cd, cdlxxxviii, cdxci; Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, III, 324; *Innocentii III PP. Regesta*, XV, 189, in Migne, *P.L.*, CCXVI, 711 ff.; *M.G.H., Epistolae Saeculi XIII*, I, No. 355.

¹ See, e.g., above, II, 130; *M.G.H., Epistolae Saeculi XIII*, I, No. 451; Galvaneo della Fiamma, col. 638, the description of Charocerus de Malespina, who advises Frederic I to destroy Milan, — "vir haereticus"; Salimbene, p. 31, the description of Frederic II, — "scismaticus, hereticus et epycurus"; Jacopo de Vitriaco, *Historia Occidentalis*, p. 260; Muratori, *Antichità*, V, 137, 138, 143 ff. (Diss. 1x); Schmidt, *Les Cathares*, I, 23, 60, 62, 145 ff., 150, 160, 161; Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, I, 224; Id., *The Inquisition*, II, 191 ff.; Tocco, *L'eresia*, pp. 214 ff.; Gebhart, *L'Italie mystique*, 1904, pp. 26 ff.; Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, 1894, p. 48.

² Galvaneo della Fiamma, cols. 634 ff.

³ *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, p. 6; Galvaneo della Fiamma, cols. 642, 643; Jacopo da Acqui, col. 1556; Villani, V, 1.

roccio of Milan was also taken and was led to Rome as a token of victory. At the time this defeat seemed to break effectually the power of the Second Lombard League, but in reality it only led Milan and her confederate cities to a stouter resistance and to a prolongation of the war¹.

To these two defeats it is reasonable to refer the prophecy². If the interpretation of the second disaster as the battle of Cortenuova be correct, we must understand the words, "ains que li Dragons vien-

¹ See *Annales Mediolanenses*, R.I.S., XVI, 645 (cap. viii); Jacopo da Acqui; cols. 1578, 1579; Villani, VI, xx; Dandolo, X, v, 19 (col. 350); Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. cdlviii ff.

² V and P contain two other prophecies which foretell the destruction of Milan as a punishment for her misdeeds. The first forms part of a chapter of confused predictions: — (V, fol. 23a) "Et... Milano sara destructo e dentro se menasse biana. Et questo sera al tempo che il Nostre Signor sara venuto in terra anni .m.c.lviii. Et cio avenira a quelli de Milano che starano assediati anni .vii. Et dappoi renegherano la fede de Jesu Christo, li qual se ne fugirano nele terre de Egipto e quivi fonderano una cita, e dappoi la destructione di Greci e de quelli de Milano la vendeta sara facta per Christiani per quello che harano facto a Milano." The same story of the dispersion of the Milanese through the East is found in Boncompagno, *De obsidione Anconae*, R.I.S., VI, 934. Villani (v.i), it may be noted, gives 1157 as the date of the destruction of Milan.

The second prophecy is as follows: — (V., fol. 52d) "Alhora disse Merlino a maestro Antonio,... Or meti in scripto che la maestra cita piu redotata che a quel tempo sera in Lombardia havera dentro da se malvagi christiani, per li quali senza fallo sara tradita per li suoi cittadini, e sara donata a li suoi vicini. Onde elli la destrugerano apresso che tuta. Et dappoi alcun tempo ella se recuperara. Et quelli che quello haverano facto la compreranno molto cara. — Or dime, Merlino, disse maestro Antonio, se Idio ti salvi, como ha nome quella grande cita de Lombardia, de la qual tu mi parli che de esser tradita si vilanamente da i suoi cittadini? Alhora Merlino guardo maestro Antonio, e disseli, Io tel diro da che tu lo voi sapere. Meti in scripto che quella grande cita ha nome .M. Et questo voglio che sapi dritamente che l'havera a quel tempo tal populo como e quello de paganesmo, imperoche a quel tempo el paganesmo che vivera, se ello havesse baptismo, seria miglior che il populo de quella grande cita. Et serano ancora li pagani miglior homeni che non sono quelli de Lombardia, e per tuta la Marca onde io te ho facto mentione, e anche per tuta Romagna, e per tuta Toscana, e per tuta la Marca de sopra il mare. — E como sara questo? disse maestro Antonio, sara tanta mala gente al mondo como tu dici? — Si, certo, disse Merlino, e ancor pegio, salvo quelli de Inghelterra e li Boni Marinari de .V., li quali haverano el suo signor Jesu Christo in grande riverentia, e cosi haverano quelli de Gaules, ma sarano insuperbiti e per quello orgoglio perderano la compagnia de molta gente savia e costumata."

For the "tradigione" of the city see the story from Galvaneo della Fiamma as cited above, II, 172; the "vicini" are the Lombard towns who were allied with Frederic I; with the phrase, "elli la destrugerano," cf. Galvaneo della Fiamma, col. 643: — "Duravit autem destructio Mediolani septem annis... Totaque Lombardia tribus vicibus ipse anno sudavit in destructione muri altissimi."

gne," in the vague sense in which, as we shall see below, they are most often used in the *Prophecies*, referring to the dreaded coming of the Antichrist, the time of which no man knew, but which would be followed by the end of the world¹. Another point that needs explanation, if Cortenuova be the second disaster, is how the Milanese losses there can be called " asses pis " than the destruction of the city itself. This expression may be accounted for by the Venetian authorship of the *Prophecies*. To a Venetian not even the fate of Milan in 1161 would seem so memorable a misfortune as a battle that resulted in the captivity and death of Pietro Tiepolo, the son of the Doge. No sooner was the calamity learned in Venice than the Doge incited the people to avenge it, and the Republic even willingly yielded later to the exhortations of the Pope that she make peace with Genoa, knowing that thus she would be able to turn her forces more effectively against Frederic².

The prophecy addressed to the third cardinal³, Gregoire of Rome, is more personal in character than the predictions that we have been examining. After reminding Gregoire of the appropriation of maidens' dowers⁴ by a future occupant of the papal chair, Merlin in a further prophecy informs him that he will become pope, " si bien vous sachiez garder que vostre porte ne soit bruisie ne pour or ne pour argent, et tant aures vous gaignie pour l'es-sample de cestui or que vous vees devant vous. Mais je sai vraiment que moult seres bons et loiaus. "

That the cardinal Gregoire is intended to represent Pope Gregory X (1272-1276), who was a contemporary of Berthold of Regensburg, is proved by a comparison of this prophecy with various related sources, and in the first place with Chapter CLXV. This chapter opens with the prediction that " au tens [que le tireors de cordes auront] la saignorie et desus le gouverneur de la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jerusalem et desus le [sieg]e au champion au chief d'or, [sera] nostre saignor Jhesu Crist si couroucies envers eus, que il ne les respitera se petit non. " In spite of sundry corruptions of the text, it is evident that the prophecy refers

¹ See below, II, 198 ff.

² See Dandolo, X, v, 20 (col. 350).

³ Chapters XLV, XLVIII.

⁴ Cf. on this sin, which Merlin also charges against the cardinals, Salimbene's description (p. 518) of Bishop Guielmo da Foligno, among whose many defects he numbers that "puellas non maritavit, sed e contra bonis paternis atque maternis expoliavit. "

to the period between the death of Clement IV and the election of Gregory X, when the papal throne remained vacant for almost three years owing to the dissensions of the cardinals, who at last acted directly contrary to the desires of Charles of Anjou in appointing an Italian, Tedaldo Visconti of Piacenza (Gregory X), instead of a French cardinal¹. Thus they may be said to have the "saignorie" over the Pope ("le gouverneur de la chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jherusalem," the Vicar of Christ) and over the ruling house of France ("le siege au champion au chief d'or") represented in the person of Charles of Anjou². The prophecy continues to emphasize the same sins of the cardinals that we have seen emphasized above, and predicts the coming of a holy pope, "que touz ceus que il porra trover par tout le monde, qui donnent faus jugement par convoitise d'avoir, il les fera jeter en sa cave dont il ne seront james ostes. Et sachiez que il dira que avant voudra il que il perdent leur cors que leur ames. Et metes en escrit... que celui apostoille saintefiera et fera grans miracles en sa vie et apres sa mort." In the second half of the thirteenth century there became current in Italy a prophecy foretelling the advent of an "angelic pope," who would cleanse the Church from its manifold corruptions and prove a formidable antagonist of the Emperor³. Merlin's prophecy, however, embodies no such vague anticipations, but refers definitely to Gregory X, as may be seen by comparing it with the account of his miraculous power which is contained in the anonymous *Vitae Gregorii Papae X*⁴, and also with the description that Salimbene⁵ gives of his character and especially of the retribution that he meted out to simoniacal prelates. "Iste Gregorius

¹ See Salimbene, pp. 486, 493; Gregorovius, V, ii, 457 ff.

² See above, II, 20.

³ See Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, 2nd edition, s.v., "Papa Angelicus."

⁴ See *R.I.S.*, III, i, 602: — "O Beatum Pontificem, cuius vita clauditur termino tam felici: O gloriosum Antistitem, cuius vita, magisterium, et obitus sese nobis offerunt utiliter in exemplum. Ne igitur in terris congruo destitueretur honore, quem Coelestis Rex adeo donis charismatum sublimarat, praeter id, quod magna est ad eum devotio populi multusque ad ejus tumultum peregrinorum concursus; ipsum pro exaltatione Fidei, et confundenda haeretica pravitate, in militanti Ecclesia, voluit variis coruscare miraculis. Nam quamplures, quibus ope medicinae subveniri non poterat, ab infirmitatibus, morbis, et languoribus, ejus implorato suffragio, sunt curati. Etenim illis, quos involvit perplexitas, et quos adversitas deprimit ex sua pietate exoratus succurrit, porrigens dexteram erectionis depressis et directionis consilium exhibens taliter involutis." A long list of the miracles of Gregory follows.

⁵ Pp. 488, 491,

fuit," says Salimbene, "vir magne religionis, amator pauperum, largus, benignus super omnes, multum misericors et mansuetus... Hic pape fuit mire experientie in secularibus nec intendebat pecuniarum lucris, sed pauperum elemosinis..... Hic deposuit quendam episcopum qui miserat pro impetranda licentia, ut ad concilium non accederet; suspicatus enim fuit papa, quod propter avariciam domi remanere vellet, ut parceret suis expensis... Item iste papa vituperavit fratrem Petrum de Fulconibus de Regio et a se amovit et separavit, cum prius moraretur secum, pro eo quod congregabat thesauros. Capellum rubeum abstulit domno Ricardo cardinali, pro eo quod visum fuit sibi, quod simoniace quandam prebendam dedisset." The pope in the story of Merlin before the Council in Rome¹, which must have had a place in X, visits a similar condign punishment upon Bishop Conrad of Faenberg, who is convicted of carnal sin: — "il fut tant courrouce a l'encontre de l'evesque Coraz qu'il le fist pendre et getter au fons de sa cave²." The election of this pope to the papacy had been predicted by Merlin in Gales; he is therefore the Gregoire of our episode and, by comparison with the passages cited above, is also seen to be Gregory X³. Salimbene implies that Gregory X was influenced in his dealings with erring prelates by certain prophetic verses, known to him before he became pope, to which, believing that they foretold his career, he tried to conform⁴. The verses in question, however, which Salimbene quotes, were certainly composed after Gregory's pontificate had begun, for their contents show that they were written between the years 1274 and 1276⁵. There is no question that they refer to him, and they have a distinct interest for us in connection with both the prophecy in Chapter CLXV and also with Merlin's words to Gregoire, "multa seras bona et locuta," which substantially reproduce one of their lines, "servus bonus atque fidelis"⁶: —

Quarto Clementi dum tertius annus agetur,
Papa sacer genti iustorum substituetur

¹ See I, 476 ff.; II, 193, 311, note 2.

² 1498, fol. 28c; see above, I, 480.

³ For the anachronism in the chronology see below, p. 311, note 2.

⁴ P. 492: — "Nam quidam versus inventi sunt etiam ante quam fieret papa, quos ascribebat sibi, et putabat eos prophetice de se dictos."

⁵ See Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 384.

⁶ For the text of the verses see Salimbene, p. 492; Holder-Egger, *l. c.*, 385 ff., reproduces them from a fourteenth-century manuscript.

Ac dono Christi succedet sanctior isti,
 Patris de celis servus bonus atque fidelis.

.....
 Gazas terrenas spernet, discrimine plenas,
 Conformis Christo mundo dum vivet in isto.
 Hunc Deus ornabit et mire clarificabit,
 Sanctificabit, magnificabit, glorificabit.

.....
 En circa mille bis centum septuaginta
 Tetraque : tunc ille, velut annorum quadraginta,
 Sanctus parebit et Christi scita tenebit,
 Angelice vite, vobis pavor, o Giezi.¹

It is not too large an assumption that these well known verses, which it would be preposterous to suppose were an outcome of the *Prophecies*, had an influence in determining the form of Merlin's predictions concerning Gregory X. We thus have reason to believe that the date of these sections of the *Prophecies* is not earlier than 1274, or much more probably, considering the reference to the miracles that the pope will perform after his death, than 1276, the year when Gregory died.

It will be noticed that the three prelates of the story embody the three great forces that were fiercely exciting Italy during the thirteenth century — the Empire (Germany), the Papacy (Rome), and Heresy (Milan). Berthold is selected as a representative of Germany, doubtless because it would shed lustre on Merlin's ability if a celebrated preacher from that land were shown to be silenced by him, and possibly because Berthold was a famous member of the Franciscan order, the lapses of which Merlin reproves in a prophecy discussed below. It should be added that although Gregory X was a native of Piacenza, Gregoire is said to have been born in Rome, undoubtedly to emphasize his part as a representative of the Papacy. We cannot fail also to observe that of the three cardinals it is only he to whom Merlin accords approval. In short, although given in two cases the names of individuals, the prelates are types rather than actual personalities in the hands of the author.

In addition to the predictions to the individual cardinals, there are two² addressed to them collectively, in which after severely

¹ Cf. Petrus Cantor, Migne, P. L., CCV, 122 (cap. 36) : — "Sinceritatem et puritatem canonice electionis impediunt et destruunt, lepra Giezi, cupiditas Simonis."

² Chapter XLVIII.

rebuking the love of money that they themselves exemplify, Merlin announces that there will be "une religion en terre, qui se commencera si povrement que bien fera a loer son abit, et maint en seront saint homme. Il n'auront au commencement volente nule d'avoir or ni argent, mes ne demorra guaires ainssi, ains aura chescun un seneschal et s'enorgueillera si durement que de tiex en i aura qui changeront lor abit et leur religion et devendra aussi comme au siecle, et ira parmi le monde menacant aussi comme orendroit menace un rois un autre rois." This "religion" is manifestly the Franciscan order, which beginning with the strict observance of poverty, "nihil in speciali, nihil in communi¹," as the path to perfection, relaxed its discipline even before the extravagant Frate Elia was its Vicar General, and became contaminated during the thirteenth century with abuses and dissensions springing ultimately from a neglect of its original rule of poverty². This neglect, which reached a climax under Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta, who became General of the Order in 1287, had already thirty years earlier called forth the rebukes of St. Bonaventura³. The warning contained in his famous letter written in 1257, *Ad omnes Ministros provinciales et Custodes Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*⁴, forms an interesting parallel to our prophecy and gives a scarcely needed support to its obvious interpretation; it is all the more pertinent because the rule of St Bonaventura ended shortly before our episode must have been composed: —

Sane perquirenti mihi causas cur splendor nostri Ordinis quodam modo obfuscatur, Ordo exterius inficitur, et nitor conscientiarum interius defoedatur; occurrit negotiorum multiplicitas, qua pecunia, nostri Ordinis paupertati super omnia inimica, avide petitur, incaute recipitur et incautius contrectatur... Occurrit evagatio plurimorum, qui propter solatium suorum corporum, gravando eos, per quos transeunt, non exempla post se relinquunt vitae, sed scandala potius animarum. Occurrit importuna petitio, propter quam omnes transeuntes per terras adeo abhorrent Fratrum occursum, ut eis timeant quasi praedonibus obviare. Occurrit aedificiorum constructio sumptuosa et curiosa, quae pacem Fratrum inquietat, amicos gravat et hominum perversis iudiciis multipliciter nos exponit. Occurrit multiplicatio

¹ See St. Bonaventura, IX, 537.

² For general accounts of this familiar subject see, e.g., the series of articles by René, *Études franciscaines*, XIV, XV; Lea, *The Inquisition*, III, 1 ff.

³ See further, below, II, 224, 225.

⁴ VIII, 468 (2), 469; cf. pp. 449 ff. On the pride of the Franciscans see René, *loc. cit.*, XV, 609.

familiaritatum, quam Regula nostra prohibet, ex qua suspiciones, infamationes et scandala plurima oriuntur... Occurrit tandem sumtuositas expensarum.

At the same time Merlin continues, there will be another order ; " qui tiex euvres fera, dont je ai parle en mes prophecies ;... mal verront encore li siecles l'orgueil que il aura sus les gens, dont il diront une mauveses paroles, qui bien seront encontre la foi, Vez ci l'escu de sainte eglise. [Ne sainte yglise ne doit avoir ne escu ne glaive,] que elle [l]'a donne desus autrui, ce est desus les chevaliers du monde. Et qui ne donne disme a sainte eglise, il doit estre escommunies, mes qui veut desheriter sainte eglise, il doit morir par les mains des chevaliers et par les mains du peuple." This prophecy, which plainly has to do with a militant order, at once suggests that of St. Dominic, "impugnator haeresum strenuissime¹," " il santo atleta... ai nemici crudo²," and specifically the Dominican Tertiaries, originally styled the *Militia Jesu Christi* (later the *Fratres de poenitentia B. Dominici*), established as the third order, according to some authorities by St. Dominic himself, according to others after his death³. Raimond of Capua, cited by the Bollandists as the earliest authority for the story of its foundation, reports that its especial object was "pro Ecclesiae divitiis decertare⁴." The implication of the prophecy is that the

¹ See Wadding, I, 255.

² *Paradiso*, XII, 56-57.

³ See *Acta Sanctorum*, Augusti, I, 418 ff. ; Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*, 1759 etc., I, 20, note c ; Hergenröther und Kaulen, *Kirchenlexicon* (2nd edition), III, 1944 ; Lichtenberger, *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, 1880, IX, 281 ; Tüker and Malleon, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, 1900, Pt. III, 174 ; Lea, *The Inquisition*, I, 267, 268.

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum*, l.c. See also *Brevis Historia ordinis Praedicatorum*, in Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI, 348, 349 ; the words of Gregory IX to the *Fratres Militiae Jesu Christi* (Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, 1729, I, 25 (December 22, 1227) : — "Porro vos mori potius, quam pati huiusmodi mala cupientes, in vobis Machabeos reviviscere facitis, dum haereticos, ac hostes Ecclesiae, Dominici effecti milites, expugnatis. Hinc est, quod cum de vana et seculari Militia ad servitium Iesu Christi conversi, Apostolicae Sedi et Dioecesanis Episcopis promiseritis oboedientiam, et Ecclesiae libertatem contra omnes pro nostra et successorum nostrorum voluntate defendere, et haereticorum insaniam spoponderitis totis viribus expugnare." With the interpretation of the prophecy that follows cf. the words of St. Bonaventura in regard to the Franciscan Tertiaries, *Determinationes Quaestionum*, Pars II, Quaestio xvi, VIII, 368.

From Salimbene (p. 467) we learn that there was a separate order of this name, similar to the *Milites Sancte Maris*, who later were merged with the *Fratres Gaudenses* ; it was established at Parma in 1233 by a Dominican, Bartolomeo da

"religio" will make an unsuitable use of its power in the exaction of tithes and of inheritances, — a reproof of the doctrine accepted and taught on occasion by both Mendicant orders, that tithes were alms, not to be paid to the priesthood because of any right of the clergy to exact them, but to be disposed of in accordance with the will of the owner. The doctrine, as Selden remarks, was "gainful" to the Friars, for in this way they "often got them to themselves as alms to be arbitrarily disposed of to such as took any spiritual labor, as also made their own detaining of them in lands, out of which they were parochially due, to seem the less wrongful¹." This theory and practice naturally excited the animosity of the clergy, and one of the complaints brought against both Franciscans and Dominicans at the Council of Ravenna in 1261 was that they refused to preach the payment of tithes to the priesthood², a charge against which Salimbene³ defends them at great length. More than a suspicion further attached to the Dominicans that they secured for their order inheritances by means of death-bed absolution⁴. To emphasize their aims they had a valuable weapon, for they wielded with peculiar power, especially after 1233, the most deadly instrument of the Church, the Inquisition, and as its strongest arm — so far as Italy was concerned, primarily in the north — they were not lightly to be offended or thwarted in their pur-

Vicenza, was confirmed by Gregory IX (see Sbarile, *l.c.*), but did not survive after 1261, according to Salimbene, since writing in that year he says that he saw its beginning and its end, nor did it have more than a local existence. It is assuredly not this order to which the prophecy refers.

See Pauphilet, *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, 1921, pp. 67 ff., for a discussion showing the militant character of the Cistercian order. Cf. especially for that branch of the Cistercians in Livonia who called themselves *gladijferi fratres* and were primarily a militant order, Manrique, *Cisterciensium seu verius ecclesiasticorum annalium libri a condito Cistercio*, 1642-1649, III, 327, 328.

¹ Selden, *The History of Tithes*, 1618 (*Works*, III), p. 1163. We find, for example, that even in 1217 the Dominicans insisted upon their claims to the tithes in certain parishes assigned to them by Bishop Foulques of Toulouse. See *Historia Fundationum Conventuum ordinis Praedicatorum*, Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI, 446.

² They preached, however, the tithes imposed by the Council of Lyons in 1274. See Professione, *Contributo agli studi sulle decime ecclesiastiche e delle Crociate*, 1894, p. 12; Gottlob, *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass*, 1906, pp. 172 ff.

³ Pp. 406, 421 ff. Cf. for the same charge against the Franciscans St. Bonaventura, VIII, 356 ff.; Ehrle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, III, 107.

⁴ See, e.g., *Le Dis de la vesceie a prestre*, in Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 1878, III, 106 ff.; Bédier, *Les fabliaux*, 1893, p. 298; Lea, *The Inquisition*, I, 280.

poses.¹ Testimony that the abuses implied by Merlin's words were recognized throughout the thirteenth century is, for example, afforded by the decrees issued against the Dominicans by Gregory IX as early as 1229 and 1233², and later by the lament which Dante puts into the lips of St. Bonaventura, when by implication he contrasts the actual practices of the order with those of St. Dominic: —

Ed alla sedia che già fu benigna
 Più ai poveri giusti (non per lei,
 Ma per colui che siede, che traligna),
 Non dispensare o due o tre per sei,
 Non la fortuna di prima vacante,
 Non *decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei*,
 Addomandò; ma contro al mondo errante
 Licenza di combattere per lo seme
 Del qual ti fascian ventiquattro piante.³

Against such an organization as this the prophecy is directed on the ground that it will usurp the duties of the secular knights, whose shield signified that, as defenders of Holy Church, they were prepared to bear any blows aimed at her. "Li escus," the Dame du Lac says to the young Lancelot before his knighting, when she explains to him the significance of a knight's armor⁴, "qui au col li pent et dont il est covers par devant senefie que autresi que il se met entre lui et l'escu autresi se doit metre li chevaliers devant sainte eglise encontre tous malfaiteurs, or soient robeor ou mescreant. Et se sainte eglise est assaillie ne en aventure de rechevoir

¹ See *ibid.*, I, 130, 299 ff.; II, 233 ff.; Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Cf. the accusation against the inquisitors made by Frederic II (Huillard-Bréholles, IV, ii, 907, 908): — "dum caveri sibi sub Ecclesie nomine postulant a suspectis in fide, bona fidelium nostrorum, villas et castra pro securitate sibi assignari procurant. Sic frater Johannes (i.e., Fra Giovanni da Schio, persecutor and pacifist) in *marchia Veronensi* castris acceptis se ducem Verone et rectorem perpetuum in suis litteris propriis appellabat"; also the charge against both orders made by Piero della Vigna (Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires*, p. 167): —

*Cumque per provincias sunt inquisitores,
 Malos beatificant, damnant meliores,
 Et qui cibos praeperant eis latiores,
 Nunc inter caeteros sunt laude digniores.*

² See Potthast, Nos. 8326, 9172; also under Innocent IV, No. 11299.

³ *Paradiso*, XII, 88-96; cf. Vigo, *L'ultima guida di Dante*, 1903, p. 20.

⁴ *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 114. Cf. the teaching of St. Bernard that although the Pope has two swords, the temporal should be used not by the Church herself, but for her by temporal hands; see Tocco, *L'eresia*, p. 241, with which cf. pp. 59 ff.

colp ne colee, li chevaliers se doit avant metre por la colee soustenir comme ses fiex. Car ele doit estre garantie par son fil et desfendue." The prophecy is altogether in harmony with the position of the Church that the sentence of death against heretics should be decreed by secular power, although it was universally known that she herself really directed such sentences¹.

So far then we see that the episode of the Three Cardinals not only incidentally illustrates Merlin's typical abilities as an enchanter, but reveals his power to confound and admonish the representatives of the Empire, the Papacy, and Heresy. Furthermore he appears as a Guelph, a devout believer in the Trinity and the sacraments, but unhesitating in his denunciations of the sins of the highest dignitaries of the Church and of the abuses that had contaminated the religious orders. In these denunciations he in part fulfills what earlier in the interview² he has announced to be the purpose of his existence: — "Nostre saigneur Jhesu Crist si vot que je nasquisse en terre pour la honte des anemis d'enfer, et meisement pour conter en terre les mauves miracles du Dragon de Babilloinne ...et pour descroistre un pou la mauvese euvre des clers."

Here in order to place the *Prophecies* in its correct historical setting it is pertinent to turn from it for a moment to one of the supremely important personalities of twelfth-century Italy, the Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Flora, whose saintly life, a union of mystical contemplation and practical activity, extended through the greater part of the century (1132-1202), and whose amazing writings exercised an immeasurable influence upon the thought of Italy for at least a hundred years longer. His doctrines as well as the effects of his teachings are too well known to the student of his period and have been too brilliantly treated³ to be dwelt

¹ See Schmidt, *Les Cathares*, II, 217; for the influence exercised by the papal upon the judiciary power in regard to laws against heresy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see Havet, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1880, pp. 586 ff.

To the conditions of which we have been speaking the prophecy in Chapter ccxix also refers, which foretells that "les hommes et les fames oublieront les veuves dames et les orphelins pour qui les aumosnes furent establies a donner, et les douront as nouveles religions et as noviaus religieux." By the "nouveles religions" the Mendicant Orders are meant; see below, p. 185.

² Chapter xlv.

³ See, e.g., Fournier, *Etudes sur Joachim de Flora et ses doctrines*, 1909; Ehrle, in Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, s.v., "Joachim von Floris"; Renan, *Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse*, 1884, pp. 217 ff.; Tocco, *L'eresia*, Chapter ii; Denifle, *Protocoll*, pp. 50 ff.; Gebhart, *L'Italie mystique*, 1904, Chapters ii, v; René, *Etudes*

upon with any detail here. No study of mediaeval prophecy, however, can fail to refer to them, for they form the basis of the vaticinations which were common in Italy for a century after his death, and at least some of the essentials of his theories must be kept in mind if we would understand the *Prophecies de Merlin*.

Joachim, being convinced that the inner meaning of the Holy Scriptures had been revealed to him by Heaven, whence he derived the prophetic gift that his contemporaries attributed to him, predicted the future state of the Church, as he conceived it, basing his foreknowledge merely upon his personal interpretation of the Bible and upon his own deductions from the study of the past, which he regarded as "the key of the present." Thus he was led to discern three epochs of the world, which he distinguished by their relative degrees of perfection in an ascending scale: the era of the Father, completely past, when men lived under the dispensation of the Old Testament; that of the Son, or the dispensation of the New Testament, still in Joachim's time continuing; and that of the Holy Spirit, a future age, during which men would live under the dispensation of the "Evangelium Eternum," by which the Holy Spirit would enter into their hearts even as St. John declared that he beheld in his Apocalyptic Vision "another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people¹." According to Joachim's system of calculations, based upon his belief that forty-two generations of thirty years each must elapse between the advent of Christ and that of the Holy Ghost, the third era, although he referred its inception to the coming of St. Benedict, would not bear fruit until the year 1260, which would be preceded by the return of Elias and the appearance of the Antichrist². In the first of these three periods the spiritual regenerators of men were not celibates, but patriarchs and kings; in the second they were the clergy, and in the third they would be monks — not those of the Benedictine rule, the corruptions of which Joachim had himself witnessed³ and which

franciscaines, XV, 277 ff.; Lea, *op. cit.*, III, 10 ff.; Von Döllinger, pp. 365 ff.; E.G. Gardner, in Sabatier, *Franciscan Essays*, 1912, pp. 50-70.

¹ Revelations, xiv, 6. For a discussion of the meaning of "Evangelium Eternum" in Joachim's writings see Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.

² *Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti*, Venice, 1519, Lib. IV, cap. 33; Denifle, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

³ See his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, Venice, 1527, p. 80, col. 3; Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Gebhart, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

he did not hesitate to condemn, but two new orders, who should live in abstinence and poverty and pass their days in prayer and fasting. Upon these new orders, which he described under manifold symbols and figures, and upon the reign of the Antichrist, marked by its traditional evils¹, he laid the greatest emphasis in his prophecies, and with the possible exception of his Trinitarian views, they formed the most notable part of his works.

The great effect that the teachings of Joachim exercised upon men's minds is manifest in the large number of prophecies of a similar character that sprang up in Italy and that were attributed to him², many a would-be prophet winning an audience for his own vaticinations by passing them off under the name of Joachim. No portion of his writings, however, made so deep a popular impression as the prediction of the two new monastic orders and the reign of the Antichrist. The year 1260 was awaited with trembling, and its approach was marked by various forms of spiritual excitement³. By the two orders the Franciscans and the Dominicans believed that they themselves were indicated, in spite of the fact that both had originated long before the year when Joachim had announced that they would come into being, and that they had to turn for the principal support of their contention to a Pseudo-Joachite work, the *Interpretatio in Hieremiam Prophetam*⁴. In the Mendicant orders the most ardent disciples of Joachim were to be found among the Minorites, one of whom, Fra Salimbene, is our principal authority for the views on Joachim current in his day. No members of the Franciscan order were more deeply affected by the Joachite prophecy than those who were known as the Spirituals, or *Zelati*, who zealous for the preservation of the tenets of St. Francis in their absolute purity and bitterly opposed to the laxer rule of the so-called Conventuals, or advocates of the " large observance, " the *Relaxati*⁵, believed that they were the regenerators whom Joachim had heralded, and did not hesitate to avow themselves his faithful followers.

An important phase of Joachim's teachings, as I have said, was his doctrine of the Trinity, in which he openly opposed the theo-

¹ See below, pp. 193 ff.

² See Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XV, 144 ff. ; Lea, *op. cit.*, III, 11 ff.

³ Perhaps the most remarkable of these forms was the fervor of the Flagellants ; see Salimbene, pp. 466, 494.

⁴ See Fournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45 ; Salimbene, pp. 20, 101, 266, 288 ff., 293.

⁵ See Ren , *l.c.*, 395 ff.

logy of Peter Lombard and, although always professing orthodoxy, was so heterodox in his views that they were condemned by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The disciples of Joachim, nevertheless, remained faithful to him, but a stigma attached to their cult, and Salimbene reports that the study of his works was carried on by some of the brethren in secrecy¹. Their allegiance was still further put to proof when not only the death of Frederic II, whom they had identified with the Antichrist, occurred in 1250, but when 1260 passed, and nothing happened that corresponded to the predictions of Joachim, who was thus shown, as Capgrave says, to have "failed foule and erred in his counting²." It is true that his greatest devotees at once sought for the Antichrist in another personality, King Alphonso X of Spain, and that they explained the chronological difficulty as the result of an error in their own reckoning, or maintained that Joachim did not in reality set a definite time for the coming of the Antichrist or the end of the world; the weaker brothers, however, fell from the faith³. Up to 1260 Salimbene, although not free from doubts, had been a Joachite⁴, making the most of his opportunities to inform himself about the doctrines of Joachim⁵ and apparently seeking to proselytize⁶; but his faith, which had led him to point out the truth of several predictions of Joachim⁷, could not stand the test of the Emperor Frederic's death and the uneventful passing of the year 1260, and he then and there renounced his discipleship. As he was conversing one day with Fra Barto-

¹ E. g., Giovanni da Parma; see Salimbene, pp. 232, 301; René, *l.c.*, 286 ff.; Gebhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 ff. See also Salimbene, p. 237, the warning of Frater Mauricius of Provence to Salimbene: — "Frater Salimbene, noli credere istis Joachitis, quia ipsi turbant fratres suos cum sua doctrina"; p. 238, where Hugues de Digne (see below, p. 190) sets forth reasons why Joachim, although a holy man, offered hindrances to the complete faith of many; pp. 239 ff., the replies of Hugues de Digne to the questions of two Dominicans sceptical as to the truth of Joachim's views. See further Albericus Trium Fontium, p. 879; Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee*, pp. 88 ff.

² Capgrave, *Chronicle of England*, ed. F. C. Hingeston, 1858, p. 138.

³ See Salimbene, pp. 238, 239; Lea, *op. cit.*, III, 26.

⁴ See Salimbene, p. 236, for an account of his induction into Joachism; E. Emer-ton, *Harvard Theological Review*, VIII, 487 ff.

⁵ See Salimbene, pp. 233, 236 ff., 313, 456.

⁶ Salimbene tells us, for example (p. 377), that one day he sat beneath a fig-tree with Azzo d'Este and a Minorite brother and read to them from the *De operibus Ysaie*, a pseudo-Joachite work.

⁷ See *Id.*, pp. 19, 31, 36, 201.

lomeo of Mantua, who pointed out to him the troubles that Giovanni da Parma had brought upon the Franciscan order because he followed "prophetias hominum fantasticorum," the brother turned upon him with, " 'Et tu similiter Ioachita fuisti.' Cui dixi : ' Verum dicitis. Sed postquam mortuus est Fridericus, qui imperator iam fuit, et annus millesimus ducentus sexagesimus est elapsus, dimisi totaliter istam doctrinam et dispono non credere nisi que videro.' Et dixit mihi, 'Benedicaris tu'. " It is impossible to read the vivid pages of Fra Salimbene without becoming aware that Joachism and the attitude of individuals toward it was one of the burning questions of his day in Minorite and indeed in wider circles.

Even before 1260 the doctrines had been brought into ill repute in the Church by certain events that were making a great stir in the clerical and monastic world. In 1254 a Franciscan, Gerardo di Borgo San Donnino, issued — according to Jehan de Meung "par mauvaise intention"¹ — his anonymous *Introductorius ad Evangelium Eternum*, a treatise containing the three principal works of Joachim prefaced by an introduction, which altered and developed his ideas and carried them to greater and more contumacious extremes, even predicting that under the dispensation of the "Evangelium Eternum" the sacraments themselves would be done away with, the Mendicants would replace the established hierarchy, a simoniacal pope would occupy the chair of St. Peter, and in short that the entire ecclesiastical system would become null and void and would be replaced by the doctrines of the new Gospel². His work appeared in Paris at the time when the quarrel between the University and the Mendicants, which formed so animated an element there in the thirteenth century, was raging hotly³, — at the psychological moment, therefore, to attract especial attention.

¹ Id., pp. 302, 303 ; see also pp. 446, 456 ; René, *l.c.*, 281 ff.

² *Roman de la Rose*, II, 1198.

³ See Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 109, 115 ff., 126 ff., 136 ff.

⁴ A prophecy in Chapter I appears to touch upon the battle between the clerics and the Mendicant orders, which was especially fomented by the jealous antagonism of the regular teaching forces of the Universities, notably at Paris, toward the Friars, who gradually made a way for themselves into their numbers and won their laurels from them. "Quant li Dragons sera occis li clers ne voudront estre veus au siecle. — Aurent il fet itex euvres au siecle ? fet mestre Antoine. — Oïl, ce dit Merlin, et si apertement que bien feront a blasmer... Tout ce auront pourchacie cil des relegions por l'envie que il auront li uns a l'autre." Merlin declines to predict which order will have the best chance for salvation, but announces that "au parfiner du monde seront

But in spite of its anonymity it was recognized as an emanation from Joachites of the Franciscan order, who were thus betrayed by the extremes of one of their own number into the hands of the Philistines. For Guillaume de Saint-Amour, the leader of the University party, not willing to allow such an opportunity to pass unchallenged, had the book brought to the attention of Pope Alexander IV, and immediately published against it a treatise of his own, *De Periculis novorum temporum*. The result was that the *De Periculis*, which assailed the Mendicants, who were under the especial protection of Alexander, was ordered by a papal bull to be burned, and a commission consisting of three cardinals, Odo, Bishop of Tusculum, Stefano, Bishop of Praeneste, and Hugo, presbiter of Sta. Sabina, was appointed to meet at Anagni in July, 1255, to examine into the *Evangelium Eternum*. The book was, of course, condemned and suppressed, and it is only from the Protocol of the Commission of Anagni that our knowledge of it today is derived¹.

With these facts before us, though they form but the barest skeleton of complicated events, the episode of the Three Cardinals and Merlin's announcement of his mission on earth acquire a special significance. In the passage quoted above the first of the reasons that Merlin gives for his birth is the stock explanation found in Arthurian romance; the second and third carry us directly into the region of Joachism. To forecast the reign of the Antichrist and the era of the Holy Spirit, which should purify clerical life of the evils that had crept into it, was the aim alike of Joachim and of his followers. The two subjects of prime importance in the prophecies that emanated from them were the tribulations that the rule of the Antichrist would cause, and the monastic systems that without abrogating the influence of the clerics should supersede it with a revivifying and cleansing power. The purpose of Merlin too is to announce the miracles of the Antichrist and to set forth the evil works of the clerks under whom the world has degenerated. He too predicts the coming of those very orders that Joachim was believed to have foretold, and like Joachim declares that they will

tuit esgare." On the rivalry between the Franciscans and the Dominicans see Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, 1894, p. 322.

¹ For the facts mentioned above see Salimbene, pp. 454 ff., 458 ff.; Lami, *Deliciae Eruditorum*, 1737, II, 278; Du-Pin, *Histoire des controverses*, I, chapter vii; *Histoire littéraire*, XIX, 197 ff.; XXI, 468 ff.; René, *l.c.*, 513 ff.; Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 278, 285 ff.

supplant the Benedictine rule¹. Unlike Joachim, however, he predicts, not that they shall be a quickening, purifying force, but that they shall become the prey of worldliness; and thus he incurs no danger of the charge of heresy that had been brought against Joachim and Gerardo for their exaltation of the new orders over those already existing, or for the attribution to monasticism of

¹ This prediction occurs in a rebuke to a Benedictine abbot (Chapters ccxxvi, ccxxvii): "Ha, cheitis abbes, tu portes l'abit d'un mout saint homme, et se tu fusses tel comme tu as l'abit, je sai que tu en feisses les euvres auques bel[les] selonc ce que li saint home establi en sa religion... Se vostre relegion fust bien maintenue au siecle molt feroit a loer. Mes il vet enorgueillissant et seurmoutant son orgueil plus et plus, jusques a tant que il recevront une collee tuit ensemble. Et se il ne fussent si garnis de rentes a poines trouvasseint il que mengier." This blow, Merlin continues, will be received "apres ce que la grant cite que fist Constantin sera prise et desrobee par ceus de Gaule et par les Bons Mariniers, que des lors en avant seront maintes relegions au siecle en povre habit, qui mout grant collee [donront] a vostre relegion." Cf. the reference in Chapter ccxxxiv: — "apres ce que l'ordre monsaingnor saint Beneoit establie aura receue la collee ainssi comme je vous ai dit." These "relegions en povre habit" are the Mendicant orders, the Friars Minor, confirmed in 1210, and the Friars Preachers, confirmed in 1216, hence not long after Constantinople ("la grant cite que fist Constantin") was taken by the French ("ceus de Gaule") and the Venetians ("les Bons Mariniers") in the Fourth Crusade. Both of these orders were essentially reactionary against the Benedictines, and the speedy following that they met indicated, as has been often pointed out, that men were awaking to the necessity for a form of self-expression not supplied by the established monastic rules, whose influence began to wane with their development in directions that lay outside of the ideals for which they had been established. See Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Langlois, 1891, p. 24; Salimbene, p. 112; Rohrbecher et Fèvre, *Histoire universelle de l'Eglise catholique*, 1880, X, 518; Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, 1725, III, 323; Herzog, *Real-Encyklopädie*, 1854, II, 41; René, *Etudes franciscaines*, XIV, 231; Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 255, 267 ff. For the rapid growth of the Mendicant orders see Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Occidentalis*, pp. 334 (cap. 27), 357 (cap. 32). On the renovating power of the new orders, see *ibid.*, p. 349 (cap. 32); cf. Salimbene, p. 112; Piero della Vigna, in Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires*, pp. 166 ff. It is well known that even in the days of St. Bernard the Benedictines had merited rebuke for their departure from the rule of their founder; see, e.g., Vigo, *L'ultima guida di Dante*, pp. 12 ff.; E.S. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, 1913, pp. 133 ff. Cf. with the prophecy, *Paradiso*, XXII, 61-96.

The only Italian version that contains this prophecy is S, which agrees with R except in Merlin's statement that the blow will be dealt "apres ce que la grant cite que fist Constantin sera prise et desrobee." Here the Italian text reads (p. 27): — "Appresso alla gran città di Robatta e presso a quegli di Gaules e per gli Buoni Marinai." This is so obviously a mistaken rendering of the French, "appresso alla" and "di Robatta e presso" being blunders for "apres ce que" and "prise et desrobee," as to make the interpretation offered by Sanesi, *Storia*, (pp. xcii, xciii) appear unnecessary.

the all-important rôle in the Church that proved obnoxious to the Commission of Anagni¹. In contrast also to Joachim and Gerardo, he is veracious in his predictions² and absolutely firm in his faith in the Trinity and the sacraments³. The commission of the three cardinals sent from Rome to test his "creance," unlike the Commission of Anagni, finds nought to condemn. In short, this episode is an outcome of the period when the facts outlined above were still in men's minds, and was certainly composed for the purpose of stamping the *Prophecies* as a production innocent of those tendencies that had met the ban of the Church. Here is a prophet, whose works can in no way fall under ecclesiastical displeasure, for he is free from any taint of heterodoxy, unimpeachable in his obedience to the Papacy as opposed to the Empire, has no more violent reproaches to direct against the clergy than many a papal bull contained, and is no louder in his lamentations over the decline of the Mendicants from their early ideals than many a Spiritual Franciscan. We see, then, that the *Prophecies*, though belonging in subject and tenor to the Joachite literature, is removed from the criticism that attached to it, and incurred no danger of suppression. It is a book that all men might read, for Merlin is "bons et loiaus et sages envers Dieu et le siecle." How necessary it was to insist on the orthodoxy of Merlin is illustrated by a story that Salimbene tells of Hugues de Digne, a hermit of Hyères, who had a wide reputation for both sanctity and learning in Salimbene's time, and who was one of the most zealous followers of Joachim in the thirteenth century. When he was visited by the two sceptical Dominicans mentioned above, he proceeded to expound to them Joachim's predictions relating to Frederic II and as confirmatory evidence cited a certain prophecy of Merlin, which he interpreted sentence by sentence. But one of them objected to his using the testimony of Merlin: — "Istud esset hereticum dicere scilicet verba infidelium pro testimonio sumere." Hugues promptly answered that he lied, and in support of his own arguments cited many passages of

¹ See Denifle, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

² Merlin's veracity is continually emphasized in the *Prophecies*. The *Livre de Helias* is given up to a series of anecdotes illustrating the truth of his predictions or the excellence of his faith, as well as his acuteness in detecting sin.

See on the estimation of Joachim as an unreliable prophet and heretic *Histoire littéraire*, XX, 24; Capgrave, *Chronicle of England*, ed. cit., p. 138; Pipino, cols., 598 ff.; Bernadus Guidonis, *R. I. S.*, III, i, 476; Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-264.

³ See Chapter ccxxv; Fournier, *Etudes sur Joachim de Flore*, pp. 43ff.

Scripture, concluding with : — " Igitur scriptura Balaam et Heliu et Cayphe et Sibille et Merlini, Ioachym atque Methodii ab ecclesia non spernitur, sed gratanter suscipitur in quantum bona et utilia et vera dixerunt¹. "

Another incident in the life of Hugues de Digne is of interest to us here, for he appears in it in a rôle similar to that of Merlin in the story of the Three Cardinals². Hugues not only lived in the expectancy of seeing the predictions of Joachim accomplished, but by delivering oracles of his own himself won a reputation as a prophet. He was accordingly bidden by Innocent IV to the Council of Lyon (1245), where many cardinals from Rome were present who wished to hear him prophesy. When he stood before the consistory, the Pope announced to him that he had been summoned because rumors had reached the Roman curia that led the assembly to desire to hear his utterances as a successor to Joachim in the gift of prophecy and as a great Joachite. Hugues, who, as the admiring Salimbene says, was " maximus disputator et paratus ad omnia," replied that he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but a believer in the prophets, and agreed to speak on condition that he might do so without interruption. When he had been promised entire freedom of speech he immediately proceeded to use it by indulging in a lengthy vituperation of the cardinals (" vituperavit eos sicut asinos"), castigating them for the same sins that Merlin reproves, — simony, false judgments, extravagance. The cardinals listened gnashing their teeth, but the Pope, when he had concluded, dismissed him with a " Benedicaris tu, fili... Vade in pace. " It is by no means beyond the bounds of probability that this story of the well known prophet, Hugues, whom the cardinals desired to hear prophecy at the famous Council of Lyon, but whose words conveyed to them only unpalatable truths in regard to their own shortcomings, influenced our author in the form in which he cast the episode that we have been studying. It may also have suggested to him the part of Merlin in a long episode contained in 1498³ and all of the Italian versions except S, and which must have formed a part of X. Briefly, it relates that Merlin is summoned to a Council in Rome to answer charges of heterodoxy brought

¹ Salimbene, pp. 243 ff. On Hugues de Digne, see Gebhart, *L'Italie mystique*, p. 204 ; René, *Etudes franciscaines*, XV, 282 ff ; *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 293.

² Salimbene, pp. 226 ff., 236.

³ Fols. 26b-29a ; see above, I, 475 ff. See also, below, II, 311, note 2.

against him by Bishop Coraz de Faeuberg, whom he proceeds to convict before the Pope of simony and carnal sin.

The extent to which the facts that have been dwelt upon above throw light upon the authorship of the *Prophecies* is clearer after an examination of the subject treated in the following section.

II

LE DRAGON DE BABILOINNE

Inasmuch as Merlin announces that a part of his mission on earth is to set forth the miracles of the Dragon of Babylon, it is to be expected that the Dragon should be a pervading influence in the *Prophecies*. "The Dragon of Babylon," it is scarcely necessary to say here, is no unusual appellation for the Antichrist¹, the mysterious figure who as a brilliant and terrible antagonist of all the powers of good was a conspicuous personality in mediaeval thought. That the Dragon of Babylon is none other than he throughout the *Prophecies* is evident from the substance of the predictions concerning him. So completely are they permeated with the eschatology of the Antichrist tradition that, if we would understand them, its principal features as it was known in the thirteenth century must be borne in mind. The legend is remarkably stable² in its character, and the essentials of the canonical form for the period with which we

¹ The name is sufficiently explained by the figure of the "dragon, the old serpent," under which the Antichrist is represented in the Apocalypse (see Revelations, xx, 2; cf. xii, 3, 7-9, 13-17) and often in later sources (see Adso, col. 1292; Bousset, pp. 137, 145 ff., 256, 257), as well as by the common tradition that he was born in Babylon (see Malvenda, pp. 91, 92, 104. The chief value of the enormous and ill-ordered compilation of Malvenda, to which frequent reference is made below, is in the examples that it contains for many of its statements). The theory is now generally accepted that the legend of the Antichrist, which is essentially a story of the struggle between the powers of evil and good, of order and chaos, light and darkness, was vitally influenced by the ancient Babylonian Dragon myth, which tells of the war between Tiamat, the goddess of chaos, and Marduk, the god of order and light (see Bousset, pp. xiff. and chapter i; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, 1915-1918, s.v., "Antichrist"). This early connection, needless to say, had entirely dropped out of thirteenth-century thought, yet its influence may still be seen lingering in the name frequently applied in that period to the Antichrist. It is also given to those rulers who were identified with him, as, e.g., Frederic II (see Salimbene, pp. 201, 389; cf. pp. 438, 439).

² See Bousset, pp. 7, 253, note *; Id., in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1908, etc., I, 578; Torrey, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s. v., "Apocalypse."

are dealing are contained in a much earlier source, a Latin tractate, the *Libellus de Antichristo*, written before 954 by a monk, Adso, who, influenced probably by an earlier Greek compilation, the *Revelations* of the Pseudo-Methodius¹, embodied in his work also the Biblical references upon which the Christian conception of the Antichrist was based. To rehearse the complicated development of the Jewish and Christian belief in the Antichrist would be to go far outside the scope of our present study², but we shall have a better understanding of the forms of the legend that concern us, if we remember that those Biblical passages that were the corner stone of the conception of the Antichrist, as Adso and later mediaeval sources present it to us, are primarily, in the Old Testament, the visions in the book of Daniel³ interpreted as referring to the Antichrist, and in the New Testament, the various passages in the Gospels and Epistles (notably II Thessalonians, ii, 3-12) in which under one name or another he is definitely mentioned, especially the prophecies of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters of the Apocalypse. The treatise of Adso under the name of Alcuin, or Alcuin, or Rabanus Maurus, into whose works it was incorporated, was current in the middle ages and had a wide influence in transmitting the tradition⁴.

Adso begins by explaining that the Antichrist is so-called " quia in cunctis Christo contrarius erit, id est Christo contrarius faciet⁵." He will be born of the Jewish race, of the tribe of Dan in Babylon, and will be reared in Bethsaida and Corazin⁶; magicians and soothsayers will be his instructors and will teach him iniquity and guile; evil spirits will ever attend and lead him. He will come to

¹ See Bousset, pp. 50 ff.; Id., Hastings, *op. cit.*, I, 580.

² See the last cited article for a summary of this development; also Hastings *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, I. c.

³ Daniel, vii, 8, 19-25; viii, 9-12; xi, 21-45.

⁴ Published under the name of Alcuin in Migne, *P. L.*, CI, 1289 ff. See Ebert, III, 479 ff.; Meyer, *Ludus de Antichristo*, p. 4; *Histoire littéraire*, IV, 341; V, 174.

⁵ Col. 1291.

⁶ See Malvenda, *l.c.* Bethsaida and Corazin were made the abode of the Antichrist in legend doubtless because of the lament of Christ over their sins (Luke, x, 13). Henri d'Arcy in his poem on the Antichrist (ed. Kastner, *Modern Language Review*, I, 269 ff., vv. 55 ff.) puts effect for cause: —

*Por ce les maudit nostre sire Jhesu Crist
En un liu del evangille ou il dist,
Maudit seit Bethsayda, maudit seit Corasain,
Kar en vus conversera le vessel de venin.*

Jerusalem, and putting to death all those who refuse to believe in him, he will rebuild the Temple, establish his seat there, and declare that he is the Son of God. He will subdue unto himself kings and princes of the earth, will send his messengers and false prophets throughout the world, and will perform great and unprecedented miracles. He will seek to win the faithful to himself by fear, by gifts, and by wonders, and will persecute and slay all men who refuse to accept him. "Tunc erit talis tribulatio, qualis non fuit super terram ex tempore quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad illum tempus¹," This period of tribulation will last for three and a half years. The sign of the coming of the Antichrist will be the destruction of the Roman Empire, that "falling away" when the son of perdition will be revealed before the Day of the Lord, which St. Paul foretold (II Thessalonians, ii, 3). Then the reign of the Antichrist will begin. At length the prophets Enoch and Elias will be sent to earth to hearten the faithful against him and prepare them to do battle with him. When they have delivered their message, however, the Antichrist will overcome and kill them, as has been foretold in the Apocalypse (xi, 7); but they will be raised from the dead by the Lord on the third day after they have been slain. Then will the Antichrist slay with the sword or compel to apostasy the remnant of the faithful. But at the end of three years and a half the judgment of God will overtake him. Christ will appear before him and by the brightness of His glory will strike him dead with terror, or, as other learned men report, he will be slain by the Archangel Michael, whom he will meet in conflict on the Mount of Olives. For forty days thereafter God will grant a respite as a period of repentance to all those who have followed the Antichrist, and then He will come to judge the world in a day and an hour that no man knoweth².

¹ Col. 1294.

² For accounts that are substantially in agreement with the above see Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum morale*, II, ii, dist. i (fols. 138 ff.); Aquinas, *De adventu Antichristi*; Bede, *Sibyllinorum verborum Interpretatio*, in Migne, *P. L.*, XC, 1185 ff. For a summary of various beliefs connected with the Antichrist see Albericus Trium Fontium, *M. G. H.*, XXIII, 838.

Honorius d'Autun in his *Elucidarium* (Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXII, 1163 ff.), a dialogue between a *Magister* and a *Discipulus*, written in the beginning of the twelfth century and immensely influential during this and the succeeding centuries in forming men's conceptions in matters of dogma and faith (see *Histoire littéraire*, XII, 165 ff.), gives a brief account of the Antichrist, which is quoted here because of its intrinsic importance and especially because the elements of the tradition

Such was the figure, the great antagonist of the Messiah, whose coming was looked for as one of the signs of the approach of the Day of Judgment, and even as the expression of the Messianic hope in a person was expected among the Jews, and among the Christians was believed to be consummated in the person of Christ, so the anticipations of the Antichrist, both Jewish and Christian, in time began to cluster about a definite individual, and from generation to generation as there appeared on the scene of history a prominent figure who in his characteristics and career seemed to resemble the traditional Antichrist, he was pronounced by his opponents to be the Antichrist himself. The prophecies of the King of the North, the Antichrist of the book of Daniel, were early believed to refer to Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, King of Syria, who is but the first of a long line of rulers, among whom the Emperor Nero is one of the most notable, to be identified with the Antichrist¹. The name became a term of opprobrium, and while it often

emphasized by Honorius are those to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer in our study of the Antichrist material in the *Prophecies* : —

"*M. Antichristus in magna Babilonia de meretrice generis Dan nascetur. In matris utero diabolo replebitur, et in Corozaim a maleficis nutrietur. Universo orbi imperabit, et totum genus humanum sibi quatuor modis subjugabit. Uno modo: nobiles sibi divitiis adsciscet, quae sibi maxime affluent, quia omnis pecunia abscondita erit ei manifesta. Secundo modo: vulgus sibi terrore subdet, quia maxima saevitia in Dei cultores furiet. Tertio modo: sapientia et incredibili eloquentia clerum obtinebit, quia omnes artes et omnem Scripturam memoriter sciet. Quarto modo: mundi contemptores, ut sunt monachi, signis et prodigiis fallat. Faciet enim tam stupenda miracula, ut jubeat ignem de caelo descendere, et adversarios suos coram se consumere, et mortuos resurgere, et sibi testimonium dare. — D. Suscitabit mortuos vere? — M. Nequaquam, sed diabolus ejus maleficiis corpus alicujus intrabit, et illud apportabit, et in illo loquetur; ut quasi vivum videatur, ut dicitur: *In omnibus signis et prodigiis mendacibus* (II Thess., ii, 9). Hic antiquam Hierusalem reaedificabit, in qua se ut Deum coli jubebit. Hunc Judaei ex toto orbe venientes summo voto suscipient; sed per praedicationem Eliae et Enoch ad Christianam religionem redibunt, et omnes pene dirum martyrium subibunt... Hic per tres annos et dimidium monarchiam obtinebit; deinde tentorium suum ad expugnandos justos in monte Oliveti extendit, in quo invenietur subita morte mortuus spiritu oris Domini, id est jussu Dei interfectus; ut dicitur, 'Praecipitabit Dominus inclytum universae terrae in monte sancto.'... D. Quid postea erit? — M. Relinquatur quadraginta dies his qui ejus errore vel fallacia lapsi sunt, ut poenitere possint; post haec qua die judicium fiet, omnis homo ignorat."*

¹ See Daniel, xi, 40; Bousset, pp. 79 ff., 184 ff.; Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 578; Wadstein, pp. 5, 83 ff.; Zahn, *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, 1886, pp. 31-45, 77-87, 337-352. See Lea, *op. cit.*, III, 527, for instances showing that even as late as the fifteenth century belief in the Antichrist was strong.

merely supplied a euphemistic means of calling an enemy a "son of perdition," it also frequently had a deeper significance, especially in periods of great public calamities, which were regarded as the tribulations that were one of the signs of the approaching reign of the Antichrist, when the opponents of any powerful leader were usually able to discern that he met the requirements for the Antichrist himself. At times the anticipation of his coming was vague and did not attach itself to a definite person, but engendered by wars, pestilence, or famine, recognized the signs of his appearing and awaited the end of the world that was speedily to follow his extinction. Such a period, for example, fell in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries in Europe, when political and physical disturbances presaged to the imagination the advent of the Antichrist and the Day of Judgment. There sprang up then, induced by the Apocalyptic prophecy¹ that the dragon, the serpent, would be bound a thousand years, and by the fact that our Lord, to whom the Antichrist was the hostile counterpart, lived thirty-three years on earth, the expectation that the fatal year would be 1033, or, since the traditional reign of the Antichrist was to last three years and a half, perhaps 1036. But when both years passed, and the world still rolled on its course, these fears and forebodings subsided, only to awake again when a fresh wave of disaster aroused them². It is small wonder, then, that in the calamitous conditions which Joachim of Flora and his disciples saw about them, when the land was rent by the war between Church and Empire, when the corruptions of the Roman hierarchy and of the monastic orders, and the oppression exercised by representatives of the Empire were uniting to depress all purer and more thoughtful souls, the tribulations by which Italy was disturbed were interpreted as the signs of the Antichrist, and that men gave ready credence to the prophecy of the Joachites that the end of his reign would come in 1260³. Readily, too, the sons of the Church saw in Frederic II, or in his follower, Ezzelino da Romano, the Anti-

¹ Revelations, xx, 2.

² See Daux, *L'Antichrist*, pp. 4, 5; *Rhythmus Petri Diaconi*, Migne, P. L., CLXXIII, 1143, 1155; Zezschwitz, *Das mittelalterliche Drama vom Ende des römischen Kaiserthums*, 1880, pp. 30 ff.; Wadstein, pp. 7 ff., 21 ff.; Luchaire, *La société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste*, 1909, pp. 1 ff.; Graf, *Roma*, p. 736; Kamper, *Die deutsche Kaiserides*, p. 49.

³ See Graf, *Il Diavolo*, 1889, pp. 209 ff.; *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 472, 473. See Albericus Trium Fontium, pp. 879 ff. on the belief in the coming of the Antichrist even among those who differed from Joachim.

christhimself¹. The tradition as a whole — the coming of the Antichrist, the signs of his reign, his personality, his ultimate overthrow, the impending Day of Doom — was close to the consciousness of the thirteenth century, and allusions to any of its elements, even if couched in obscure terms, were sufficiently a part of the parlance of the period to speak at once to the popular intelligence. It was practically inevitable, too, that when the teachings of Joachim had inseparably connected the ill rule of the clergy with the worse reign of the Antichrist, a work, which like the *Prophecies* purported to dwell upon the former, should also treat of the latter, and that the two subjects should be intertwined in its pages.

In examining the *Prophecies* it should always be remembered that in the eschatology of the period the coming of the Antichrist was not conceived of as an isolated occurrence. It was a link in a chain of events and signs that were forewarnings of the dreaded second advent of Christ, when He, "arbiter ille supremus," should come with power as Judge of all men on the Last Day. "Circa secundum adventum, scilicet ad iudicium, duo videnda sunt, scilicet antecedentia iudicium et comitantia. Antecedentia sunt tria. Signa terribilia, Antichristi fallacia et eius vehementia," Jacobus de Voragine² says. The signs therefore that precede the Last Judgment were identified in the conceptions of the time with the reign of the Antichrist, and many of the traditional marvels and terrors of his sway are also those of the Day of Judgment. How present to the mediaeval imagination was the thought of the Last Day art as well as literature testify³, and even when contemporary calamities did not appear immediately to threaten the Day of Wrath, its approach was a vivid reality in human fear or anticipations. For this reason to prophecy that events would befall

¹ See Rolandino, p. 5; Salimbene, p. 456; Berthold von Regensburg, in Schönbach (as cited above, II, 168, note 4), p. 31; Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. dv, dxvii; Graf, *Roma*, p. 731, note 16; Häussner, pp. 14 ff; Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee*, p. 70; Tocco, *L'eresia*, p. 296. Frederic II called Gregory IX, the great serpent, the Antichrist; see Wadstein, p. 106. On the identification of the Mendicant orders with the Antichrist by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in his *Liber de Antichristo*, see below, pp. 215, 216. For an early identification of the Antichrist see the *Canilena in Antichristum et eius filios spirituales*, wrongly attributed to Hildebert de Lavardin, Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, XXVIII, ii, 409.

² P. 6. See also Aquinas, *De adventu Antichristi*, p. 438.

³ See, e.g., Mâle, chapter vi; Wadstein, pp. 43 ff.

"at the time of the Antichrist," or "before his coming," or "at his death," was simply an indefinite way of foretelling disasters that would occur before the end of the world, which was again and again believed to be nigh, even at the door. The phrases that continually recur in the *Prophecies*, "ains que li Dragons viengne," or "apres le mort du Dragon," are conventional prophetic formulae for declaring that the event forecast is one of the "signa terribilia praecedentia iudicium"; and by far the greater part of Merlin's references to the Dragon have nothing to do with any historic personality, but are mere expressions to herald approaching events, whose occurrence is given a prophetic vagueness by the announcement that they will arrive before the end of the world¹. It is evident, however, that since such a cast of thought as has been described was general, one of the important questions that presents itself in studying the *Prophecies* is how far the material concerning the Dragon of Babylon has a political significance, and whether he at times is a definite historical personage to the author, whose political bias would be revealed by such an identification.

Turning to the individual predictions we find that they are altogether in accord with accepted details in the Antichrist legend, many of which, however, it should be said, do not appear in the brief summary given above. Such are the signs in the sky, the great drought and the drying up of the sea which precede his appearance², the false prophets scattered through the world at the

¹ See Chapters xxviii, xlv, l, lii, liii, lvii, lxiv, lxvii, lxxii, lxxviii, cx, cxviii, cxxii, cxliii, cxlviii, clii, clxiii, clxx, cxcvii, ccxvii, ccxliii, ccxlii, cclvi, cclxiii, cclxvii (p. 303, note 2), cclxxiii, cclxxiv, ccxciv, cccxvii. It is possible that a few of the above prophecies may foretell historical facts; if so, these facts are very obscure.

² Chapters lxiii, ccxi. The traditional signs of the second advent of Christ are here associated with the coming of the Dragon. Cf. Jacobus de Voragine, p. 6: — "Signa autem terribilia praecedentia iudicium ponuntur quinque. Luc. xxi. Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis et in terris pressura gentium praefusione sonitus maris et fluctuum. Tria signa determinantur Apocal. vi. Sol factus est niger, tanquam saccus cilicinus: et luna facta est sicut sanguis, et stellae ceciderunt super terram... Quintum signum scilicet confusionem maris quidam existimant esse, quod mare cum magno fragore peribit a pristina qualitate secundum illud Apocal. xxi: et mare iam non est; vel secundum alios ille sonans erit, quoniam non sine murmure magno .xl. cubitus super montes elevabitur et postea deprimitur... Prima die eriget se mare .xl. cubitus super altitudinem montium stans in loco quasi murus. Secunda die tantum descendet ut vix videri possit. Tertia die marinae belluae apparentes super mare dabunt rugitus usque ad coelum et earum mugitus solus Deus intelliget." See also Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 438; Guillaume de Saint-Amour,

time of his birth¹, his rearing by an evil yet clever master, under whose tutelage devils will enter into his body, and who will instruct him in the desert of Babylon for thirty years, when he will come forth to deceive the people², his sumptuous palace in Jerusalem³, the wealth that will be brought to him by the kingdoms of the world⁴, the hidden treasures revealed to him by demons and used by him to draw followers to himself⁵, the downfall of cities at the

Liber de Antichristo, col. 1372 (4); Bousset, pp. 195 ff., for a large collection of illustrative passages from varied early sources; Henri d'Arcy, *l. c.*, vv. 89 ff.

In the absence of stars from the heavens in spite of the clearness of the air at the time of the birth of the Antichrist (Chapter LXIII) there is apparently the influence of the legends of the Nativity, when the clear sky presaged the brightness of the Saviour's life. Cf. Jacobus de Voragine, pp. 43, 44: — "Nam in ipsa nocte nativitatis dominicæ, obscuritas noctis in claritatem diei versa est... Orosius ita dicit: Octaviani tempore hora circiter tertia repente coelo liquido ac puro et sereno circulus ad speciem coelestis alicuius arcus orbem solis ambivit, quasi venturus esset, qui ipsum solem solus mundumque totum et fecisset et regeret." Many other elements, as we shall see, are introduced into the legend of the Antichrist with the design of bringing him into contrast with Christ.

¹ Chapter CCLXIII, and below, pp. 215 ff. See Adso, cols. 1292, 1293; Aquinas, *De adventu Antichristi*, pp. 439, 444, 446-448; Isidore of Seville, *Sententias*, I, xxv, in Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXII, col. 592; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum morale*, II, ii, dist. i, fol. 139d; Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *op. cit.*, cols. 1293 ff., 1341 ff., 1377 ff.; Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 579.

² Chapter VI; cf. below, pp. 206 ff. See Adso, col. 1293: — "Habebit autem Antichristus magos et ariolos et maleficos et incantatores et divinos, qui eum [diabolo inspirante] nutriant et doceant et imbuent in omni iniquitate et falsitate et nefaria arte; et maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites indivisi"; Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

According to Adso (col. 1292) and to some other authorities, at the birth of the Antichrist the devil entered into his mother's womb; Aquinas (*op. cit.*, p. 442) adds the further explanation that the Antichrist will not thereby lose his freedom of will; Vincent de Beauvais (*l. c.*, fol. 138b) gives the tradition that evidently influenced Merlin: — "Quidam autem dicunt quod a conceptionis principio diabolus in utero matris eius descendet: cuius virtute deinceps aletur puer nascetur et adolescet. Alii dicunt et forte verius: quod a principio conceptionis sue habebit angelum sui custodem; sicut habent singuli ceteros hominum usque ad annos discretionis. Sed tunc cum extolli ceperit super omne quod dicitur deus: ab angelo sancto derelictus: prorsus a diabolo possidebitur: ad libitum voluntatis eius in omnibus et per omnia deducendus." See Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 444, for the statement that the Antichrist will derive his power from the devil. For the reference in the prophecy to the first day of March cf. the tradition reported by Albericus Trium Fontium, *M. G. H.*, XXIII, 920; Von Döllinger, p. 344.

³ Chapter CXCIII; cf. below, pp. 209 ff.

⁴ Chapters CCXIII, CCXIX, CCIV ff.; see below, 209, 212 ff.

⁵ Chapters CCXIV, CCXXV. See Adso, col. 1294: — "Dabit credentibus in se auri atque argenti copias tempore enim eius omnes absconditi thesauri revelabuntur";

time when he slays Enoch and Elias¹, his life of thirty-two and a half years², the portents at his death which are the precursors of the Day of Judgment³, his announcement that he will rise from

Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 449:—"Mercatores autem, et alios burgenses et alios divites, qui multum pecuniam diligunt, expugnabit et attrahet ad se per aurum et argentum et pecuniam... Daemones enim revelabunt ei omnes thesauros occultos. Nam antiquitus cum moriebatur homo abscondebat thesaurum suum, sperans se redire post longum tempus ...Et ideo in sepulcris antiquorum paganorum frequenter invenitur thesaurus. Haec sepulchra aperiet et manifestabit diabolus Antichristo." See also Vincent de Beauvais, *l.c.*, fol. 138b; Malvenda, VI, xi (pp. 330 ff.); Graf, *Roma*, p. 139, note 49; cf. pp. 123 ff., 136 ff., on treasure popularly believed to have been hidden by demonic agency.

The prophecy in Chapter ccciv after referring to the hidden treasure of the Antichrist proceeds to contrast his reign, placed here in the fatal year 1260 (see above, II, 196), when the love of money ruled the hearts of men, with that of Christ, when the Synagogue was destroyed and the Church exalted. The contest between the Synagogue and the Church is one of the extremely common symbols both in theology and art, under which the triumph of Christianity over Judaism was represented during the middle ages. To the mediaeval apprehension the defeat of the Synagogue by the Church was accomplished by the death of our Lord upon the cross, which abrogated the power of the Synagogue and gave birth to the Church. Even so the Antichrist, it was believed, would be received by the Jews with especial favor, accepted by them as their king in Jerusalem, and under his banner the Synagogue would rise against the Church, but at his death it would be overthrown and the power of the Church would be vindicated. The *locus classicus* on the subject is St. Augustine, *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, Migne, P. L., XLII, 1131 ff. See also Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, I, xxv. in Migne, P. L., LXXXIII, 593; Guillaume de Saint Amour, *op. cit.*, col. 1369; Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Lib. Judicium*, II, x, in Migne, P. L., CVIII, 1170, 1171. On the acceptance of the Antichrist by the Jews see Adso, col. 1295; Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *op. cit.*, cols. 1390 ff. For the treatment of this theme in art see Mâle, pp. 225 ff; De Linas, *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1885, pp. 211 ff.

¹ Chapters cxcvii, cccix. For the part of Enoch and Elias in the Antichrist legend see above, II, 194. This is one of the most persistent and important features of the tradition; see Bousset, chapter xiv; Daux, *L'Antechrist*, pp. 25 ff; Vincent de Beauvais, *l.c.*, fols. 138d, 139a; Brunetto Latino, *Li liore dou tresor*, ed. Chabaille, p. 56. See especially for the earthquakes that will follow the ascension of Enoch and Elias, Aquinas, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 ff., 442.

² Chapter cccxxv; see, II, 196.

³ Chapters lxxxviii, lxxxix, clxx. Cf. for many passages illustrating the traditional material embodied in these chapters Bousset, pp. 328 ff. See also Jacobus de Voragine, p. 7. Cf. the four smokes that will appear at the time of the death of the Dragon (Chapter LI) with the four winds that will be let loose at the end of the world; Bousset, pp. 246, 247.

It is perhaps not too fanciful to see in Chapter clxx in the prophecy of the fountain that shall spring up at the time of the Dragon an illustration of the tendency to bring the Antichrist into contrast with Christ, and a reminder of the fountain

the dead on the third day¹, as well as the evil doings of his servants². All of these features are traditional elements in the Antichrist legend, without individuality or great significance for our study, except as they indicate the conventional character of the *Prophecies* in this respect.

But there are other predictions concerning the Dragon which require explanation. The most conspicuous of these is a long story in Chapters xxxii-xxxv, which Merlin relates in order to demonstrate that the Dragon of Babylon will have the great "saignorie" that he has predicted. It cannot be clearly discussed without a brief summary of the contents : —

The Kings of Tarsie, Arabie, and Saba will come to the Dragon with gifts, even as their ancestors came to Jesus. They will see the sign of the Dragon in the heavens at his birth, even as the Magi saw the celestial sign at the Epiphany, and will leave their homes to follow it. It will guide them to the desert of Babylon, and there they will wait for thirty years until the Dragon begins to preach. Then they will appear before him bearing gifts, the King of Tarsie a knife, the King of Arabie an olive branch, and the King of Saba a box of ashes. Of these gifts the Dragon will accept the knife alone, explaining to the people that he takes it as a token that he will bring death to each king ; the olive branch he rejects, because it is a sign that he will be at peace with all who believe in the Son of Mary ; the box of ashes he refuses, because it signifies death. Then he will bid the kings return to their countries, but he will give them devils as guides, who will lead them far into the desert of Babylon, whence they will never issue forth, nor will more be heard of them. Many a man will go forth in quest of them, and will encounter more adventures than befell the knights of King Arthur in the quest of the Grail. The Queen of Tarsie will ride with her ten brothers into the desert seeking her lord. Here her brothers will perish, but she will meet a damsel who on the pretext of aiding her in her search for the

of water that was turned into oil in Rome at the time of the Nativity of our Lord ; see Jacobus de Voragine, p. 43.

¹ Chapter clxii. The boasted ability of the Antichrist to raise himself from the dead is an element that with other features came into the legend evidently as tradition more and more modelled his experiences and powers after those of Christ. See Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 446 ; Malvenda, VII, xxi (pp. 394, 395) ; Bousset, p. 181. Vincent de Beauvais, *l.c.*, fol. 139c, includes the resurrection of the Antichrist among the false miracles that he will work by magic arts : — " Nam sicut Christus promissus mortuus est et resurrexit, sic Antichristus ut appareat Christus in lege promissus simulabit se mortuum et post arte magica et operatione demonum se mirabiliter suscitatum " ; cf. fol. 139d.

² See below, pp. 214^{ff.}

king will induce her to mount an evil palfrey, which will carry her past the pilgrimage church of Saint-Jacques. The queen as she passes the shrine will make the sign of the cross, at which the palfrey will throw her to the ground and dash into the sea. The queen will build herself a house and a chapel near the church of Saint-Jacques, and will live there until the day when the Archangel Michael will slay the Dragon. Then the angels will bear her soul to heaven, leaving a letter on the altar of the church announcing her death to the people.

This incident bears *prima facie* the evidences of being a late fabrication, and it is not surprising to find no direct parallel to it in the sources for the Antichrist tradition. In them, however, as has been said above, the Antichrist is continually brought into contrast with Christ. His birthplace, for example, the wicked and mighty Babylon, is regularly opposed to the little town of Bethlehem¹. "Christus venit humilis, ille venturus est superbus. Christus humiles venit erigere, peccatores iustificare; ille e contrario humiles deiiciet, et peccatores magnificabit, impios exaltabit et semper vitia, quae sunt contraria virtutibus, docebit²." It is easy, accordingly, to see that the first half of Merlin's story is based upon the visit of the Magi to Jesus. As early as the time of Tertullian the passage in the Psalter, "The kings of Tarshish and the isles shall bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts³," had been understood to foretell the offerings brought to the infant Saviour by the Three Kings⁴, who not infrequently appear as the Kings of Arabia, Tarsus, and Saba in the liturgical drama from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries⁵. The three kings of the prophecy see a dragon in the sky as a sign of the birth of the Dragon, even as the Magi followed, according to one version of the Epiphany story, a star which had the form of a fair child with a shining cross on his forehead⁶. The gifts of the Magi have each had a figurative significance from the time of St. Irenaeus, the gold, as Ja-

¹ See Adso, col. 1293; Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 442; Vincent de Beauvais, *l. c.*; Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *Liber de Antichristo*, col. 1370.

² Adso, col. 1291. See also Vincent de Beauvais, *l. c.*; Rabanus Maurus, *Enarrationes in Epp. Pauli*, in Migne, *P. L.*, CXII, 572. Cf. the prophecy in Chapter cccxxvi.

³ Psalm lxxii, 10.

⁴ See Mâle, p. 252, note 7.

⁵ See Du Ménil, *Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, 1849, pp. 151 ff., 156, 162; Coussemaeker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, 1860, pp. 242, 330; Kehrer, *Die heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 1908-1909, I, 56 ff., 60, 85; II, 209.

⁶ See Jacobus de Voragine, pp. 44, 89, 91. Cf. also the legend cited by Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, II, 470, that the Magi saw the star in the semblance of an eagle that flew through the air and had within it the form and likeness of a child.

cobus de Voragine interprets them¹, symbolizing tribute, love, or the Deity ; the frankincense, sacrifice, orison, or the devout soul ; the myrrh, burial, mortification of the flesh, or the flesh itself. Even so the gifts of the three kings to the Dragon typify War, Peace, and Death. Of the individual gifts it is only that of the King of Saba for which we have a suggestion in the existing versions of the Epiphany story. His box of ashes signifying death is to a certain extent paralleled in the *Historia Trium Regum* of John of Hildesheim², which was written probably between 1364 and 1375³. Here Christ receives incense from Balthazar, myrrh from Jasper, and from Melchior, the King of Arabia, three golden denarii and a golden apple which Alexander the Great had had made from the tributes in gold that he had received from subject peoples, and which he always bore in his hand as a token that he held the world in his grasp. But when the Holy Child takes the apple in his little fingers it crumbles to ashes ; " nam sicut lapis de monte sine manibus abscisus statuam Nabuchodonosori comminuit et contrivit, ita ipse lapis, i. e., Christus tunc de virgine natus, qui deponit potentes de sede et exaltat humiles, pomum, quod universum mundum significavit, sua humilitate in potencie magnitudine in momento contrivit et ad nichilum redegit. " The apple here represents the golden globe said to be full of ashes signifying the vanity of human greatness, which was an important part of the imperial insignia in the middle ages⁴. It is not brought into connection with the Magi before the *Historia Trium Regum*, and there has been a question whether its introduction there is due to the invention of John of Hildesheim, or whether he was using a floating legend⁵. The story in the *Prophecies* supports this latter view. So many of its features are derived from the Epiphany legend that it looks as if our author knew some such form of it as John of Hildesheim records a century later, in which he found a golden globe of ashes that served him as prototype for the box of ashes presented to the Dragon by the King of Saba.

¹ P. 93. See for other early examples, Kehrer, *op. cit.*, I, 12, 13, 30, 37, 43. Cf. Honorius d'Autun, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Migne, P. L., CLXXII, 845 ; Yule, *Marco Polo*, I, 81, note 1.

² Chapters xii-xxiv ; ed. C. Horstmann, *The Three Kings of Cologne*, 1886, pp. 206 ff.

³ See *ed. cit.*, p. xiii.

⁴ See Graf, *Roma*, pp. 718 ff.

⁵ See Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

With the gifts of the three kings to the Dragon the resemblance to the Epiphany story ends, and the influence of the canonical Antichrist material becomes more apparent. The kings await the preaching of the Dragon in the desert of Babylon for thirty years. The tradition that the Dragon should remain in obscurity for the first thirty years of his existence is found in a source dating from the tenth or eleventh century, the so-called *Hymnus Moissiacensis*, a hymnary used by the monks of the Abbey of St. Pierre at Moissac, and is believed by Daux, who has made a special study of the hymn, to be derived from popular sources¹. The subjugation of three rulers by the Dragon, namely the kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, is, moreover, one of the inherent parts of the myth, evolved apparently from a comparison of two of the passages in the book of Daniel mentioned above, which were believed to refer to the Antichrist — the vision of the four great beasts, in which a little horn, having "eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things," sprang up among the ten horns of the fourth beast and plucked up by the roots three of them², and secondly the prediction of the King of the North, who will "have power over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps³." It was a part of the legend that readily lent itself to popular and political treatment, and in the latter part of the twelfth century was even made at Tegernsee the subject of a liturgical drama, which was performed at Advent, the *Ludus de adventu et interitu Antichristi*⁴. Here the three kings are the King of the Greeks, whom the Antichrist subdues by threats, the King of the Franks, whom he wins by gifts, and the King of the Teutons, whom he conquers in battle. It is, in fact, safe to infer that a similar drama, possibly the source of the Tegernsee *Ludus*, existed as early as 1161, since Gerhoch von Reichersberg refers to such

¹ *Triginta annos tunc latebit
Incognitus a populo.*

See Daux, *L'Antechrist*, p. 20. It is not without interest to recall that the monks of Moissac had a constant reminder of the Antichrist before their eyes in the carvings on one of the capitals in their beautiful cloister. See for a reproduction and description E. Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, 1897, pp. 227 ff.

² Daniel, vii, 7, 8. Cf. Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *op. cit.*, cols. 1371 (9), 1372 (5).

³ Daniel, xi, 43. See Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *op. cit.*, col. 1281 (5); Malvenda, V, viii (pp. 261 ff.); Bousset, pp. 158 ff.

⁴ Ed. Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, 1721-1729, II, iii, 187 ff.; W. Meyer, *Der Ludus de Antichristo*, 1882. See Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, 1903, II, 62 ff.; Wadstein, pp. 144 ff.; Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee*, pp. 60 ff.

a work between 1161 and 1163¹. It would accordingly be but a short step for any author acquainted with this feature of the story — and who that knew anything of the Antichrist was not ? — to fabricate an episode representing the same three kings, who brought gifts to the Christ in Bethlehem, as bringing gifts to the Antichrist and perishing in the desert of Babylon at his wicked hands, even as the three traditional kings of the Antichrist legend had been slain by him².

The presence of the Reine de Tharsie on the scene may be explained also by the association of ideas. In mediaeval symbolism just as Salomon typified Christ and eternal wisdom, so the Queen of Sheba (Saba) who brought him gifts from the Orient typified the Magi. In a fourteenth-century manuscript of a well known work of the ninth century, the *Biblia Pauperum*, for instance, there is a miniature of which the design is a medallion with two pendentives, one representing the Adoration, the other the Queen of Saba offering her gifts to Solomon ; the text of the explanatory legend reads : — " Legitur in tertio libro Regum, quod regina Saba venit a Salomone in Ierusalem cum magnis muneribus eum honorando. Haec quidem regina gentilis erat, quare significabat bene gentes, quae dominum de longinquo cum muneribus veniebant adorare dominum nostrum Iesum Christum³. " The established association of a queen of the land from which one of the kings came with the visit of the Magi undoubtedly prompted the writer to bring the queen of one of the other kings into his story ; the Queen of Saba was too well known in legend to be available for this purpose, so why not turn to the Queen of Tharsie ? Her adventure may be paralleled from the Grail romances, the influence of which our author admits by comparing the search for the lost kings with the quest for the Grail. Perceval⁴, for example, while he is seeking for the Grail castle meets a lady, who in return for his promise to do her will,

¹ See Gerhoch von Reichersberg, *Opera*, ed. Scheibelberger, 1875, I, 25 ; W. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

² In the *Vie du mauvais Antechrist*, Lyon, 1499, a brief Latin prose account of the life of the Antichrist based upon St. Augustine, with a parallel metrical French version, a woodcut represents the execution of the kings of Africa, Egypt, and Ethiopia before the throne of the Antichrist.

³ See Kehrler, *op. cit.*, II, 209, 212, 216 ; Mâle, p. 190, note 4.

⁴ See Potvin, vv. 40473 ff. ; *Aventures*, Sommer, VI, 66, 67, 74. For similar instances see P. Meyer, " *Vie de S. Grégoire par Frère Augier*, " *Romania*, XII, 184 ff., vv. 2407 ff. ; Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes*, p. 37, § 30.

gives him a charger, of which he is in sore need. No sooner is he mounted than it bears him away at full speed to a deep valley, through which a swift river runs brawling; the horse is about to dash into it, when Perceval in terror makes the sign of the cross on his brow, whereupon the horse instantly throws him to the ground and plunges into the stream, which forthwith bursts into flames. By this sign Perceval perceives that it is the devil who has attempted thus to lead him to perdition¹.

The analysis of this episode throws light upon the author's methods. As we have seen in studying the historical prophecies, he keeps fairly close to recorded facts, but there are interspersed also through the book predictions which, like that of St. Samuel discussed above, bear the hall marks of his own invention and though based on traditional material are a strange jumble derived from apparently unrelated sources.

There are several other prophecies of this character connected with the Dragon of Babylon. One of these* concerns a wicked Dragon who four years before the coming of the Antichrist will issue from Viterbo, and will preach against the faith of Jesus Christ so subtly as to deceive "li plus sage homme du monde, ce est mestre Lucès de Champaigne," who will dispute with him before the general council in the presence of many prelates, but always unsuccessfully. Then Rubert, a *clerc* of Gaulle, the "mestre desus touz les mestres de Paris," will speak so perfectly against the Dragon as to silence him and take his glory and his following from him. Whereupon he will betake himself "es parties de Jherusalem," and will preach the coming of the Dragon of Babylon, will be present

¹ For parallels to the celestial letter containing the announcement of the death of the queen cf. the letter which Peter the Hermit declared had descended to him from heaven summoning him to the First Crusade (*Annalista Saxo*, M. G. H., VI 728; *Annales Rosenvaldenses*, *ibid.*, XVI, 101, 179; *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, *ibid.*, XVII, 16; Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 95, 110); the threatening letter sent from heaven in the year 1200, which after floating for three days in the air descended at length in Jerusalem on the altar of St. Simeon in Golgotha (*Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum*, II, 86); the letter brought by an angel to Eracle in the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras (ed. E. Löseth, 1890, I, vv. 237-286), which gives him power to recognize the nature of stones, women, and horses; the letter from God brought by St. Michael to St. Thomas in India (Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly myrreur des historis*, ed. Borgnet et Bormans, p. 455); the written message attached to a golden cross sent from heaven by the Virgin to Walther von Birbech (*Caesarinus of Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum*, Dist VII, cap. 38 (II, 51).

² Chapters V, VI.

at his birth, will rear and instruct him, and teach him all that is contrary to the law of Jesus Christ and to the Virgin until devils have entered into him. Then with his master the Dragon will flee into the desert of Babylon and remain there under his tutelage for thirty years, when he will issue forth to deceive the people¹.

The central figures in this strange story are the Dragon of Viterbo and the greater Dragon of Babylon, and its kernel lies in their relation to each other. Its most striking feature is the close parallel that, as Sanesi has pointed out², it offers to the occidental story of Mahomet and his master, which was widely current, especially in Italy, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries³. According to this legend, a certain learned and able monk who was held in high honor at the Roman court fell from the faith, and being excommunicated and condemned as a heretic, left the country and went to Mahomet whom he instructed in his false doctrines and completely converted to them. The resemblance in outline to the prophecy of the Dragon of Viterbo is obvious, but the story of the education of the Dragon of Babylon that Merlin gives follows closely the traditional legend of the upbringing of the Antichrist⁴, and although Mahomet is one of the historic personages who has been identified with the Antichrist, the accounts of his early life in no way parallel the prophecy; the instruction of the Dragon of Babylon by the Dragon of Viterbo and the figure of the latter are the only elements that are evidently derived from the Mahomet material. It must be remembered that in the middle ages in Europe, owing to the curious course that the legend of Mahomet had taken, the faith of Islam was regarded as a heresy of the Christian Church and Mahomet himself as an arch-heretic, who frequently in tradition becomes identified with Nicholas, one of the first seven deacons appointed by the apostles, the first heretic, the founder of the sect of the Nicolaitans, and himself the type of all heresy. Against heresy, one of the most disturbing elements in the troubled thir-

¹ See for other features of the story, II, 199, note 2.

² *Storia*, p. ciii.

³ For the facts given below and for valuable discussions of the varied forms and development of the legend see D'Ancona, *Giornale storico*, XIII, 201 ff.; Renan, *Journal des savants*, juillet, 1889, pp. 421 ff.

⁴ With the ability of the Dragon from Viterbo cf. the description of the Antichrist, Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 448: — " Clericos autem et litteratos expugnabit, et ad se trahet per rationes naturales et per auctoritates Scripturae, quas fraudulenter exponet et depravabit. Erit enim Antichristus valde instructus in scripturis philosophorum et antiquorum paganorum. "

teenth century in Italy, this prophecy is primarily directed. The Antichrist to the mind of the author typifies Heresy, whom under the influence of the legend of Mahomet he represents as the ward and pupil of a heretic, who having been put to shame in Christian lands will flee to Babylon. There is no ground for assuming that the Dragon of the prophecy was to him identified with an historical figure. By keeping close to the canonical traditions of the youth of the Antichrist he shows us that he is not seeking to make them conform to those of the early life of any actual personage, but that he has in mind an abstract opponent of the "loi de Jhesu Christ."

Nor is there any reason to seek for an historical prototype for the Dragon of Viterbo. In the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries Viterbo, which was a nest of Patarini, shared with Milan an ill reputation as an heretical centre¹ and might appropriately be selected as a typical abode of heresy and the home of the Dragon, who, like the "lyoncel" in the prophecy relating to the Albigenes, himself represents heresy². This being the case, we should expect the other personages in the prophecy, Mestre Lucès de Champagne and Mestre Rubert de Paris, also to be typical of the classes to which they belong. Archbishop Luca of Cosenza, said to have been born in Campania, was a Cistercian monk who lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a follower of Joachim, a learned man, and the author of several works, some of them comments on the teachings of Joachim³. There is no more in what we know of Luca di Campania to connect him with Lucès de Champagne than there is in the life of Berthold of Ratisbon to connect him with the Cardinal Bertous d'Allemagne of the *Prophecies*; but just as the name of Berthold is selected for that of the representative of Germany in the story, so here the name of a faithful Joachite is given to the first opponent of the heretical dragon. By the time that the *Prophecies* was composed Joachism, as we have seen, was not in

¹ For examples see Sanesi, *Storia*, p. cii; Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, 1894, p. 49.

² See above, II, 25.

³ See Zavarroni, *Bibliotheca Calabria*, 1753, p. 46: — "Lucas: Consentinus ex nostratibus, negante tamen Ughello, qui illum in Campaniae provincia natum contendit, monachus cisterciensis Joachimi Abbatis alumnus, ob doctrinam et probitatem archiepiscopus Consentinus electus. Scripsit quaedam de Joachimo magistro suo," etc. Sanesi (*op. cit.*, p. c.) has connected Archbishop Luca di Campania with the Lucès of the prophecy, but rejects the possibility of identification on the ground that there is not "il più piccolo accenno di dispute da lui sostenute."

good repute, and a Joachite, himself not free from the suspicion of heresy, would very properly be depicted as unable to overcome another skilful heretic. It is reserved for a great *clerc* from Paris, where every heretical dogma was subjected to the keenest tests, and where the University was "toute preste de bataillier" any suspicious doctrine with the deadliest weapons of logic and dialectic, to put the unbeliever to flight. That the name of Robert given to this "mestre de clergie" was suggested by that of Robert de Sorbonne, as Sanesi says¹, appears highly probable, and quite in accord with the methods of the author. It may be that the prophecy rests upon a more substantial historical foundation than has yet been discovered, but the above explanation is not improbable in itself, and is moreover entirely consistent with the habit of thought displayed elsewhere in the book. In any case the greatest consequence of the prophecy for us is that it identifies the Antichrist with heresy and not with an historical personage².

In the same category as the preceding prophecies are two that relate to the precious stones of the Dragon³. The first foretells that from men, women, and churches throughout the world jewels will be sent to the Dragon of Babylon with which he will build his palace in Jerusalem. Only four churches, Sainte-Marie-en-Frigida in the Holy City, Saint-Pierre de Rome, Saint-Jacques de Galice, and Saint-Marc de Venise, will refuse to pay him this tribute, preferring death to giving him the least of their possessions. They will have acquired very many of their precious stones through the preaching of an order of monks, who will go hither and yon bidding the people give their wealth to the churches, which in turn will surrender it to the Dragon. He will cut off the heads of all those who do not listen to his servants, whom he will send through the world to win followers for himself.

This prophecy distinctly embodies the traditional accounts both

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. ciii. The possibility of identifying the Robert of the prophecy with Robert of Oxford, who while he was at Paris exchanged polemic writings with Jacopo da Viterbo, Sanesi (p. ci) dismisses for the very sound reason that the Beato Jacopo was a man of too great piety to be represented by the wicked Dragon.

² Sanesi (*op. cit.*, p. civ, note 1) has pointed out that there is a reflection of this prophecy in a story that Sercambi repeats (*Le Croniche*, ed. S. Bongi, 1892, III 345, 347, No. DCXXX), in which the coming of the Antichrist is preached by a Friar Minor of Viterbo — a form of the narrative probably influenced by the part that the Minorites, as followers of Joachim, had taken in foretelling the advent of the Antichrist.

³ Chapters CXCviii, CXCix.

of the wealth of the Antichrist, which he would accumulate from manifold sources, frequently from churches, and of the splendor of the palace that he would construct¹ in Jerusalem. The ready surrender of their gems to him by the churches is in accord with Merlin's many predictions examined in the last chapter that emphasize the corruption of the Church. The principal of selection in the choice of the four churches that will refuse to turn their wealth to evil purposes is clear. Jerusalem ("la sainte cite")², Rome, and Compostela ("Saint-Jacques de Galice") were the three most important pilgrimage centres of the middle ages; S. Marco is added to the list not merely because of its great wealth, but primarily because the author's Venetian pride and piety led him to place his own basilica among the uncorrupted churches. The basis of the prophecy also has a parallel in Venetian history. Dandolo in his account of the translation of the body of St. Mark from Alexandria to Venice, says that the king of the Saracens, desiring to build a palace for himself at Babylon, ordered that stones be taken from the churches throughout Christendom wherewith to construct it³. Buono of Malamocco and Rustico of Torcello being in Alexandria at that time, on going one day as was their wont to the church of S. Marco there, found the Greek custodians greatly cast down, for they feared that the building would be destroyed in consequence of the king's order. This appeared to the worthy Venetian merchants a timely opportunity to secure a valuable relic for their own city, and they promptly asked that the body of the saint be given them to transport to Venice, where it would be faithfully cherished. The custodians at first refused, but yielded when an emissary of the king came on the scene and began to break some of the stones of the church. Thus a command closely similar to that of the Dra-

¹ See Malvanda, VI, ix, xiii (pp. 327 ff., 334 ff.). Cf. Id., VI, x (pp. 328 ff.) for an account of the wealth derived by the Antichrist from the churches. See also the prophecy in Chapter cccxxvi.

² The church in the Holy City is spoken of as "la sainte eglise qui nouvellement sera fete de nostre dame sainte Marie en Frigida." This would appear to refer to the church built in honor of the Virgin in Jerusalem by Justinian, and called "the new church." See Procopius of Caesarea, *On the Buildings of Jerusalem* (*Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, II), pp. 138 ff.; Appendix ii, pp. 171, 172; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Extract from the Life of St. Saba* (*Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, XI), pp. 18-20; Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 1920, p. 170. I know no explanation for the addition, "en Frigida."

³ VIII, ii, 6 ff (cols. 170 ff.): — "Rex Saracenorum apud Babylonem sibi Palatium construere volens, mandavit ab Ecclesiis Christianorum et aliis vulgaribus locis accipi lapides, ut splendidam sibi faceret domum."

gon of Babylon in the prophecy led, according to Dandolo, to the enshrinement in Venice of the most precious acquisition that she ever gained, and probably colored the form in which the author cast this prediction.

The prophecy in regard to the monks whose preaching will win for the churches the treasure that is to be misapplied may be entirely general, or it may refer to a specific case that the writer has in mind. Events had taken place among the Franciscans in the middle of the thirteenth century that, to a certain extent, resemble those that Merlin foretells. This was the period when Frate Elia, who, second only in importance to St. Francis himself among the Franciscans, and vicar general at the time of the saint's death, was fostering many worldly influences in the order, none of which produced an effect more contrary to the spirit of the rule and at the same time more beneficent to future generations than the activities connected with the creation of the basilica in memory of St. Francis at Assisi. Supported by a papal bull which sanctioned the memorial, in spite of the determined opposition of the *Zelanti*, who insisted upon the strict observance of the rule of poverty, he proceeded by means of the preaching of the Friars, and to the scandal of the faithful brethren of the order, to exact with the utmost rigor contributions from the pious, which were collected in a large coffer in front of the church¹. The turbulence and extravagance of the rule of Frate Elia after he was created General of the Order in 1232 is too well known to be dwelt upon here. He showed his diplomatic ability in keeping for a time on friendly terms with both the Pope and the Emperor, but when in 1239 he was deposed by the direct intervention of Gregory IX, he took refuge with Frederic and thus definitely in the eyes of the faithful adherents of the papacy, allied himself with the Antichrist². In short, the Franciscans by their preaching³ sought wealth for the church at Assisi under the direction of Frate Elia, the friend

¹ See Nicolaus Glassberger, *Chronica*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, II, 45; Wadding, II, 206, 216.

On the preaching against rings cf. the letter of Pope Gregory VIII (Migne, *P. L.*, CCII, 1561, Epist. xxiii) written in 1187 to the bishops of the Church: — "statuimus ut clerici... annulos non portent in manibus, nisi episcopus fuerit qui habeat hoc ex officio."

² See Salimbene, pp. 99, 157 ff.; René, *Etudes franciscaines*, XIV, 355 ff., 468 ff.; XV, 530 ff.; Lea, *The Inquisition*, III, 3 ff.; Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, p. diii.

³ The "moines qui iroient preechant parmi le pais et parmi tout le monde" naturally

and follower of Frederic II, who to the Church was the Dragon of Babylon. These facts may perhaps be reflected in the prophecy, but there is no justification for asserting that it embodies them, although they may conceivably have influenced it; the analogy is far too slender to be pressed, and the prediction is intelligible if it is interpreted merely in the light of the traditional legends of the Antichrist and the tone of Merlin's teachings in regard to the corruption of the Church. Its conclusion contains material inherited from Adso. "How is it," Meliadus asks, "that the Dragon will have so many followers?" "Sachies," replies Merlin, "que tel li donrra por poor et tel li donrra qui par devers lui se tendra. Mes il envoiera par tout le monde ses mesages prechant [et a] ceus qui ne se tendront devers lui fera il coper les testes. Et ce sera en mainte province." "Quos autem," Adso writes, "muneribus corrumpere non poterit, terrore superabit; ...quos nec signis poterit illudere in conspectu omnium mirabili morte cruciatos crudeliter necabit¹."

The second prediction² concerning the precious stones of the Dragon has to do with the four brilliant gems in his crown, and is to the last degree trivial; it is plainly a concoction elaborated from persistent elements in the Antichrist material, in which the magnificence of his jewels is an ordinary feature of his splen-

suggest the Dominicans who were *par excellence* Friars Preachers; but the Franciscans were in reality no less a preaching order than they. See Glassberger, *op. cit.*, II, 9; Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, 1903, I, 58 ff.

¹ Col. 1294.

The prophecy in Chapter cccxxiv in regard to the devout maidens of Poulaine who will visit the Dragon is a variation on the same theme — the power of the Dragon to perform miracles and thus win followers for himself, and his habit of putting to death all who refuse to worship him. When one of the servants of the Dragon, who will receive the maidens of Poulaine in his stead, speaks against the Virgin in their presence, his eyes will fall from his head and his tongue will be cleft in twain. The Dragon will repair the damage, will therefore be acclaimed the true Messiah by the people, and will put to death the unbelieving maidens. Cf. Revelations, xiii, 15: — "As many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed"; Aquinas, *op. cit.*, p. 447. With the cleaving in twain of the tongues of the ministers the statements of Aquinas in regard to the fate of the servants of the Antichrist, who after his death continue in their evil ways, may be compared (pp. 449, 450): — "multi ex nimio dolore blasphemabunt Deum, et cum videbunt quod non poterunt tenere homines in servitio Antichristi et eos ad eum trahere, erit eis magna poena, et ex nimia invidia ascendent in furias, ut quasi videantur comedere carnes proprias... Unde dicitur quod manducaverunt linguas suas."

² Chapters cciv-ccviii.

dor¹. One of the gems that adorn his crown formerly shone in the helmet of Goliath of Gath, and after his death was lost in the river Jordan by his squire, who was trying to preserve it. The Dragon and Goliath are suitably associated, since both typify pride; in fact on one of the faces of the capital at Moissac mentioned above, the name "Goliath" is carved beside the figure of the Dragon.² The stone will be procured for the Dragon from the river Jordan by a devil who in the form of a fish will dive for it at his command. This is an altogether banale incident built up about the common folk theme of treasure found in the body of a fish³, and the belief that the hidden riches of the sea as well as of the land were to

¹ Malvenda, VI, xvii (pp. 340, 341).

² See II, 204, note 1; Rupin, *op. cit.*, p. 229. Cf. Hanford, *Speculum*, I, 55.

³ See, e. g., Sébillot, *Légendes de la Mer*, 1886, I, 190; Savi-Lopez, *Leggende del mare*, 1894, pp. 350 ff.; W. Jones, *Credulities Past and Present*, 1880, pp. 105 ff. Cf. the prophecy in Chapter cxxxviii.

Inasmuch as the author is given to contrasting the Dragon with Christ, there may be here a reminiscence of the story of the tribute money (Matthew, xvii, 27). But it is also very probable that he had in mind the well known legend of Cola Pesce, which is connected by Salimbene with the Emperor Frederic II as an illustration of the fantastic whims that were among his many defects. A certain Sicilian lad, according to Salimbene (pp. 350, 351) Niccolò by name, was under a curse that forced him to live in the water and permitted him only seldom to appear on land. Frederic often bade him dive against his will into the Faro, a whirlpool off the Messina coast. Once in order to discover whether the boy really dived into the depths of the rapids, he threw a golden goblet into the water, commanding Niccolò to fetch it for him. Niccolò performed the feat, but told Frederic that he should never return if he were sent again. Frederic nevertheless sent him once more, and he perished in the whirlpool. (On the story of Cola Pesce and its connection with Frederic II see Graf, *Giornale storico*, VI, 263 ff. For a large collection of examples of the legend see Pitré, *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, VII, 9 ff.; IX, 377 ff.) A variant in a folk tale of Naples is of interest in connection with the prophecy. Cola Pesce lives at the court of the King of Naples, who repeatedly sends him to the depths of the sea in quest of treasure or information. On one occasion he comes back from the grottoes of the Castello dell'Uovo with his hands full of precious stones. His method of procedure on these expeditions was to have himself swallowed *intero intero* by one of the large fish that he met on his way, and riding safely in this conveyance he passed over long distances in an incredibly short time; when he was ready to emerge, he slit the belly of the fish with a knife brought for the purpose, secured his booty, and returned home (See Pitré, *l. c.*, VII, 36). In another folk tale of Palermo (Pitré, *l. c.*, IX, 380), the king, who is simply "lu Re," throws his crown studded with gems into the Faro of Messina for Cola Pesce to fetch, instead of the golden goblet of Salimbene's story. The common identification of Frederic II with the Antichrist and also a form of the legend of Cola Pesce may have influenced our author in the prophecy that he was putting together from scattered elements.

be revealed to the Antichrist by demons¹. The three remaining stones of the crown will be procured for him by three of his servants, to each of whom one is given in return for a "false miracle" that he has performed in a land to which his master has sent him². In the first case the minister of the Dragon will conjure a devil into the dead body of a child, who at once will rise up and walk; the second minister will bid devils enter into certain tombs and issue forth in the semblance of those who have been buried, in order to show that he can raise them from the dead; the third, after offering to heal the sick, will have them strangled, and then by bidding devils enter into them will restore them to life³. This is the same method of raising from the dead that it is predicted will be employed by the Dragon himself at the beginning of his career, when he will surreptitiously strangle forty children, and afterwards by bidding devils enter into their dead bodies will call them to life and thereby win a great following for himself⁴. Power to restore the dead to life is a traditional quality of the Antichrist⁵ and is naturally extended to his servants. It is, indeed, dwelt upon in the sources for the legend; Vincent de Beauvais⁶, for example, in explaining that miracles were among the means employed by the Antichrist for gaining the confidence of men cites as his authority the second chapter of II Thessalonians, in which, according to modern critics, the Antichrist for the first time appears, not as a tyrant

¹ For the demons who are the helpers of the Antichrist see Adso (col. 1293): — "et maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites indivisi."

See also above, II, 195, note 5; Malvenda, VI, xi (p. 330): — "Ex immenso maris profundo omne aurum, omnes gemmas, uniones ex naufragiis, seu quovis alio casa demersas daemones in lucem extrahent, Antichristo donabunt." Malvenda further cites an example from the life of Nero (the Antichrist) by Suetonius: — "Perpetuam singularemque concepit felicitatem, ut amissis naufragiis pretiosissimis rebus, non dubitaverit inter suos dicere, pisces eas sibi relatuos."

² The stories of the individual stones are entirely trivial; the first is apparently based on a local legend of Ancona (see above, II, 53, note 3); the second (see below, pp. 279, 280) and third (see below, p. 278, note 4) embody romantic material, and the fourth represents the last ooziings from the fount of imagination drained almost dry by the preceding efforts.

³ Cf. Chapter xxxvii.

⁴ See Chapter vi.

⁵ See Adso, col. 1293: — "Faciet... mortuos scilicet in conspectu hominum resuscitari, ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi. Sed et mendacia erunt et a veritate aliena: quia per magicam artem et phantasiam deludet homines, sicut et Simon Magus illudit illum, qui putans occidere eum, arietem occidit, pro eo." See also above, II, 194, note 2.

⁶ *Speculum morale*, II, ii, dist. i (fol. 138d).

in opposition to God, but as a seductive agency, who by means of signs and wonders seeks to obtain for himself the worship that is due only to a Divine being¹. He will announce, Vincent says, that he will die and rise from the dead, and he will also accomplish marvels by magic under the influence of the devil. Nor will he be content merely to preach and work miracles himself ; he will gather together his disciples whom he calls apostles, and they will preach in all parts of the world and perform many miracles by which they will lead men astray. Even as Christ sent His apostles into all the world, " sic Antichristus pseudo apostolos per totum orbem mittit ad nationes omnes ad quos personaliter secedere non valebit. "

The servants of the Antichrist, frequently his precursors, sometimes devils whom he sends forth into the world to bring followers into his train by the miracles and wonders that they perform, are important figures in the tradition² and appear in several prophecies beside those mentioned above. It can be readily understood that they came to occupy a conspicuous place in the Antichrist material, and that persons or influences obnoxious to any writer, but who for one reason or another could not be identified with the Antichrist himself, were denominated his servants. Few better examples of this practice are found than that supplied by one of the best known thirteenth-century tractates connected with the Antichrist, the anonymous *Liber de Antichristo*, now recognized as the work of Guillaume de Saint-Amour³. There is evidence that it was composed between 1263 and 1273, that is, after the *De ultimis temporibus* of Guillaume had been put under the papal ban, and while he sought to screen himself behind a disguise. It is essentially an outcome of the quarrel between the secular clergy and the mendicant orders, and is avowedly written to warn the faithful against the perilous doctrine of the Everlasting Gospel. It refutes the various claims of the Joachites to evidence for their belief in the Third Age of Joachim and especially is concerned with setting

¹ See Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 579.

² See Adso, col. 1293 ; Aquinas, *op. cit.*, pp. 444, 446 ; Bousset, pp. 188 ff.

³ The book appeared anonymously and was attributed in its manuscript title to St. Bonaventura (" secundum aliquos ") or to Nicolas Oresme (" secundum alios "), under whose name it was published by Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, IX, 1271 ff. The former attribution, as Le Clerc has shown, is preposterous, while the latter name, Oresma, is merely an anagram for S. Amore. See *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 459 ff. ; Tocco, *L'eresia*, pp. 457 ff.

forth the evils of the precursors of the Antichrist, namely the Friars. Although the writer claims that he is entirely loyal to the Church, it is evident that he knew the risk of incurring papal displeasure to be as serious as when he produced his earlier and greater work ; otherwise he would not have had recourse to concealment of his own identity. The second part of the book is given up to an account of the false prophets who will precede the Antichrist, the third part to a treatment of the tribulations that his reign will bring to the Church, and the fourth part to the Antichrist, his claims and his perfidy. Without regard to its purpose, it serves to throw light upon the current belief in the Antichrist and the prominence given in the legend to his precursors, beside whom he himself is altogether of secondary importance in the work.

Of the remaining prophecies connected with the servants of the Dragon¹ one has a certain degree of interest because of the further light that it throws upon our author's methods². With sundry incoherences it tells the story of a pope, Alexander by name, who from fear of the Dragon when he issues forth from Babylon will flee from Rome to an island " nouvellement veue, " where he will stay until a servant of the Dragon, who was born in the " mestre cite d'Illande, " will drown him in the sea. The Roy d'Illande will determine to burn alive the minister of the Dragon and all his followers, and will have a fire made in the isle that has been mentioned, and the victims put into boats to be taken to it. At that

¹ Chapters cxxxiii and cccix may possibly have a legendary or historical source. Chapter xx almost certainly has a definite connection with fact, but it is altogether obscure. I have no explanation to offer for " li gilieries, " who will drown the servant of the Dragon, and for whose name, as the critical notes on the passage show, the manuscripts offer many variants both here and also in Chapter xxii, where it again occurs. Salimbene (p. 198) gives a brief account of the fate of Gherardo da Canale of Parma, who had been a great friend of the Emperor Frederic II, from whom he had received many favors; the suspicions of Frederic becoming aroused, however, he sent Gherardo to Apulia, and had him drowned in the sea with a millstone about his neck (See also *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, M.G.H., XVIII, 494 ; Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 1907, p. 120). It is improbable that the prophecy refers to this incident ; if it does, " li gilieries " is " the Ghibelline, " an interpretation that the reading of 98, " gibyan, " favors. Even if this be correct, I can suggest nothing as to the meaning of Chapter xxii. With the variants " giks, " " gichs, " cf. the Giquis, who are included by Da Canale (II, ccciv) in a list of the people who in the famine of 1265 sent food to Venice ; see the suggestion in the note on the passage that the word may be a scribal corruption for Giorgis, Georges, or Giorgiens.

² Chapters i, ii.

moment the Pope will rise from the sea with the stone that drowned him attached to his neck, and the water will be driven over the isle by the wind and will extinguish the fire. The king will set the people free and will build a church in honor of the Pope, where miracles will be performed and which will become a great pilgrimage shrine. "Et ce fera nostre signeur Jhesu Crist pour l'amistie de celui apostoille."

Who was the Pope Alexander, against whom the hostility of the Antichrist was directed, who fled to an "illenouvellementveue," incoherently connected with Ireland, the king of which appears to have control also of the "ille"? A few elusive reminders of the experiences of Pope Alexander III are contained in the early part of the prediction. Although he fled to France from Rome and the Antipope, Victor IV, of whom Frederic I was a supporter, he later returned to Italy, and in the course of his contest with Frederic took refuge in 1177 in Venice, a fact that Venetian chroniclers do not fail to record. "Alexander Papa," says Dandolo¹, "furorem Imperatoris abhorrens, cum galeis Guihelmi regis Siciliae die xxiii mensis Martii Venetorum portus applicuit et in Monasterio Santi Nicolai pernoctans, sequenti die, assistente Duce, Patriarcha et Clero et Populo, Rivoaltinam Urbem ingressus, in Ecclesia sancti Marci solemniter receptus est, et inde exiens in Patriarchae Palatio habitationem elegit... Venit ergo Alexander Papa Venetias propter Civium fidelitatem et Civitatis inexpugnabilem securitatem." Venice was the only island to which Alexander fled during his enforced absence from Rome, and his retreat there, as Dandolo points out, had a special importance for the Republic. He tells us that the Doge, Sebastiano Ziano, sent ambassadors to the Emperor with proposals of reconciliation with the Pope; Frederic spurned them and replied with a threatening message. The Doge addressed the comforting assurance to the Pope, —

Si ruber nobis Federicus bella movebit,
Nos non inveniet clausos, sed in aequore lato,
Obvius ibo sibi Venetis comitantibus armis —

and proved himself as good as his word, for he set out forthwith to attack the imperial fleet, which he completely routed. The Pope in gratitude presented him with a ring wherewith to wed the Adriatic in the ancient expiatory ceremony of Ascension Day, which was thus transformed into the nuptial sacrament of the

¹ X, i, 18 ff. (cols. 301 ff.) ; cf. Sanudo, *R.I.S.*, XXII, 509.

*Sposalizio del Mare*¹. The sojourn of the Pope in Venice therefore acquired a vast significance in the eyes of her people²; it not only led to a glorious victory for the Venetian galleys and brought high ecclesiastical favor to the Republic, but it also, according to the tradition reported by Dandolo, occasioned a change in one of the time-honored ceremonies of the state.

The prophecy does not foretell the stay of Alexander in Venice, but is in part suggested by it. The conclusion embodies the popular belief that the spirits of the drowned inhabit the waters where they have met their death. This appears in the legends of several saints, where the stone attached to the neck of the victim either detaches itself and sinks to the bottom of the sea, or floats like cork, while the saint walks on the water³. The narrative as a whole exemplifies the same process which we have detected the writer in using elsewhere. Taking a historical or traditional fact as his basis, he arrays it in the shadowy garb of prophecy, and adds so many furbelows from his own invention and for his own purposes that the original form is almost lost to sight. Of this special prediction the principal significance for us is that there lies behind it an important Venetian tradition — a fact needing no explanation in view of the evidence that the author was a Venetian⁴. Whether he con-

¹ See Brown, *Venice*, pp. 69, 110.

² On the Venetian chroniclers' ready acceptance of the mythical elements in the story of the peace between Alexander III and Frederic I see Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, X, 3, 4.

³ See Sébillot, *Légendes de la mer*, 1886, I, 182; Bassett, *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and of Sailors*, 1885, pp. 290 ff., 467; *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, IX, 17.

⁴ In Chapter cccxxi there appears to be a reference to the stay of Alexander in Venice after his reconciliation with Frederic in 1177. The text is rather obscure, but it is clear enough that the prediction refers to a purification of the Church that will be instituted by the Vicar of Christ, the Pope, "le gouverneur de celle chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jerusalem," at the time when he is in Venice, "la grant ille de mer qui jadis fu de Sir et de Pol" (see above, II, 44, note 1), the abode of "deboneiretes." From the *Historia Ducum Vendicorum* (M.G.H., XIV, 83, cap. 11) we learn that after the reconciliation Alexander remained in Venice to rectify certain clerical appointments and to reform abuses: — "Dominus vero Papa, negotiis Ecclesiae attendens, intrusos ejecit et deletos restituit Episcopos, et ecclesiasticos viros: qui etiam usque ad medium mensem Octobris in Venetiis demoratus, grates plurimas Duci et Venetis attulit." See also, Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, X, 130.

Cf. also the familiar traditional account of the meeting between Frederic and Alexander in S. Marco (see, e.g., Brown, *Venice*, pp. 109, 110) with 1498, fols. 25d ff. (see above, I, 475 ff.)

ceived of Victor IV as the Dragon and Frederic I as the servant of the Dragon, or of Frederic I as the Dragon and a representative of the Empire as his servant we have no means of knowing; but it seems improbable that he had definite personalities clearly in mind or that he was attempting more than merely to foretell the superiority of the Church to the Empire as manifested in the life of Alexander III.

The only remaining prophecy¹ connected with a minister of the Antichrist predicts that the Dragon will send one of his servants, born in Spain, to India, where by his preaching he will destroy "la plus bele riens qui soit desus la terre," namely the palace that St. Thomas built for King Gondefors, "cil jouel qui n'est se or non et pierres precieuses." The first day he will destroy the "portique qui est une des merveilles dou monde a veoir"; the second day he will destroy "la chambre ou li rois souloit recevoir ses secrez amis"; the third day, "la grant salle ou li rois souloit estre avecques ses juges"; the fourth, "le leu ou li rois souloit mengier," and the fifth, "le remenant²." In the legend of St. Thomas³ the palace

¹ Chapter XVIII.

² This prophecy forms one of the *conti* in the *Novellino* (*Le novelle antiche*, ed. Biagi, 1880, No. LXX; p. 76). That it was not an isolated story that made its way into the *Prophecies* from the *Novellino* is evident from the form in which it is told in the latter as a dialogue between Merlin and Maestro Antonio, a personage apparently needing no explanation ("Un giorno istando Merlino in della camera molto solitario et piangiea molto fortamente venne maestro Antonio —"); moreover there is good reason to believe that the *Novellino* was not compiled before the last two decades of the thirteenth century or even later. It is therefore in all probability late enough for the compiler to have used the material of the *Prophecies*, which could not have appeared in its present form long before his own work. For discussions of the complicated question of the date of the *Novellino*, see D'Ancona, *Studi di critica estoria letteraria*, 1880, pp. 243 ff.; Follini, *Opusculi scientifici di Firenze*, V; Gaspary, *Geschichte der italienische Literatur*, 1885, I, 168; *Le novelle antiche*, ed. cit., pp. xxxiii ff. It should also be noted that the prophecy does not appear in the text of Gualteruzzi, which is believed to represent the more primitive form of the work, while it is contained in the text published by Biagi, which he regards as mingling *conti* from other sources with those of the version of Gualteruzzi.

³ For the legend see, e.g., Bonnet, *Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi*, I (*Acta Thomae*), 1883; *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1882, pp. 72 ff.; Jacobus de Voragine, cap. v. Of the numerous sources for the legend our author was familiar with that of the *Passio S. Thomae apostoli*, a version that was extensively used in the middle ages (ed. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.; cf. p. xvi). Here the palace is described in terms that are similar to those in the prophecy: — "tota fabricata ex lapidibus smaragdinis et iacinthis et cerauneis et albis instructa est intus et foris." In the *Passio* (p. 140), too, St. Thomas describes to Gondefors

that the saint builds for King Gondehors of India, though its magnificence is described in material terms, is not made by hands, but is fashioned in heaven, where it awaits Gondehors. In the mediaeval conception it typified the Church, which was constructed by the apostles from glorious stones¹. St. Thomas creates it for Gondehors by distributing to the poor the riches that Gondehors has given him for erecting a dwelling worthy of his earthly estate; belief in Christ and baptism will give the king the right to enter into his celestial mansion. The prophecy, then, in its most important part, like that of the Dragon of Viterbo, has an abstract or symbolical significance, and therefore the servant of the Dragon has no historical counterpart², but represents the machinations of the Antichrist against the Church, or perhaps merely the evil influences, in whatever form they are embodied, that destroy the heavenly dwelling of the soul. An analogy to this conception, or at all events a reminder of it, may be found in the dream of Pope Innocent III, in which he saw the Lateran tottering to its fall, but propped on the shoulders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, who "opera et doctrina Christi" were supporting the Church³.

the order in which he will construct the twelve apartments of the palace : — "primo proaula, in secundo saluatorium, in tertio consistorium, in septimo... triclinia accubitalia." This, it will be noticed, is the same order, with some omissions, in which the rooms destined to be destroyed by the servant of the Dragon are mentioned in the prophecy.

¹ See Mâle, pp. 354, 355, on the origin and interpretation of the legend of St. Thomas. Just as the earlier immaterial conception of St. Thomas as an apostolic builder of a spiritual abode became popularly materialized into the conception of St. Thomas as an earthly architect, so there is a mingling of the material and immaterial in the references to the palace of king Gondehors in the *Prophecies*. It is an entirely earthly building in Chapter cxciii.

² The servant of the Dragon is said to be from Spain doubtless because of the reputation of Toledo, and indeed of the entire peninsula, as a centre for learning and for the study of necromancy; see Salimbene, p. 32, note 2; Rose, *Hermes*, VIII, 343 ff.; Haskins, *Romanic Review*, II, 1 ff.; Id., *Mediaeval Science*, pp. 12 ff., 19. In the *Placide et Timeo* (Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 212, fol. 115) Mahomet is said to have been a native of Espagne; cf. also the low birth of the servant of the Dragon with that of Mahomet.

³ See Dandolo, X, iv, 25 (col. 339); Nicolaus Glassberger, *Chronica*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, II, 19.

A passage from Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, Prologus (Migne, P. L., CXCVIII, 1054) is not without interest here as an illustration of the symbolism that the mediaeval mind might attach to the rooms of a dwelling. The palace of the emperor, Petrus says, has three rooms : "Auditorium vel consistorium in quo iura decernit : coenaculum in quo cibaria distribuit ; thalamum, in quo quiescit. Ad hunc modum Imperator noster, qui imperat ventis et mari, mundum hunc habet

Although a few of the prophecies dealing with the Dragon of Babylon or his servants remain enigmatical, we see that by far the greater part of them embody purely canonical Antichrist material, which is frequently elaborated by narratives, couched in terms of mystery, proceeding, as there is good reason to believe, from the author's own invention¹. He recalls Huon de Méry in his treatment of the Antichrist legend. Huon in his poem, *Le Tournoiement de l'Antichrist*, which is distinctly an outcome of the movement against the Albigenses, depicts a tourney that takes place between the Antichrist and Christ. The Antichrist is not identified with any individual; a magnificent feudal lord, he embodies the powers of evil and leads in his train to the tourney as his minions the personified vices, notably Heresy. They are worsted in their jousting by the corresponding virtues, who are the followers of Christ. Beyond his great wealth and his final overthrow in the lists by St. Michael there are few traces of the traditional Antichrist in the great *seigneur* of the poem. Huon is visibly using only such elements of the legend as he chooses. To the whole he gives an Arthurian background by prefacing the account of the assembly with a story of a visit that he paid to the fountain of Broceliande, where, like Yvain, he found the entrance to the supernatural world, in which he lays the scene of his tourney². Nor is the reason for this treatment of the material far to seek. From the very nature of the subject matter the apocalyptic tradition was fixed, and if any writer were audacious enough to depart from it, he did so at the risk of exposing his own work to the charge of unreliability. The essential features of his narrative must keep close to time-honored sources; hence if he desired to employ his invention, it must be merely in the elaboration of the themes supported by authority³.

pro auditorio : ubi ad nutum ejus omnia disponuntur... Animam iusti habet pro thalamo, quia *deliciae* sunt ei ibi quiescere, et *esse cum filiis hominum* : secundum hanc dicitur sponsus, et anima cuiusque sponsa." Petrus still further carries out the symbolism.

¹ The prophecy in Chapters cclv and cclviii on the loosing of the serpent, "the old dragon," is of this character, based on Revelations, xx, and influenced by the part of St. Michael in the Antichrist material. See Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum morale*, fols. 138d, 139c; Malvenda, IV, xxi (p. 225).

² On the poem see the introductions in the editions of Tarbé and Wimmer; G. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge*, 1890, §§ 111, 155; Duval, *Histoire littéraire*, XVIII, 800 ff.

³ Cf. C. C. Torrey, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 1901, s.v., "Apocalypse."

From our examination of the material, then, we have learned that the Dragon of Babylon in the *Prophecies* is the traditional Antichrist described by Adso and anticipated by the thirteenth century. Opposed in all respects to Christ, he is identified with any influences that are hostile to His teachings or His Church. He is generally a vague and impersonal figure. In the prophecy to Bertous d'Alençon discussed above¹, he appears to be identified with Frederic II, and in four other prophecies we have seen² that possibly (but only in one of them probably) certain elements may have been introduced because the writer mentally associated him with the Emperor. This situation is altogether to be expected in a work written at a time when the theory that Frederic II was the Antichrist had been proved untenable, but when, as Bousset has said, "people saw Antichrist or the forerunners of Antichrist in every ecclesiastical, political, national, or social opponent, and the catchword 'Antichrist' resounded on all sides". It would not be at all strange, therefore, if occasionally in a prophecy relating to Frederic our author employed this common figure of speech, and still less so if the long established connection between the Antichrist and Frederic remained as a subconscious influence that colored his phraseology, although he could not formally identify them, if he desired the words of Merlin to appear reliable. With as little plausibility could he foretell the Day of Doom for the crucial year 1260, yet he does not hesitate to accept that date as marking a period when "les hommes et les fames seront enpires" to such a degree that only the intercession of the Virgin will prevail upon the Lord not to destroy the world³.

III

THE QUESTION OF A FRANCISCAN AUTHORSHIP

From the facts that we have been considering in the preceding sections of this chapter may we draw any conclusions in regard to the authorship of the *Prophecies*? In seeking to do so, we must

¹ II, 168 ff.

² II, 103, 104, note 6, 211, 212, 213, note 3.

³ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 581.

⁴ See Chapters CCLXVII, CCLXIX. In Chapter CCXVII it is said that signs of the end of the world will be seen after 1260, but the variants for the date are so numerous that no argument can be based upon it.

keep in mind that the special subjects which Merlin announces for his prophecies, namely, the corruption of prelates and the coming of the Antichrist, constitute the prominent themes not only in the utterances of Joachim himself, but also in the later works that passed under his name. It is generally agreed that these pseudo-Joachite prophecies emanated from the Franciscan order, and primarily from the *Zelanti*. The very dissensions that arose between themselves and the Conventuals intensified their conviction that they were the chosen spiritual rulers whose coming Joachim had foretold, and the mysticism to which by their rule and habit of thought they were predisposed led individual members to promulgate vaticinations of their own similar in form and purpose to those of their avowed master. Consequently, although all prophecy of the Joachite type is not to be traced exclusively to them, they are essentially its authors and promoters¹.

When therefore we find a work so far in accord with the spirit and tenor of the Joachite predictions in its acknowledged purpose as the *Prophecies*, we have *a priori* reason for assuming that it comes from a Minorite source. We cannot insist upon more than a high degree of plausibility for this assumption. There is not the same decisive proof for it that there is for a Venetian authorship, and direct evidence in its favor cannot be claimed; but the cumulative testimony of various passages, as well as the nature of the composition point in this direction. The only contemporary writer (so far as I have been able to learn) who quotes from the *Prophecies* is a Franciscan, Thomas the Tuscan²; the name of the great Franciscan preacher, Berthold von Regensburg, was familiar to the author³; the prediction in Chapter cccvii that the souls of the redeemed shall be set in the thrones in Heaven from which Lucifer and his angels were expelled is a reminder of the vision of Frate Pacifico, in which he saw a magnificent throne in Paradise, adorned with jewels, but vacant, and heard a voice telling him that this was the seat once occupied by Lucifer, but now reserved for the

¹ See Lea, *The Inquisition*, III, 12, 18, 19; Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XV, 143, 144; E. G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, pp. 191 ff.

² II, 7. On the intermonastic migration of books see Haskins, *Speculum*, I, 21-28.

³ II, 168 ff. On the other hand, however, it may be urged that a Franciscan might have felt reluctance to associate the name of Berthold with a personage so completely the object of criticism as the cardinal of the *Prophecies*, and also that Berthold was widely known outside of the order.

lowly Francis¹; in one of the prophecies there is a possible allusion to Frate Elia and his project for building the church at Assisi, but this is so uncertain that it has no weight in an argument²; the book from beginning to end is filled with the disregard of worldly riches characteristic of *il poverel di Dio*, as well as with his zeal for keeping "the bark of Peter on the deep sea to its right aim"; it also breathes, as we shall see when we examine the didactic material, a spirit of sincere and simple piety and of devotion to Christ and the Virgin. These factors are not necessarily to be attributed to a Franciscan source, for they might have appeared in almost any mediaeval Italian work of a similar character, but in their multiplicity they afford contributing, even though inadequate support for the theory that the work was produced within the order.

Nor is there any internal evidence opposed to this theory. We can in no case believe that the *Prophecies* was written by one of the more rigid *Zelanti*. It lacks those elements of Joachism, as has been already said, that they most sedulously cherished, and that most exposed them to criticism; again, entirely apart from its large admixture of secular material, we can only with difficulty conceive that one of the extremists, filled with prophetic ardor and profoundly agitated by the carnal sins of the Church, would have so distributed his interests among the heroes of chivalry, Venetian exploits, and ecclesiastical failings. We should expect such an one to regard the latter with a more single eye. But although the members of the order were divided into the two broad classes of Spirituals and Conventuals, according to their attitude toward the rule — "l'un la fugge e l'altro la coarta" — it contained also the so-called "third party," the moderate group, who while not indifferent to the teachings of St. Francis, departed from them sufficiently to seek for the order a reputation in secular learning as well as an influence in political affairs, where in truth, they became on many occasions valuable advocates of the Guelph cause³. Not all of the *Zelanti* even contracted with equal rigor the rule that the *Relaxati* evaded. Fra Salimbene is a potent example of the elasticity of temperament and the devotion that might keep a brother from remaining stationary at either pole of the order. He looked with abhorrence upon the extravagance and self-indulgence of

¹ See St. Bonaventura (*Vita S. Francis*), VIII, 521.

² See above, II, 211, 212.

³ See René, *Etudes franciscaines*, XIV, 588 ff., 600 ff.

Frate Elia, and was wholly at variance in his ideals from the professed followers of the "large observance," yet he could not go all lengths with the Spirituals in their acceptance of Joachism. He had, moreover, a keener eye for his own bodily comfort and a more appreciative palate for the delectations of the table than could be consistently cultivated by the brothers who were most faithfully wedded to Poverty; indeed in his enjoyment of a good story, of which he was not minded to question the piquancy too closely, his pleasure in secular as well as sacred songs and in the companionship of his fellows, added to the far from mean knowledge of the world of his time, which he had gained by a wandering conventual life, he reveals a naïve worldliness and a delightful gaiety of spirit in combination with his interest in secular history and his monastic piety. It is true that the agreeable union of similar characteristics is not unusual in thirteenth-century Italy; and although Salimbene has a distinctively personal quality that lends him peculiar attractions, he supplies an illustration of the sort of life and the catholic but petty range of interests that was possible among good and faithful Minorites of his period¹.

There is no reason why such a composition as the *Prophecies* should not have been produced by a Franciscan friar, who like Salimbene had a taste for chronicle history, and whose sympathy with the Spiritual party was sufficiently strong to lead him to select prophecy as his vehicle for expression. The regard for vaticination was by no means confined to the Spirituals, and we find that Salimbene, for instance, after he had left the Joachites still retained an independent faith in cryptic sayings². Moreover the *Prophecies*, composed approximately between 1274, or 1276, and 1279, was written either shortly before or shortly after the end of the general ministry of St. Bonaventura (1257-1274), the entire course of which, while it frowned upon the Joachites, in spite of Bonaventura's individual leaning toward the Spirituals, sought to establish a middle ground in the rule that might bring together the two opposing divisions in the order³. The work thus was produced

¹ On Salimbene see Gebhart, *L'Italie mystique*, 1904, pp. 230 ff.; Bihl, *Etudes franciscaines*, XVI, 520 ff.; Gaspary, *Geschichte der italienische literatur*, 1885, I, 177 ff.; Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXXVII, 165 ff.; XXXVIII, 479; E. Emerson, *Harvard Theological Review*, VIII, 480 ff.; Novati, *Giornale storico*, I, 381 ff.

² See Salimbene (e.g.), pp. 532, 539; Lea, *op. cit.*, III, 24, note *; Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³ See Lea, *ibid.*, 24; Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 ff.; Gebhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff.;

at a time when the tendencies among the Minorites contributed to foster certain relaxations among the Spirituals, whose numbers, in fact, were becoming reduced, yet when a friar seeking to write a collection of prophecies would be extremely careful to place his orthodoxy beyond a doubt. He would do wisely to select for his protagonist in place of the questionable Joachim, Merlin, who in spite of his demonic origin had received his knowledge from God, and was reputed by some members of the brotherhood to be a veracious prophet¹; wisely, too, avoiding the most disputed points of Joachimism, he would inculcate, as our author inculcates, those aims for the purification of the Church and of the rule that St. Bonaventura sought to implant. We know that one of the special purposes of the author of the *Prophecies* was to extol Venice. Why should he have elected to cast his record of the historic doings of the Venetians and their neighbors into prophetic form, and in addition to fill his work with the very themes that were occupying the attention of the Minorites, if he were not of their number? On the other hand, however earnest a friar he might have been, as a Venetian he would have seen no impropriety in mingling predictions that treated subjects so grave as the worldliness of the clergy and the advent of the Antichrist with those that in the main enhanced the glory of Venice. Exactly such a combination of material, cast not in prophetic but in narrative form, was adopted by the Venetian chronicler Marco in his unpublished *Cronaca*, where interspersed with the history of Venice stand sections on the Antichrist and the Last Judgment². If it be true that our author was a Franciscan as well as a Venetian, we cannot but recognize that a wholly natural location for the composition of the *Prophecies* would have been the Franciscan convent established on the little island of S. Francesco del Deserto after it was given to the brotherhood by Jacopo Michiel³ in 1228.

At all events the work partakes too largely of the nature of a chronicle to cause surprise by the varied nature of its contents. It would be a truism to observe that the mediaeval chronicler knew only elastic boundaries to his subject. No sooner did he begin a record of the past, in whatever form he chose to cast it, than almost

Robinson, *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 1907, II, 652; René, *Études franciscaines*, XV, 512 ff., 593 ff.

¹ See Salimbene, pp. 43, 512, 539.

² See Waitz, *Neues Archiv*, II, 350 ff.; above, II, 37, note 3.

³ See Molmenti e Mantovani, *Le isole della Laguna*, 1904, pp. 134, 135.

limitless possibilities of expansion opened out before his pilgrim spirit. If we look, for example, at the range of themes through which Jacopo da Acqui wanders in his vast *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi*, the strange medley of material in the *Prophecies* will fail to give us pause. We may, however, well ask ourselves if it is probable that a Franciscan monk would have deemed it fitting to introduce into a work primarily devoted to serious historical record and to the ideals and eschatology of his order the "contes de Bretagne si vains et plaisans" that fill many folios of the *Prophecies*, — granted, indeed, that he would have composed them at all. But we must not forget that only a small number of the *Zelanti* among the Franciscans opposed profane studies, which under St. Bonaventura received distinct encouragement¹. Even the arts were not denied admission to the cloister². Witness the attainments that Salimbene admired in Fra Enrico da Pisa: — "sollemnis praedicator et graciosus clero et populo fuit. Item sciebat scribere, miniare,... notare, cantus pulcherrimos et delectabiles invenire³." Witness, too, the delightful picture of the varied interests cultivated in a Minorite convent in the latter half of the thirteenth century left us by Fra Ristoro d'Arezzo, who can himself write of the beauties of Aretine pottery with the enthusiasm of a modern connoisseur⁴. Many were the tastes and gifts that centred in the Franciscan monasteries. St. Francis was not the only member of the order who brought to it from his past worldly life an acquaintance with tales of knightly adventure. When he himself called his followers "milites tabulae rotundae⁵," why should one of them have hesitated to try his own hand at chronicling the valorous exploits of Arthurian heroes? If a Cistercian abbot, in order to rouse his conventual hearers when they were slumbering through one of his discourses, suddenly burst out with, "Audite, fratres, audite, rem vobis novam et magnam proponam. Rex quidam fuit qui Artus vocabatur⁶," why should not a Franciscan vivify the discourse o

¹ See Hilarin Felder, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*, 1904, pp. 155 ff., 408, 409; René, *Etudes franciscaines*, XIII, 63 ff.; XIV, 87, 236, 602 ff.; XV, 46 ff.

² See Hilarin Felder, *op. cit.*, pp. 423, 436.

³ P. 181.

⁴ *De la compositione del mondo*, ed. Camerini (in Daelli, *Biblioteca rara*, LIV 1864, pp. 255 ff. See *Etudes franciscaines*, XIV, 453 ff.

⁵ See *Speculum Perfectionis*, auctore Fratre Leone, ed. Sabatier, 1898, p. 143; cf. pp. xxix, xxx.

⁶ Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dist. iv, cap 36 (I, 205). It is only fair to add that

Merlin with tales that would surely prove beguiling to his readers in both the cloister and the world? Too much mediaeval fiction may be traced to monastic sources¹ for us to maintain that there is any inherent inconsistency between a Franciscan authorship and the presence of a romantic element in the *Prophecies*. But its chivalric material is so distinct in character from the rest that we cannot dismiss it without at least considering the possibility that it did not have a place in the original work, but is a later addition by a secular hand made for the sake of breaking the dullness of the prophecies and of linking the composition as a whole more closely with the Arthurian cycle in which Merlin is so prominent a figure. This question cannot be answered until in a later chapter we have analyzed the episodes and determined their place in the structure of the work.

the abbot did not see fit to regale his flock with the feast of Arthurian stories that his words led them to expect, but having thoroughly brought them to life by his mere mention of Arthur's name, he proceeded to contrast their reprehensible somnolence while he spoke of God with their eager interest when he introduced *verba levitatis* into his discourse. Cf. Pauphilet, *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, p. 87.

¹ The most important contribution to our knowledge of this fact is, of course, the work of Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*. See the argument of Pauphilet for the Cistercian origin of the *Queste del Saint Graal*, which runs throughout his book cited above. See also Thomas, *Le roman de Tristan*, ed. Bédier, 1902-1905, I, i; Bruce, *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIV, 386 ff.; Laura A. Hibbard, *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI, 223, 224.

It is apposite to note in connection with the possibility of a monastic authorship for the *Prophecies* that in Chapter CCXXVI, and also in one of the episodes (I, 401) the expression, "les armes nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist," is used to denote priestly vestments. This expression Pauphilet (*op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48) has pointed out is very commonly used with the same meaning in the *Queste del Saint Graal*, which he has shown is a conventual production.

CHAPTER VII

THE DIDACTIC MATERIAL IN THE *PROPHECIES*

There is a small class of prophecies, which since they are in part in a similar vein to those that we have been examining in the foregoing chapter should be discussed before we turn to the romantic episodes. We have seen that some of the predictions, especially those concerned with the priesthood, inculcate certain moral principles. There are also other passages, frequently not prophetic, that are essentially didactic in purpose. These have little individuality, but deal with a few of the themes that formed the basis of mediaeval religious faith and moral practice, and that are common to the entire body of the didactic literature of the middle ages. Like countless other teachers of the period Merlin enjoins belief in the sacraments¹, the giving of tithes and alms, the consecration of possessions to God, their bestower², and especially penitance, such as that of Thobie, which is accompanied by sincere prayer and leads to good works³. He dwells upon the love of God to man and of man to God⁴, upon the saving grace of faith⁵, and the efficacy of the intercessory prayers of the saints and especially of the Virgin⁶, “*di speranza fontana vivace*” to him, as to all devout spirits of the thirteenth century, and with whose figure represented as an *orante* interceding for humanity in an eleventh-century

¹ Chapter CLIII.

² Chapters LII, CCXXXIV, CCXXXVII, CCLXIX, CCLXXIX, CCCX, CCCXVII.

³ Chapters CCLXII, CCLXIX, CCLXXIX, CCCXI, CCCXIX.

⁴ Chapter CCCV.

⁵ Chapter CLIII.

⁶ Chapters CLXIV, CCLXIX. See Mâle, pp. 303 ff., for the vast importance of the mediaeval faith in the intercessory power of the Virgin, which found its noblest expression in the thirty-third canto of the *Paradiso* of Dante. Cf. the unsought intercession of the Virgin for mankind foretold in Chapter CCLXIX with vv. 16-19 of this canto: —

*La tua benignità non pur soccorre
A chi domanda, ma molte fiate
Liberamente al domandar precorre.*

mosaic over the portal of the cathedral at Torcello¹ he as a Venetian must have been familiar.

A few passages deal with the temptations of the devil, the power of the cross or of the name of the Trinity and that of the Virgin to put him to flight², and the presence of both a good and an evil angel in the heart of man³. These teachings as well as Merlin's account of the fall of Lucifer⁴, his replies to Antoine's questions as to the nature of Paradise, Hell, and Purgatory⁵, and his discourses on the "cours de la lune"⁶ lead us to commonplace ground in mediaeval treatises designed for instruction.

The narratives in the *Livre de Helias* (or *Helie*) should also be included in the didactic portion of the work, for each serves to point a moral as well as to set forth the power of Merlin, whose part is to detect the offender, who has been guilty of a lapse into the special sin that is reproved in the story. Some of these episodes have been already referred to in connection with clerical vices⁷; others of a more general character are the stories of the physician who has extorted money from patients on the promise of curing them, although he knew them to be on their deathbeds⁸; of the hypocrite Argistres, who by his reputation for piety has won the confidence of his fellowtownsmen, from whom he collects

¹ The mosaic in the interior lunette. See Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, II, 429; Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 1910, p. 511, fig. 248; Clausse, *Les monuments du christianisme au moyen âge*, 1893-1897, II, 151, 154.

² Chapters LXXXIV, CCL, CCCV.

³ Chapters XXVI, XXVII, CLXVII, CCXXXIV. Chapters XXVI and XXVII show a close resemblance in conception and treatment to the dialogues of both Honorius of Autun (*Elucidarium*, Migne, P. L., CLXXII, 1154) and Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, Dist. VIII, cap. xli ff.; II, 113 ff.). On the universal mediaeval belief in good and evil angels see, e.g., Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitæ cruci fixi Christi*, Venice, 1485, Lib. I, cap. iiii, "De casu angelorum":—"Tamen plurimi [boni angeli] ex ipsis extra mittuntur in ministerium ad custodiam hominum deputati: quibus ministravit purgando, illustrando, et perficiendo secundum imperium voluntatis dei ut non habeat humana malitia in quo de bonitate Jesu conqueratur si hominem permittit a diabolo tentari: cum multo maius sit adiutorium angelorum bonorum ad resistendum malo et faciendum bonum quam sit expugnatio demonum." See also Brunetto Latini, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, Migne, P. L., V, 556, 557; Föste, *Zur Theologie des Bertholds von Regensburg*, 1890, p. 23, see below, p. 238.

⁴ Chapter xv. See above, II, 170.

⁵ Chapter xvi.

⁶ Chapter cxix.

⁷ See II, 157, 158.

⁸ Chapter ccxxix.

money ostensibly to be distributed as alms, but in reality to be hoarded in his own dwelling¹; and of the "dame bien acesmee," in which a woman's love of finery leads her husband into the sin of usury in order that he may have money to give her for buying a sumptuous cloak; Merlin reproves her extravagance and foretells the ruin that similar "mauvais gaing" will bring upon the Marche Amoureuse². Following this story is another of the same nature,

¹ Chapters ccxxxiv-ccxxxvii. Merlin before exposing the guilt of Argistres predicts a threefold death for him. On this type of prophecy, which appears early and continues long in the Merlin legend, see *Huth Merlin*, I, xv, xvi.

This anecdote appears in the *Novellino* (Biagi, *Le novelle antiche*, p. 72, No. LXVI), but not in the text of Gualteruzzi. Like the story of the destruction of the palace of King Gondehors it is evidently derived from the *Prophecies*.

² Chapter ccxxxviii. This anecdote also is contained in the *Novellino* (See *ed. cit.*, p. 40, No. xxxi) in the texts of both Gualteruzzi and Borghini, and probably should be regarded as derived from the *Prophecies*. The details are given in a slightly different order from that of the prophecy, and Merlin makes no reference to the "mauvais gaing" of the Marche, as in the latter.

In *Reg.* (fol. 174 c) when Merlin sees the lady, who is said to be weaving a long train, he laughs, for at that moment a little demon who is seated on the train falls into a heap of mire that she is passing. For mysterious laughter that is occasioned by superhuman knowledge see *P. M. L. A.*, XXII, 258 ff. For the ban put upon women's trains by the Church see Salimbene, pp. 169, 436; *Epistolae Gregorii VIII Papae*, in Migne, *P. L.*, CCH, 1561, epist. xxiii. Jacobus de Vitriaco tells the story of a devil who is seen laughing and explains when questioned that he is enjoying the plight of a brother devil whom he has espied seated on a woman's train and thrown into the mud when she lifted it (See *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane, 1890, No. ccxliii; see also the tale from one of the manuscripts of William of Waddington, *Manuel des Pechiez*, in Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Furnivall, 1862, p. 109, note h). Etienne de Bourbon (*Anecdotes*, p. 233, § 282), inveighing against the trains of women's robes, cites the *exemplum* of Jacobus, and continues (p. 235): — "Nobiles ille caudas trahunt superfluas, de quarum superfluitate et sumptuositate multi pauperes possent vestiri. Contra has Merlinus in propheta sua: Mulieres incesu serpentes fient, et omnis gressus earum superbia replebitur; renovabuntur castra Veneris, nec cessabunt sagitte Cupidinis." This prophecy of Merlin is contained in none of our versions

the *Prophecies*, all of which are certainly later than the *Anecdotes* of Etienne. which was composed before 1250 and was probably redacted in 1260 (See *Anecdotes*, p. xx). The prediction that he quotes was doubtless one of the current prophecies concerning the signs of the times that was given authority by being attached to the name of Merlin, and that has been utilized by the scribe of *Reg.* His addition, however, by no means necessarily implies that he knew the prophecy quoted by Etienne. Trains were a recognized sign of feminine extravagance in dress, and the story of the devil that fell into the mire was, as is evident from its use by Jacobus de Vitriaco, a known *exemplum*; the addition might, therefore, have suggested itself to any redactor. There is a hint that the saying of Merlin cited in the *Anecdotes* may have been known to the author of the *Prophecies* in the

which tells of a merchant of Heraclea¹, who comes before a judge of Norhombelande with a complaint against ten money-changers, who when he had taken his money to them on arrival in their country had exchanged it at a false rate. The judge summons the money-changers, who declare that they have never seen the merchant. The judge thereupon lays the case before Merlin, who promptly charges the money-changers with falsehood, and to prove the truth of his words summons to the scene their coffers, which come flying through the air, and fall each at the feet of "son saigneur." On being opened they disclose the money due to the merchant; the money-changers are given over to justice, and Merlin declares that "ce que ces .x. hommes ont fet est li essample de Romme²." This story, it is to be noted, is in complete harmony with the Venetian origin of the *Prophecies*. The foreigner arriving in Venice, which drew traders from all lands, was an easy prey to fraudulent money-changers; in fact just such conditions as the prophecy depicts led the Republic to establish commissioners whose duty it was to meet strangers at their landing at the Piazza di S. Marco, direct them to lodgings, change their money for them, and see that they did not fall into dishonest hands; if they were themselves found to be dishonest, a heavy fine awaited them³. The story placed in "une ville" in Norhombelande paints a situation that would have been familiar to any Venetian writer to whom merchants from Heraclea were common figures in Rialto.

The four tales of which I have been speaking are all alike directed against the love of money, which Merlin's concluding phrase quoted above points out is the bane of the Roman Church. The remaining narratives in the *Livre de Helias* that exhibit the power

prediction in Chapter xii, in which Merlin admonishes women who will be "aussi peintes comme le fust" to remember that they will carry the devil not only in their painted faces, but "derriere eus aussi," a phrase that plainly refers to the trains that they dragged behind them.

A few other passages condemn the follies of women : — Chapters xii, ccxcvi-ccxcviii, ccciii. On the necessity of controlling and disciplining them cf. Chapter cxxix. With Merlin's remarks on the "aspre et dure saignorie d'une fame" (Chapter xxiii) cf. Salimbene, p. 65, and especially the examples, p. 68, to show "quam turpe sit dominium feminarum, quod etiam in hominibus non laudatur." Countless mediaeval parallels to the above prophecies might be cited.

¹ Rajanne; *var.*, Eracliane, Racliane. Chapters ccxli-ccxliii.

² The concluding prophecy concerning "li Rommain" is evidently directed against the curia. Cf. II, 163, note 2.

³ See Hazlitt, II, 914, 915. Cf. the establishment of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, Marin, *Storia civile e politica del commercio dei Veneriani*, 1798-1808, V, 181, 182.

of Merlin are, as we have had occasion to observe, intended to illustrate the sins of the priesthood. The episodes in this *Livre* are accordingly all didactic in purpose and reprove the corruption of the Church or that love of gold, which, although not limited to her, was one of her fundamental weaknesses in the thirteenth century. As a whole the teachings of Merlin, like his prophecies, evince an entirely orthodox faith and a spirit of obedience to the tenets of the Church, but are unsparing in their condemnation of her failings.

The didactic portion of the *Prophecies* leads us to the consideration of its relation to the only work with which it has ever been seriously brought into comparison, *La fontaine de toutes sciences du Philosophe Sidrach*, or *Le livre de Sidrach*, an encyclopaedic compilation, believed to have been composed by Jean Pierre de Lyon, about the year 1250, or even as late as the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and existing in numerous inedited French sources, as well as Italian manuscripts, one of which has been published by Bartoli¹. Between this book and the *Prophecies* Ward has suggested that there are resemblances, but Renan and Paris remark, without discussion, that they do not consider the similarities striking, and Langlois that they are greatest in the prophetic portions². Langlois even goes a step further and brands the literary style of both works with the same stigma³ : " C'est une confuse et détestable logorrhée d'homme sans instinct et sans culture littéraire ni autre, qui catéchise des illettrés." However just this dictum is for Jean Pierre de Lyon, it is rather too severe for our Venetian, who had a definite purpose in view, although he chose to effect it by means of dark sayings, the literary style of which only an *advocatus diaboli* would undertake to defend. The *Sidrach* is arranged in the form of a dialogue between Boctus, a converted heathen king, and Sidrach, a descendant of Japhet, who at birth received from God the gift of universal knowledge, which enables him to answer glibly the thousand or more

¹ For discussions and for the facts given below see E. Renan and G. Paris, *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 285 ff. ; *Il Libro di Sidrach*, ed. Bartoli, 1868, pp. ix-xxxvii ; Steinschneider, *Il Buonarroti*, gennaio, 1872 (Ser. 2, ii), pp. 235 ff. For the date see *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 291 ; Bartoli, *op. cit.*, p. xx ; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge*, 1911, pp. 194 ff.

² See Ward, *Catalogue*, I, 905 ; *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, [291 ; Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 190, note 4.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

questions (the number varying with the manuscripts) that Bortus puts to him with unflagging and inconstant curiosity. The book is, as Bartoli has defined it, "una imbandigione sostrosa degli errori e dei pregiudizi del medioevo," and is devoted to those subjects in which the thirteenth century felt an interest that embraced impartially their most trivial as well as their most important aspects. Purporting in common with the great encyclopaedias of the middle ages to be literally a *fontaine de toutes sciences*, it seeks to bring together in comprehensible form all that was known of God, man, and physical nature, and although Sidrach delivers occasional prophecies, he usually conveys his information by a more direct encyclopaedic method. In so far, then, although in its dialogue form resembling the greater part of the *Prophecies*, the *Fontaine* differs essentially from it. The large majority of the subjects treated in it lie outside of the scope of the *Prophecies*, which in its turn has for most of its predictions an historical basis differentiating them from the prophecies in *Sidrach*. These are evidently often the mere outcome of the author's own imagination and desires¹, and even when they have a basis of fact, they do not predict the events foretold by Merlin, although, as Langlois has observed², many of them, like Merlin's have to do with affairs in the Latin East.

There are, however, a number of responses of Sidrach — a very small proportion of the whole, be it said. — in which he expounds the same themes that are set forth by Merlin in his didactic moments. In these passages, although the point of view in the two sources is alike, the treatment usually differs; when verbal agreements occur, they are found in the expressions belonging to the contemporary stock phraseology employed in treating of similar subjects, and hence are not significant or such as to indicate the dependence of one source upon the other³. The passages to which I refer are the following : —

¹ Cf. *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 308 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 190, note 4.

³ The above comparison is based upon Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 24395, one of the two manuscripts of the *Livre de Sidrach* believed by Renan and Gaston Paris to represent most nearly the original form of the work. (Cf. Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 201). The citations given below are from this manuscript. It is of course quite possible that a careful examination of other sources would reveal further passages for comparison with the *Prophecies*, but those cited below illustrate the relation of the two works sufficiently for our purposes.

(a) *Sidrach*, fols. 16d-17a (*Prophecies*, Chapter xv) : — Lucifer fu fait e touz les autres o lui anges, archanges, cherubin et seraphin, et quant il vit que Diex li avoit donne gloire et honneur desuz les autres anges si despist les autres et volt estre samblable au hautisme et volt estre grigneur de son Seigneur et volt avoir autre estage que Diex ne li avoit donne et volt aus autres par son ourgueil commander... Il parla par ourgueil et dist... Je metra[i] mon siege encontre le sien et serai semblable a lui qui est tres haut. Mais Diex fu courrouciez de oel ourgueil, si commanda maintenant a ouvrir les trapes du ciel et geta le diable et ses compaignons en enfer. Pour ce devons nous fourir pechie d'ourgueil qui est molt grant.

It is to be observed that this reply of Sidrach, which has many points of contact with the prophecy, also shows resemblances to the passage from Martino da Canale quoted above, II, 170.

(b) *Sidrach*, fols. 20b, 70a (*Prophecies*, Chapter xvi). In these passages Boctus asks Sidrach the nature of Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell, even as Maistre Antoine asks the same questions of Merlin. The substance of the replies in regard to Paradise is the same, and the beginning of that concerning Purgatory in the *Sidrach* is similar to that of Merlin, but the description of Hell is entirely unlike in the two sources, for Sidrach discourses on the upper and the lower Hell, and the nine principal torments suffered there (fol. 70a), while Merlin merely speaks of the effect of beholding Lucifer.

(Fol. 20b) Paradis celestial n'est autre chose mais que ce ou les anges sont et joustice et les ames voient le Tout Puissant face a face, et nul cuer d'ome se il veschist mil milliers d'ans ou plus et que il eust mil milliers sens de sage home ne pourroit il penser de M. milliers .i. de la grace et de la joie et de la feste, le salu et la loenge et la resplendisseur et le repoz et le delit de ceulz qui voient Dieu visiblement sont en paradis celestiel.

(Fol. 70a) Purgatoire si est .i. lieu ou il a molt grand feu, et molt grant paine et molt grant froid et molt de manieres de paines, mez toute la mendre paine sera trop grant et plus grant que le grigneur tourment qui onques porroit estre pourpensez en cest siecle.

(c) *Sidrach*, fol. 24a (*Prophecies*, Chapter XLVIII ; see above, II, 179 ff.) : —

Le roy demande, La maison Dieu a qui sera ele commandee. Sydrach respont.

Li princes des menistres du filz Dieu la commandera a .i. home qui sera apele le pere des peres et ira de l'un en l'autre, et ensi sera jusqu'a la venue du faus prophete qui tout le monde devourera, et il

sera filz au dyable, et touz jours sera accroissement d'onneur et essaucement de bien. Mais il croistra pechie el monde, et entre sa foy et son peuple, et seront amasses entre les bons aussi comme li vraie entre le fourment. Apres ce .i. temps .ii. grans religions naistront el monde qui la foi Dieu essauceront et les mescreans qui entre les bons seront destruiront et degasteront, et de ces .ii. religions l'une sera apelee meneurs et l'autre preecheurs et seront molt povre gent par le monde. Les bons les ameront et les honnoureront et les douteront et leur douront pour les biens que il feront et pour la foi que il essauceront. Les malvais les creindront et les douteront et honeur et reverence leur porteront pour la poour et pour la doute que il auront d'eulz. Car pour celle gent de ces .ii. religions molt de maux seront lessiez a faire pour la poour que li malvais auront d'eulz. Car il seront les champions de la foi du fils Dieu et seront anemis et aversaires au dyable et amis Dieu.

It is noticeable here that although Sidrach, like Merlin, predicts the coming of the two orders, he regards them as a purifying influence, while Merlin dwells on the corruption that will enter into them later and cause their deterioration.

(d) *Sidrach*, fol. 24b (*Prophecies*, Chapter CLXVII) : —

La seignourie est du commandement Dieu, car il commanda en terre joustice et se la justice n'estoit en terre le peuple seroit en guise de possons, que le fort mangeroit le foible. Toute joustice doit estre fort pour jugier les mauvais a droit et a raison et a chascun donner sa desserte.

These passages in the two sources have a similarity in their underlying idea. The interpretation of the term "possons" shows that it is used in the *Sidrach* with the same force as in the *Prophecies*¹.

(e) *Sidrach*, fols. 38c, 49a, 55c, 71a, b (*Prophecies*, Chapter CLIII ; cf. Chapters CLXIV, CCLXIX, CCCV) : —

(Fol. 38c) Cil qui se desespoit de la misericorde Dieu que Diex n'a pooir de lui aidier ou que Diex n'aura ja merci de lui pour aucun pechie que il aura fait soit grant soit petit cil est dampne et perdu, ja soit ce que il soit home chaste et de bonne vie et creant en Dieu, et il muert en celle esperance car il a molt grant courpe et peche durement. Cil qui mesfait et a esperance en Dieu que sa misericorde est si tres grant que il li pardonra, saciez celui puet estre sauf pour ceste esperance se il est creant en Dieu, et se il n'est creant comme il doit il puet estre que il n'aura autre tourment en l'autre siecle que tenebres, pour celle grant esperance que il aura en Dieu se il muert

¹ See II, 16, note 1.

en lui, que la misericorde Dieu est plus grant que touz les pechiez qui furent fais el monde et seront fais.

(Fol 49a) Toutez les goutes de la mer et l'araine de la terre et fueilles des herbes et les estoiles du ciel et les penz des genz et des bestes estoient tout une somme ce ne seroit mie la disme de la disme de la misericorde Dieu a ceuz qui la quierent et deservent d'avoir. Se une fame ou .i. home avoit tue son pere et sa mere et ses enfanz et m. c. persones et il eust geu avec touz, et il se repentist et laissast ce mal et se tournast a Dieu de bon cuer, Diex li pardonroit et le recevroit pour le sien, et ceuz qui a Dieu convertir ne se veulent nul cuer d'ome ne porroit penser le grant tourment et le grant martire que il auront en l'autre siecle.

(Fol. 55c) Nus hons del monde ne puet pardonner a autrui pechiez se cil qui ce pechie fait ne se repent. Dieu qui est tout puissant et plain de misericorde et de pitie ne pardonne pas au pecheur se il de ce pechie ne se repent, mez se il li quiert merci ou pardon de net cuer et de misericorde avoir adonques li pardonne il, car il ne seroit que il le pardonnast aus pecheurs se il de net cuer ne se repentoit, adonques cil qui a le bon cuer li puet pardonner.

(Fol. 71a, b) Diex par sa puissance est tout plain de misericorde et de la merci de touz les pechiez que l'ome fet li seront pardonnez estre .ii. pechiez, ... se euz en lui voelent croire et son commandement voelent faire et guerpir le mal devant leur mort et auront foy et esperance que il auront pardon de Dieu, car plus est grant la misericorde Dieu que le ciel et la terre ne que tout le siecle ne que touz les pechiez de toutez les creatures du monde; .ii. pechiez sont qui jamais pardonnez ne seront soient en Dieu creans ou ne soient. Le premier pechie si est de celui qui se desespoire de la misericorde Dieu que par leur pechie Diex ne leur veut pardonner, et morront en celle d'esperance ne n'en viennent a amendement de ce avant leur mort, si seront touz jourz dampnez ne ja pardon n'auront. L'autre pechie est de celui qui s'ocist et muert et ne se puet repentir ne requerre merci a Dieu avant sa mort. Cist est dampnez que ja pardon n'aura.

(f) *Sidrach*, fol. 40b (*Prophecies*, Chapter cxix). In this passage Boctus asks Sidrach if there is "aucun point el jour qui soit bon," and Sidrach in reply sets forth "li boins pointz et li mauvais pointz du jour," as Merlin sets forth the good and evil days of the month.

(g) *Sidrach*, fols. 69a, 92a (*Prophecies*, Chapters LII, CCXXXIV, CCXXXVII, CCLXIX, CCCX). Boctus asks if almsgiving profits a man. Sidrach replies : —

(Fol. 69 a) Cil [qui] sont en Dieu creant et son commandement font l'aumosne aus povres que il font leur profite, car elle leur aliege grant quantite de leur paine de l'autre siecle, ja soit ce qu'elle soit petite. Mais cil qui Dieu ne croient ne ne font son commandement a

ceuz ne profitent elles ne tant ne quant car il ne la font pas pour Dieu mes pour euz meismes, et en ce n'ont il part ne hart, et se a Dieu ne se tournent avant leur mort aussi comme la medicine ne profite a la plaie tant comme le fer est dedenz.

(Fol. 92a). Aumosne si est de .iii. choses qui sont molt bonnes et molt dignes et molt precieuses, c'est de la bouche, de la main, et du cuer. Aumosne est ce que l'en donne du sien de sa main ou fait donner pour Dieu, car c'est pour l'ame de lui et a Dieu n'en est mestier, mez pour Dieu et en son honneur la donne aux povres et as mesaisiez pour lui aidier et sauver. La seconde maniere d'aumosne est de bouche, quant l'en chastie le pecheur de bouche de son pechie a son pooir saciez c'est molt grant aumosne. La tierce maniere est quant l'un meffait a l'autre et il li pardonne de pur cuer et de net, saciez ceste aumosne est molt precieuse et molt digne et ces .iii. manieres d'aumosne doit avoir chascun.

In these passages as in those quoted above dealing with repentance the difference in the treatment of the theme in the two sources is pronounced.

(h) *Sidrach*, fol. 69c (*Prophecies*, Chapters XXVI, XXVII, CLXVII, CCXXXIV). Here again in spite of the likeness in conception in both sources, there is a marked difference in the presentation: —

En chascune gent et chascune cite sont les anges qui gardent et gouvernent et ordonnent les droitures et les loys et les meurs des homes, et chascune ame quant elle est envoie el cors d'ome si est commandee a l'ange pour ce que elle face bien par son ordenement et pour ce que il les portent a Dieu et autres anges les secus euvres... Endementiers que les anges regardent en Dieu si voient toutes choses qui ont este et seront et si ont grant joie en Nostre Seigneur quant il nous voient perseverer en bien, et grant duel en euz quant il nous voient perseverer en mal, et sont honteux et vergondeus quant nous fessons la pechie, et les dyables ont grant joie quant nous faisons le pechie, et grant duel quant nous fessons le bien, car il ne sont pas de la volente Dieu¹.

Like Merlin, *Sidrach* (fol. 140c) foretells the coming of the Antichrist, and also like him keeps close to the canonical version of the legend; the presentation, however, shows no resemblances to that

¹ A description of *Feminie* from *Sidrach* (fol. 29c) should perhaps be mentioned here because of the subject of Chapters CCIX and CCX of the *Prophecies*, which in substance are very unlike the passage in *Sidrach*. The *Feminie* of *Sidrach* is a land where men and women live apart and do battle against each other, except at four seasons of the year ("en .iiii. saisons de l'an"), when they pass eight days together. If the children born to them are female, the mothers keep them permanently; if they are male, they keep them for only five years, at the end of which they send them to the fathers to be brought up.

of the *Prophecies* beyond those incident to the use of the same sources of tradition. In conclusion it may be said that a comparison of the passages treating of subjects common both to *Sidrach* and the *Prophecies* confirms Ward's view that there are reminiscences of one in the other, and also that of Renan and Paris that these reminiscences are far from striking. In the prologues of both works there is, however, a similarity that is not without consequence to us, because of which it has been worth while to dwell upon the above parallels. This resemblance will be treated below in connection with Maistre Richart d'Irlande¹.

¹ See below, pp. 331 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARTHURIAN MATERIAL IN THE *PROPHECIES*

Our study of the prophecies of Merlin and their record of conditions in thirteenth-century Italy has led us far from Camelot. It remains to be seen what place the romantic elements of the work occupy in the scheme of composition and to what extent they throw light upon the relation of the manuscripts of the *Prophecies* to each other and also upon the position of the *Prophecies* in the body of Arthurian romance.

The Arthurian material is far more abundant in Group I, 2 (i.e., *E*, 350, *Add.*, and *H*)¹ and *A* than in our other sources. In *R*, as has been said in the description of the manuscripts, only a slender portion is presented, although in its source all of that contained in the other manuscripts of Group I had a place. Our study of this material therefore will be clearer and more complete if we base it upon them than if we use *R* as a starting point. *A*, which offers an entirely different set of adventures from those in Group I, 2, will be considered separately; so also will Group II, which has merely a small amount of episodic material, peculiar to itself.

Since the *Prophecies* in its present form was composed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the author had at his disposal the principal Arthurian prose romances, all of which had been put into shape by the middle of the century. With which of these the *Prophecies* is most closely connected, to what extent it is influenced by the predictions of Merlin that bestrew them, what its romantic sources are, how they are treated, and whether the chivalric episodes originally had a place in the work, — these are some of the questions that naturally stir our curiosity.

The first of the problems is easy to solve, for it is obtrusively evident that no romance is more intimately associated with the *Prophecies* than the prose *Lancelot*. We might expect to find more direct traces of the influence of the *Merlin* than of any other work, but apart from the canonical features of the legend established

¹ In the following discussion, for the reasons that have been given above (I, 54), reference is made to 350 so far as it is coextensive with *Add.*, and for the rest of the material to *Add.* and, so far as conditions permit, to *E*.

by it, they are in reality rare. In the tradition of the source of Merlin's wisdom the *Prophecies* distinctly follows the *Merlin*, according to which Merlin, although possessed of the "sens" of his demonic father, has been endowed with his supernatural power "par nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist et par sa grace¹." There are references to Merlin's acquittal of his mother before the judge, which is recounted in the beginning of the *Merlin*², and from the account of her sister given there³ the story of Chapter CCLXII is developed. In the scene in the *Prophecies* when the news of Merlin's entombment is received at court, there is a slight reminder of the similar scene in the *Merlin*⁴. Even the prophecy delivered to Gawain by Merlin from his fairy tower in the *Merlin* does not appear to be a potent influence in our romance⁵. The *Lancelot*, on the other hand, is not merely mentioned by name as a source⁶, but there are many other indications that the author was himself familiar and knew his readers also to be acquainted with its contents. This he shows by his brief and passing references to events or situations set forth at length in its pages. One of the reasons, for instance, that induced the Dame du Lac to imprison Merlin is said to be "que elle savoit certainement que se Merlin fust bien du roi Claudas de la Deserte, james Lancelot ni ans deus ses cousins ne povissent vivre par aage, ains les feroit occirre, ou par venin ou par autre maniere, et a son sens ne son enchantement ne les porroit garantir⁷." This statement obviously presupposes an acquaintance on the part of both writer and reader with the *Lancelot*, the beginning of which is given up to the account of the hostility of Claudas de la Deserte to King Ban and King Bohors, as well as to their children, whom the Dame du Lac takes under her protection⁸. We shall see later that similar examples occur in the opening sentences of several episodes.

¹ I, 104. Cf. *Merlin*, Sommer, II, 17, 18, and above, I, 101, 224, 296, 303.

² I, 208, 266; *Merlin*, pp. 15 ff.

³ Pp. 6, 7.

⁴ I, 174, 175; *Merlin*, pp. 452, 453.

⁵ See below, pp. 297 ff.

⁶ I, 197; II, 248; "li contes de la fauce Gegnievre," I, 236, 406. Lot (*Lancelot*, p. 12) has said that there is no authority in the manuscripts of the *Lancelot* for the name *Les deux Guenièvres* given by Paulin Paris to his sixth division of the *Lancelot* (*Romans de la Table Ronde*, IV, 88, note 1); that it was *ben trovato* is made all the more evident by the title, *li contes de la fauce Gegnievre*, given in the *Prophecies* to the same part of the romance.

⁷ I, 167.

⁸ See also the references to the *enances* of Lancelot and his cousins, I, 184,

Still other passages are based directly upon the *Lancelot*¹, among which the most significant are certain predictions. The majority of these form a group characterized by the use of animal nomenclature — in itself not common in the *Prophecies*, — which, like the events foretold, is explained in the *Lancelot*. In this group two predictions are so closely connected that they may be considered together. The heir of the Beke Jaïande, Merlin says², will come from his dwelling in the Loingtaines Illes to lay waste Great Britain and to destroy the King of Logres, but he will be turned from his purpose by a leopard who will love the serpent of Logres with the head of silver. Later³ the Dame du Lac quotes a prophecy of Merlin concerning the queen of Logres, "qui tant sera redoutee et cremue par .i. seul chevalier qui molt sera redoubtez⁴ et neiz Galeholt, le fil a la bele

193, the full account of which is contained in the *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 33 ff., 57 ff., 86 ff., 104 ff., 111 ff. Cf. I, 224, with the release of Lionel and Bohors by Saraide, *Lancelot*, l. c., 48-57; cf. I, 223, note 4, with the death of Dorin (cf. I, 373), *Lancelot*, l. c., 55, and with the promise of the Dame du Lac to Bohors that he shall release Lancelot from shame, *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 215 ff. Cf. with the destruction of the Val Sans Retour, I, 388, *Lancelot*, l. c., 117-123.

¹ Cf. the following passages: — the account of the knighting of Lancelot, I, 196, 197, and *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 118, 121, 125 ff.; the reference to the Dame de Nohaut, I, 197, and *Lancelot*, l. c., 128 ff., 137 ff.; I, 264, ll. 3 ff., and *Lancelot*, l. c., 15, the exclamation of Queen Elaine, — "Adonque... voirement sui je la roïne as grans dolors. Pour chest non qu'ele se mist est apelee chis contes ei commencement li contes de la roïne as grans dolors"; the prophecy of the "maison de Sorelois," I, 159, and *Lancelot*, IV, 5-7, 9; the story of the false Guinevere, I, 235, 236, and *Lancelot*, l. c., 10 ff., 44 ff., 73; the prophecy that Guinevere shall become a nun, I, 179, and *Le mort Artus*, Sommer, VI, 383 (Even if we do not accept the theory advanced by Lot, *Lancelot*, pp. 82 ff., that this work originally formed a part of the *Lancelot*, they are so essentially connected that it may be included here); the reference in *Add.* (I, 197, note 26) to the relief of Meliant le gai by Lancelot, and *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 126-128; IV, 95 ff. The *Prophecies* follows the variant reading, *Melians*, for the name of the knight that Lancelot releases, and not the form adopted by Sommer in his text, *Trahans* (see also *Lancelot*, IV, 285). There is a noticeable verbal similarity between the *Prophecies* and the *Lancelot*, III, 120, where the wounded knight announces, "Il convenra que chil qui me desferra me jure sor sains que il me vengera a son pooir de tous cheus qui diront qu'il ameront plus chelui qui che me fist que moi." Cf. also the jesting reference of Dinadan (Episode 5, h) to Galeholt's submission to Arthur on condition that Lancelot bear him company, in the *Prophecies* (350, fol. 410 b), "L'en set partout que tu estoies venus audessus du roi Artu, et pour che que Lancelot te promist sa compaignie, tu devenis hom le roi Artu," and *Lancelot*, l. c., 244-249.

² I, 89.

³ I, 179.

⁴ Cf. I, 178.

gaiande, qui tout le monde va conquerant, le doutera deseur touz lez autrez, et aura poor et doute qu'il ne li toille chou que il aura gaignie." The meaning of these prophecies is perfectly obvious to all readers of the *Lancelot*, which contains the narrative of the successful invasion of Arthur's domains by Galeholt, Fius a la Bele Jaïande, Sire des Loingtaines Illes, Lancelot's prowess in battle, Galeholt's consequent admiration and devoted friendship for him, leading him to renounce his plans for the conquest of Logres, his dream warning him that his death will be caused by separation from Lancelot, whom love for the queen will draw from his side, and his eventually fruitless efforts to keep " that which he has gained," namely, the companionship of Lancelot¹. Thus there is no question that in the first of the two predictions Galeholt is the heir of the Bele Jaïande, Lancelot is the leopard, and Guinevere the serpent of Logres. In the *Lancelot* the same prophecy occurs in a more extensive form and with an explanation of its terms. Here Galeholt seeks an interpretation of the disquieting dream from Helyes de Toulouse, a wise clerk of Arthur's court, conversant with the prophecies of Merlin. Helyes to support his own statements quotes the words of Merlin² : —

Merlins dist que des daeraines isles de coing a la bele sente escaperoit uns merveillus dragons et s'en iroit volant par toutes terres a destre et a senestre, et trambleroient toutes les terres par ou il venroit. Et ensi voleroit jusques au regne aventureus. Et lors seroit si grans et si enbarnis qu'il auroit .xxx. testes toutes d'or plus beles et plus riches que la premiere n'estoit. Et lors seroit si grans que toute la terre aombreroit de ses elles. Et quant il venra el regne aventureus et il aura pres que tout conquis si li retorroit li merveillus lupars qui le metroit a declin et a la merci de chiaus que il auroit si pres conquis. Et tant s'entrameront apres li lupars et li dragons que il seront une meisme chose si que li uns ne porroit vivre sans l'autre. Et li serpens au chief d'or traitroit le lupart sour li par son engien et donroit la mort au grant dragon por le dessoivrement du lupart qu'ele tenroit en sa compaignie pour li soulassier et deduire.

Helyes proceeds to explain that the dragon is Galeholt and the serpent Guinevere. He has previously quoted³ and applied to Lancelot a prophecy of Merlin relating to the leopard : — " Merlins dist que del roi qui mora de duel et de la roïne dolerose istra uns merveillous lieupars, si sera fiers et hardis et orguellous et gais et passera toutes

¹ See *Lancelot*, l.c., 210-250; IV, 34, 83-85, 155.

² *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 28.

³ *Ibid.*, 27,

les bestes¹.” The same prophecy concerning Gaheholt appears in the *Merlin*² without mention of Guinevere, in the *Livre d'Artus*³ with additional material foretelling the war between Arthur and Lancelot for the sake of Guinevere, and again in still a different form in the *Huth Merlin*⁴. Of these versions that of the *Prophecies* most closely resembles the *Lancelot*, from which it is clearly derived.

With these interpretations before us the remaining animal prophecies scarcely need explanation. The leopard of Benoic, Merlin declares,⁵ will leave his own heart with the crowned serpent of Logres and will carry hers away with him ; with a white serpent, whom he believes to be the crowned serpent of Logres, he will engender a winged lion, who will fly beyond the sea and will be made king in the land of Evelac, and his wings, namely his good works, will bear him to heaven. Here again the *Lancelot* relates the events predicted, — the love of Lancelot, the leopard, for Guinevere, the serpent of Logres, the deception practised upon Lancelot at Corbenic and his relations with Helayne, the white serpent, whom he believes to be Guinevere, and finally the birth and career of Galahad, the lion⁶. A little later⁷ Merlin prophesies that the “ Fils de roi ” who is beloved by the Dame du Lac shall bring to an end the perilous adventures of Britain, “ et se il i faut ce sera pour les pechies de luxure qui se herbergera en lui. Et non pourquant de lui istra un lion qui metra a fin tout ce a quoi il aura failli, et ce avendra par sa vigueur. ” To this prediction the *Lancelot*

¹ See the dream of Galeholt, *ibid.*, 5, 23, 24, in which Lancelot appears as a leopard and Guinevere as a serpent. Cf. *Merlin*, Sommer, II, 207.

² *L.c.*, 214.

³ Sommer, VII, 163.

⁴ II, 61.

⁵ I, 178.

⁶ Sommer, V, 108-111. For the reference to Galahad see *Aventures*, Sommer, VI, 7, 8, 187 ff., 196. In the prophecy concerning Galahad there is a distinct influence of the prophecy of Merlin reported to Lancelot by a hermit with whom he is lodging in the *Aventures* (p. 83). After having told him that the knight who has sat in the Perilous Seat, namely Galahad, will achieve the Graal, the hermit adds : — “ Chis chevaliers si est li grans lyons qui sormontera a son vivant toute terriene chevalerie et quant il aura tant ale et tant fait il ne sera pas terriens mais espiritex ; lors laissera il le terrien abit et entrera en la celestiene chevalerie [ensi com il li est destine]. Ensi dist Merlin de cel chevalier que vous aves aucune fois veu comme cil qui moult savoit des choses qui estoient a venir. ” Cf. *ibid.*, 94, 98.

⁷ I, 193.

contains a close parallel in the scene between Galeholt and Helyes referred to above, for here Helyes explains that a better knight even than Lancelot shall be born, who shall achieve the adventures of the Graal, which Lancelot who is guilty of an unholy love never can bring to an end; and Merlin has foretold the coming of Galahad, "cil qui achevera les aventures de Bretaigne sera li mieldres chevaliers de tot le monde et emplira le deerain siege de la table reonde et cil a en escripture le senefiance de lion¹." In the *Prophecies* the prediction of the lion whom the "Fils de roi" will beget is followed by another foretelling that "li fius de roi ne sera conneus, ne lui ni autre ne saura son non jusques a tant que sa chevalerie soit espandue parmi le monde. Et des lors en avant quant il aura pris le plus orgueilleus chastel et le plus aspre a conquerre, sera son non espandu par le roiaume de Longres." This leads us back to the alphabet of Lancelot's career, — the ignorance of his birth and name in which the Dame du Lac keeps him² until shortly after his knighting he has accomplished the adventure of the Dolo-reuse Garde, a certain castle which "siet trop orgueilleusement et trop bel," in a well-nigh impregnable position, guarded at each

¹ IV, 26. A much more elaborate prophecy of Merlin concerning Galahad, which is reflected in our prophecies, is repeated by Helyes to Galeholt in the *Lancelot* (l. c., 27): — "si nos dist Merlins... que de la chambre al roi mehengnie de la gaste forest aventureuse en la fin del roialme de lices vendra la merveilleuse beste qui sera esgardee a merveilles es plains de la grant Bertaigne. Cele beste sera de diverse maniere sor toutes autres bestes. Elle aura teste de lyon et cors d'olyfant et autres membres et si aura rains et nombril de pucele d'enterine virginite et si aura cuer d'acier dur et serre qui n'avera garde de flescir ne damolier. Teuls manieres aura la beste et devant lui se trairont totes les aventures et li feront voie. Et lors si remandront les aventures de la grant Bertaigne et li encantement et les aventures merveilleuses; par ches coses poes vous connoistre le chevalier qui achevera les aventures del saint Graal. Par cele beste poes savoir que nus ne sera de sa vertu ne de sa fierte et par le cors poes entendre que nus ne porra souffrir le fais d'armes que il soffera. Car nus cors de beste n'est si fors comme d'olifant et par les rains du nombril poes vous savoir qu'il sera virges et castes en toutes coses. De quoi il ressemblera pucele virgene, et del cuer poes savoir qu'il sera hardis et entreprendans sor toutes autes coses, et nes de covardise et de paour, et si sera poi enparles de quoi il resablra dame pensieve. Et si poes savoir que a soies proeces seront noient les proeces des autres chevaliers." If the above passages be additions to the original *Lancelot*, as Bruce suggested (*Romanic Review*, IX, 266), the author of the *Prophecies* was familiar with the interpolated form of the romance. See also Löseth, *Tristan*, § 387, note 2, (p. 277), and cf. the remarks of Löseth on the influence of the *Lancelot* upon the *Tristan*, *Le Tristan et le Palamède des MSS. français du British Museum*, 1905, p. 34.

² *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 22, 33, 124-126.

of its two gates by ten knights, with whom he who would enter must do combat in turn. Never knight has attempted to pass within the gates who has not met death. Lancelot successfully performs the adventure, and in the cemetery of the castle finds a large metal slab, which only he can lift, beneath which he discovers an inscription that reveals to him his name and parentage. The report of his brilliant exploit spreads abroad, and not long after Gawain, who has succeeded in learning the name of the victor, proclaims it at court¹.

A rather more subtle connection may furthermore be traced in incidents for which the *Lancelot* contains no parallel, but which it evidently suggested. Cases in point are the story of the messenger to Arthur from Claudas², of which I shall speak below, and the account of the dream of Guinevere presaging the meeting of Lancelot and Helayne, which Guinevere begs the Dame du Lac to interpret to her³. This is plainly a development from the dream of Guinevere in the *Lancelot*⁴, which warns her of the same event, though in an entirely different vision, for an explanation of which she sends one of her damsels in quest of the Dame du Lac. The relations of Baudemagus with Galeholt, his reproofs of his unworthy son, Meleagant, and his efforts to protect Lancelot from him are all echoes of similar situations in the *Lancelot*⁵. The figures at the Tower of the Copper Marvel, which, however, are commonplace guardians of magic castles in romance, may be compared with those at the entrance to the Doloreuse Garde⁶. The counsel that the son of the Roi Pescheour gives to Bohors previous to his vigil recalls the long discourse concerning chivalric duties that in the *Lancelot* the Dame du Lac addresses to Lancelot before she takes him to court for knighting⁷.

¹ *Ibid.*, 143 ff., 196, 197. In the *Palumedes* (Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 350, fol. 47c) Merlin prophesies that "le chastel de la Dolorouse Garde sera torne en servage par .i. seul home et Cornouaille mise en cendre par .i. autre." See *Lôseth-Tristan*, p. 443.

² I, 301.

³ I, 178, § 2.

⁴ *Lancelot*, Sommer, V, 65 ff.

⁵ See I, 376, 391, 393, 395, 403; *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 38, 41, 43.

⁶ See I, 410, 411; *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 144, 151, 191.

⁷ See I, 410. The text of the passage (*Add.*, fol. 160c) should be compared with *Lancelot*, l.c., 112 ff.: — "Biaus varlez, fet il (i.e., the hermit), je sai apertement que vous estes estraiz du haut lignage que de par pere que de par mere dont vous devez estre preudome et a Dame Dieu et au siecle que ainsi firent vostre ansestre vous devez avoir pitie en vous et deboneirete et courtoisie et largesce ainsi eon a

Moreover the figure of Meliadus, the lover of the Dame du Lac in the *Prophecies*, is foreshadowed by her nameless *ami* in the *Lancelot*. Here when Guinevere begs the Dame to remain at court after she has healed Lancelot, who has suffered from imprisonment at the Roche aus Saisnes, she replies that she is recalled to her own land by her love for a knight who does not know where she is¹. In the *Prophecies*, in Episode 2 of Group I², we discover that this knight is Meliadus : — " Or dit li contez que quant la Dame du Lac se fu parti de la roine Genievre a celui point que ele prist garde de Lancelot quant il estoit forsenes pour la prison de la Roche as Sainez et que il fu garis de cele maladie, elle s'en ala droitement en Galez ou elle trouva Melyadus son ami... Et quant Melyadus vit cele que il amoit sour toutes rienz il saut en estant et l'embrace molt doucement et dit, Dame, bien vengnant. Et la Dame respont et dit que il soit li bien trouvez comme celui que ele ainme autretant comme soi meismez. " Meliadus, however, is a being of little more individuality than the *ami* of the *Lancelot*, and the only importance of his relations with the Dame du Lac is that as her favored lover she accords him the privilege of access to Merlin, who turns him to good account by using him as a messenger to take his prophetic utterances whither he would send them. His chief activity consists in serving as intermediary between Merlin and his scribe Maistre Antoine, or the Sage Clerc, carrying their questions to Merlin and fetching his replies back to them³. He is thus merely a part of the machinery of the romance, and has no interest except as he throws light upon the sources of the *Prophecies*⁴.

vostre gentillesce apartient. Premièrement devez vous amer Jhesu Crist et criembre les comandemenz de sainte yglyse; vous la devez deffendre encontre touz hommes; de par sainte yglyse devez vous recevoir l'ordre de chevalerie; vous devez garantir les deviz des veuves fames et des orfelins que nus ne leur face outrage ne destourbiers que ainsi le commande sainte yglyse. —Sire, fait Bohorz, ainsi con vous le m'avez dit le be je a fere. "

¹ *L. c.*, 417-419; see also *ibid.*, 118; V, 356. On the literary uses of the *ami* of the *Lancelot* and his entire lack of personality see Lot, *Lancelot*, pp. 92, note 4, 273, 448 (note to p. 273).

² See I, 372.

³ See I, 175, note 16 (the passage from 98), 183 ff., Chapters cxlv, clii, clxi, clxvii, clxxiv, cxcv, cclx, cclxxx, cclxxxiv, cclxxxvi, cccxxvii; in the episode in Chapter cccxv Meliadus acts in the same capacity for the benefit of the "chevalier au bras tranchie."

⁴ The story of the birth of Meliadus (I, 189), who is in ignorance of his parentage, has no connection with the *Lancelot* and is a development of the *amour* be-

The author's "full grete reverence" for the *Lancelot* is, however, erhaps even more noticeable in his habit of dating the adventures hat he is about to narrate from events recorded there. We have had one instance of this in the opening passage from Episode 2 quoted above. Other adventures are related that befall the Dame du Lac after she has found Lancelot and cured him of the ills that Morgain has brought upon him : — " Or dit li contes et la vraie estoire le tesmoigne que la Dame du Lac fu bien certainne que la desloial Morgain devoit tenir Lancelot du Lac en sa prison et fu bien certainne des euvres de Meleagant. Et quant ele vit son point ele passa la mer et trova Lancelot ainsi comme li contes de lui nous devise apertement. Et quant ele ot garni Lancelot de tout ce que mestier li estoit ele s'en ala en l'ermitaige du filz du Roy Pescheour¹." Again a long account of a combat in which Lancelot acquits himself gallantly is introduced by a similar reference to "son livre" : — " En ceste partie dit li contes que li bons Lancelot du Lac avoit tant este en la prison Morgain que il cuidoit bien mourir dedens. Il s'en issi hors par une fenestre ou il cuidoit trouver la Roïne Genievre. Et un pou apres fist il si grans merveilles d'armes deseur une isle de mer que bien fu contee sa proesce parmi le monde dont vous la poez lire en son livre mout bien trenlates du latin en francois et pour ce ne vous conterai riens, ains tendra

tween Meliadus, king of Loenois, and the Reine d'Ecosse, which is recounted in the *Palamedes* (see Löseth, *Tristan*, pp. 444-447 ; 350, fols. 89b ff. *A* adds to the version of Group I an account of the war between Arthur and Meliadus that follows in the *Palamedes*, 350, fol. 97a). In the *Palamedes* there is no mention of a child of this *amour* ; nothing is said of the birth of the younger Meliadus, his upbringing by the mother of the Dame du Lac, or his quest for Tristan, which is made the subject of strange and contradictory prophecies (I, 192, § 2, 217, 334) or his desire to take vengeance upon King Marc. All of this material, which so far as I am aware does not appear in other sources, may very well be the invention of the author of the *Prophecies* built on the foundation provided by the *Palamedes*.

The text of Pal. 949 (fols. 117a-118a) differs widely from that of the French versions, I, 189, and adds a detailed account of the reception of Meliadus as an infant by the Dame du Lac herself ; she names him after his father, but as the damsel who brings him to her enjoins secrecy as to his parentage, she always calls him " Lo belo damixelo " ; she rears him, knights him, and later accepts him as her lover.

Meliadus may possibly have been selected as the name for the lover of the Dame du Lac by a confusion or a suggestion arising from the story in the *Tristan* that King Meliadus had a fairy mistress. See my *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 22, 201, 202, where, however, being less familiar with the various versions of the *Prophecies* than I now am, I confounded the lover of the Dame du Lac with his father.

¹ *Add.*, fol. 160b ; see above, I, 410 ; *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 153-155.

mon droit conte¹." Another example is contained in the prefatory paragraph to the story of the Damoisele d'Avalon², which is narrated only in the *Prophecies*: "Après ce que Lancelot du Lac ot tranchiee la teste a Meleagant le filz au roy Baudemaguz de Gorre ... il se mist apres le chevalier qui si grant outrage li dist oiant le roi. Et un pou apres, quant il navra si durement Bohort son cousin et il en porta le troncon par mi le cors, vint une demoiselle a court mout estrangement, et ce fu a celui point que la nouvele estoit espandue que Lancelot n'estoit par mort, dont la reyne Genievre estoit retournee en sa biaute autresi coms'ele fust resuscitee de mort a vie." At the conclusion of the episode³, Arthur goes to Camelot, where he finds Guivenere "liee et joiante. A grant joie et a grant feste estoit li rois Artus a celui tens." Then follows a brief account of Arthur's desire to make war upon Claudas de la Deserte, from whom he rejects an offer to cede Gannes to him provided no heir of King Ban shall ever ascend the throne. For an explanation of the events so casually mentioned in the introductory sentences we turn to the *Lancelot*, where we find a full account of the combat in which Lancelot slays Meleagant and beheads his lifeless body, and of his ensuing defiance of the Red Knight, who insults him in the presence of the king; not long afterward Lancelot, on his way to keep tryst with the Red Knight, overcomes an unknown combatant, who later proves to be Bohors, himself receives a severe wound in the fight and rides away with the tronchon of his opponent's lance in his shoulder. A false report that he is dead causes universal grief at court, and the queen pines away from sorrow; at length news comes that he still lives⁴. "Si semont li uns l'autre d'estre lies et joians, mais sor tous et sour toutes est la royne joieuse et lie; si garist de sa maladie de jour en jour. Et revint en sa grant biaute. Et se elle ot onques este lie et joiant, ore est encore plus." To this point the *Prophecies* follows closely the order of events in the *Lancelot*, and even shows certain unimportant verbal similarities to it in the concluding sentences; but

¹ *Add.*, fol. 180a; see above, I, 419. This passage apparently refers to the experiences of Lancelot in the Ile Estrange after his escape from the imprisonment of Morgain, which he has effected by breaking the iron bars of his window in order to pluck a rose that reminds him of Guinevere, which he has seen blooming in the garden of Morgain's castle. *Lancelot*, Sommer, V, 222, 223, 227-231.

² I, 297, note 10.

³ Chapter CCLXV.

⁴ *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 224-226, 303; V, 59-70.

the passage concerning Claudas de la Deserte at the end of the episode of the Damoisele d'Avalon has no parallel in the *Lancelot*. Later than the above events in the romance, Lancelot comes back to court after a long absence, during which the queen has become convinced that he is dead ; on his return she revives from her grief ; she confides to him that Claudas has insulted her, and at her entreaty he calls upon the other knights of the Round Table to join with him in urging Arthur to make war upon Claudas in vengeance for the wrongs that he has done Lancelot and his kindred. Arthur declares himself ready for the war and gladly undertakes it¹. The previous close resemblances between the romance and the *Prophecies* lead at once to the inference that the passage relating to Claudas in the latter is due to the invention of the author, but was suggested to him by the later situation in the *Lancelot*.

When we turn to the purely episodic material of the *Prophecies* we find ourselves to a great extent among the same beings that people the pages of the *Lancelot*. The Dame du Lac, Claudas de la Deserte, Morgain, Bohors, Baudemagus, Meleagant, Galeholt, these are all personages that are of consequence in both works. The two narratives in which the Dame du Lac is prominent in the *Prophecies* are developments from situations already made familiar by the *Lancelot*; the first² is based upon the hostility of Morgain and Claudas de la Deserte against her, which is a conspicuous element throughout the *Lancelot*; the second³, on her protection of Bohors, of which the *Lancelot* recounts the beginning. The stories of Morgain's imprisonment of Lancelot referred to above, especially that in which Sebile and the Queen of Soresan are her accomplices⁴, are reflected in the episode of Berengier de Gomeret⁵. The themes in Lancelot's defence of the queen against the insults of Gohenberz, and the plots of Claudas against Lancelot⁶ are both illustrated, though not directly paralleled, by many episodes of the *Lancelot*⁷. In the invasion of Britain, which is undertaken by the Saxons in revenge for their defeat at the Roche aus Saisnes, and the prominent part played in it by Galeholt

¹ *L.c.*, 322-327.

² I, 372 ff.

³ I, 410.

⁴ *L.c.*, V, 91 ff.

⁵ I, 388 ff.

⁶ I, 419 ff.

⁷ E. g., Sommer, IV, 61 ff., 391 ff.; V, 256 ff.

and Lancelot¹, there is a distinct reminiscence of Arthur's earlier wars with the Saxons and the prowess exhibited in them by Galeholt and Lancelot, especially in the great victory at the Roche aus Saisnes in the *Lancelot*². In short, we see that much of the romantic matter for which we have no specific source is a working out of relations and conditions that appear in the *Lancelot*.

This is conspicuously true of Episodes 5 and 6, the *Tournament of Sorelois* and the *Saxon Invasion*, which are interrelated and in both of which Galeholt, one of the most important figures in the *Lancelot*³, is pre-eminent. With the exception of the story of Alisandre l'orphelin, they are our longest continuous narratives, and even they are divided into sections, interrupted by other episodes, consisting in general of single adventures treated in comparatively brief divisions. The story of the tourney opens in an entirely bewildering fashion. With only the customary formula announcing a fresh subject at the close of the preceding episode ("Mes atant lesse li contes a parler d'Alisandre et du roi Marc et vous conterai du tournoiement du haut conte Galehot et de ses amis⁴"), the text plunges us suddenly into a "next day" of the tourney for which we know no yesterday: — "Or dit li contez que a l'endemain se leva li haus princes." On this same "endemain" Palamedes arrives in Sorelois, "ou li tornoiement avoit este ciascun jor ferus, ainsi comme vous aves oi cha en arrieres." Quite as suddenly we are ushered into the unexplained presence of Queen Guinevere at Sorelois: — "Or dit li contez que a l'endemain se leva li haus princes Galeholt auques matin et ausi firent les barons et lez chevalierz qui grant talent avoient du tornoiement. Les grailles et les estrumens conmancent a sonner et lorz furent apotez les confanons el champ. Les chevalierz furent armez et les dames estoient montees aus fenestrez et au logez avoec la roine Genievre⁵." On a later day of the tourney Galeholt, Lancelot, and Dinadan obey a request from Guinevere that they come to her after they have dined⁶. "Et quant la roine les voit

¹ I, 378, 386, 391, 393, 398, 400, 403, 405.

² Sommer, III, 394, 405 ff., 425 ff.

³ See G. Paris, *Romania*, XII, 487, 495; Freymond, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVI, 109 ff.; Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 66.

⁴ 350, fol. 402d.

⁵ Fol. 402d.

⁶ I, 379.

venir elle crie merci a Galeholt que il la prengne a garde. — J'ai en pris a garder trestout le roiaume¹. Et la roine l'en merchia molt et puis dit a Lancelot, Biaux dous amis, je vous pri que vous ne joustes au lignage le roi Artus. Et sachiez certainement que je ne vouldroie en nule maniere du monde que nus courous montast entre vous et euls. Et Lancelot respont et dit, Dame, puisque vous le voles ja ne jouterai a nul d'euls." The queen turns to Dinadan and begins to exchange jests with him, in the course of which he refers to "cele abeesse la et toutes les nonnains de ceans²," from which we infer that these ladies are bearing the queen company. On still a later day she receives a letter from the Dame du Lac, "qui molt la confortoit de sa mescheance³." Later yet, when Galeholt is about to leave Sorelois for a campaign against the Saxons, he sends for Gaheriet, who daily since he has been in Sorelois has consoled Guinevere for her "mescheance." To him Galeholt entrusts the care of Sorelois during his absence, and bids him go to the queen and swear to her that the kingdom is hers and that he will be in all respects her faithful liegeman⁴.

In this scene a speech of Galeholt defines the time of the joust; "Vous savez apertement," he says to Gaheriet, "comment li rois Artus est courouchiez a la roine Guenievre sa femme, et savez le grant destorbier qui est avenue au roi Artu de par l'apostoille que de par sez barons qui deguerpiront sa cort." This remark gives us to understand that the tourney is held during the sway of the false Guinevere over the king described in the *Lancelot*⁵, which tells of the deterioration of Arthur and his court, and his abandonment of his former habits and companions, that began after he had fallen under her influence, and was followed by the interdict laid upon Great Britain by the Pope because of the king's refusal to put her away and take back the rightful queen as his wife.

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 99 (see below, pp. 254, 255), fol. 389a, reads here: — "Quant la roine les vit venir elle salue le haut prince et Lancelot et Dinadan et dist au haut prince par amours qu'il la preigne en sa garde, se nul homme vouloit aler de nulle riens encontre lui, car elle d'aucunes choses se doubtoit. Et le hault prince respondi a sa requeste que il se feroit il moult volentiers et elle l'en mercie molt humblement et puis dist a Lancelot —."

² 350, fol. 411 d, refers again to the nuns who love the queen and do her honor.

³ I, 382.

⁴ I, 385.

⁵ Sommer, IV, 44 ff., 72 ff. The story is briefly told, *Merlin*, Sommer, II, 301, 308 ff. See also Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 359 ff. For a summary of the *Lancelot* version see Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, 321, 324 ff.

In the *Prophecies* before Galeholt's words quoted above, Arthur without explanation is represented at the time of the tourney as indifferent to adventure and all the high purposes of knighthood, the companions of the Round Table are scattered, and the affairs of the realm are left to the care of Daguenet le fou and Saigremore le desree, the only knights remaining at court. This situation serves as the means for connecting two minor episodes with the tourney. In one of these a damsel and in the other the knight Saphar in vain seek from Arthur redress for grievances, and it is owing to their failure to find a champion at court that both eventually arrive at the tourney¹. The king's condition is also the pivot upon which the *Saxon Invasion* turns. A messenger from Vincestre carries to Arthur the news that the Saxons are coming to attack Britain; he receives the tidings in apathy, and Daguenet sends the messenger to Galeholt; he arrives in the midst of the tourney; Galeholt instantly takes charge of the campaign and conducts it to a successful finish; at the news of the victory Arthur rouses himself and begins to forget the false Guinevere, who, " as the story tells, " confesses the truth, and is visited by heaven with a punishment for her sins; whereupon Arthur sends to Sorelois for the true Guinevere and reinstates her². Thus these two episodes, the *Tournament* and the *Saxon Invasion*, which practically form one, are both so closely bound up with the story of the false Guinevere that they cannot be understood apart from it.

The details in regard to the presence of Guinevere at the tournament of Sorelois, incidentally given in the *Prophecies*, are also incomprehensible unless we remember that in the *Lancelot*³, the queen, after the false Guinevere has been established in her place, accepts from Galeholt, with the approval of Arthur, an offer of domicile in the kingdom of Sorelois and goes thither with Galeholt. The story in the *Prophecies*, therefore, leaves us to infer that the tourney is held probably in honor of the queen, and cer-

¹ I, 377, 380.

² I, 378, 389, 391, 393, 397, 399, 403, 406. In the *Lancelot* (l. c., 73 ff.) Arthur is restored to reason by the influence of Gawain and a hermit, as well as by his recognition that the paralysis with which the false Guinevere is stricken is a visitation from Heaven for her sins. By her own confession he is convinced that she is an imposter. With the rage of the false Guinevere at the honor in which the true Guinevere is held in Sorelois (I, 397), cf. her conduct in the *Lancelot*, l. c., 68, when she hears of the possibility that the queen may remain in Logres.

³ L. c., 67-69.

tainly after her "mescheance" has ended in her going to Sorelois. Earlier in the *Prophecies*¹ the return of the Sage Clerc to Camelot from his excursion on the Pierre Reonde is dated by the story of the false Guinevere. The Clerc finds Galeholt and Lancelot with many other knights gathered at court, after Lancelot has delivered the queen from the sentence passed upon her by Arthur in the belief that the false Guinevere was his lawful wife, "ainssint comme li contes de la fauce Gegnievre le tesmoingne, dont je ne vous conterai neus por ce [que] il est translate du latin en francois." But the link to connect this situation with that in the story of the assembly is lacking, and although it would not be surprising if the writer took it for granted that his readers knew of Guinevere's sojourn in Sorelois, he could not, since there is no mention of the tourney in the *Lancelot*, assume a similar acquaintance with the fact that it was held and with the events of its first day or days. We must conclude, therefore, especially from the obscure "a l'endemain" in the opening phrase and the reference to the days of the tourney preceding the arrival of Palamedes, that Y, from which all the manuscripts of Group I, 2, are derived, omitted material originally belonging to its story that not only explained the circumstances under which the assembly was cried but also gave an account of the day or days before that on which the narrative of Y began. In short, even granting that many allusions to details more familiar to mediaeval than to modern readers may be permitted to a thirteenth-century writer, it is certain that the story of the tournament as it is given in our manuscripts of the *Prophecies* is not in its original state. That the complete story was contained in X, the source of Y, it is only reasonable to assume, and all the more so because, as we shall soon see, these two episodes, the *Tournament* and the *Saxon Invasion*, form an essential part of the work.

This complete form, containing the details that the derivatives of Y omit, is preserved for us in a very much later manuscript. For unlike the majority of the episodes in the *Prophecies*, which are unique, the *Tournament of Sorelois* is found in five other sources, namely, Malory² and four fifteenth-century French manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one of the *Tristan* (fr. 99)³, one

¹ I, 235, 236.

² X, xl-xlix.

³ Anc. 6773. Dated 1453. See P. Paris, *MSS. français*, I, 132.

of the *Lancelot* (fr. 112)¹, and two of that part of the *Palamedes* known as the *Guiron le courtois* (fr. 362, 363)². Löseth³ has shown that the author of 99 is intercalating the text of 350 with some abridgements into his narrative, and that Malory is using a version which was substantially that of 99. In studying the *Prophecies*, accordingly, 112, 362, and 363 are the only sources that have a practical interest for us. Of these texts 112 alone gives a complete account of the tourney. This huge manuscript, which consists of three large folio volumes bound in one⁴, contains the *Lancelot du Lac*, the *Aventures del Sangraal*, and the *Mort Artus*, with the last two of which a good deal of material from the *Tristan* is intermingled. At the point in the *Lancelot* where Galeholt with Arthur's consent has taken Guinevere to Sorelois, the narrative instead of proceeding as in the so-called vulgate version of the *Lancelot* with an account of Gawain's remonstrances to Arthur on his weakness in succumbing to the false Guinevere, turns⁵ to Palamedes, and relates how he met Lancelot in the forest one day, did battle with him, and was defeated. Lancelot sends him *en prison* to Galeholt in Sorelois, where, after an adventure with a maiden whom he champions against an oppressor, he is welcomed with due honor by Galeholt and Guinevere. He does not linger in Sorelois, however, but restless because he wishes to do deeds of prowess surpassing those of Tristan in order to win glory in the eyes of Yseut whom he loves, he sets out on adventure. "Et la royne et Galehault demeurent en Sorelois. Sy firent crier en cellui temps les tornoiz de Sorelois qui furent bien les plus grans qui eussent jamais este en la grant Bretaigne. Sy y furent bien tous les meilleurs chevaliers du monde. Et tout ce fist faire le hault prince Galeault pour honorer la Royne Genievre et por l'amour de son compaignon⁶." But, the author continues, before describing the assembly he will relate how the Bon Chevalier sans Paour (i. e., Brunor le noir) came out of the Val de Servage of Nabon le noir and how he died. Adventures of Brunor le noir, some of which are to be found also in the *Palamedes*⁷, occupy the next five folios,

¹ Anc. 6783. Dated 1470. See Paris, *l.c.*, 146 ff.

² Anc. 6982, 6983. See Paris, *l.c.*, III, 63 ff.

³ *Tristan*, pp. 195-201, 483, 490, and § 639a. See also Sommer, *Modern Philology*, V, 314, 315.

⁴ All the references to this manuscript in the following discussion are to Vol. I.

⁵ Fol. 174a.

⁶ Fol. 178d.

⁷ See Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 462. Since Löseth does not include 112 in his summaries, I

after which we return to the tourney¹ : — “ Or dit le comptes que apres ce que la Royne Genievre fut arrivee en Soreloiz, ou Galehault l’ot amenee, si demora moult doulante longtemps et moult estoit esbaye pour ce que ainsi faulcement l’avoit le roy Artus l’aissee comme ouy avez. Et quant le hault prince Galehault et Lancelot virent que nulle joye elle ne se donnoit si firent crier .i. tornoieement pour le space de dix jours... Ainsi fut crie le tornoyement que je vous dy a l’endemain de la Saint Michiel. ” Knights gather from all parts. Galeholt appoints the Roy de Norgales as the leader of one side and the Roy des Cent Chevaliers as that of the other. The Roy de Norgales is supported by Blioberis de Gaunes, Palamedes (evidently an error for Lamorat), Dinadan, and Hector. The Roy des Cent Chevaliers has with him only Galeholt and Lancelot, “ et assez lui suffit car avec eulx a il tout le monde.

“ Que vous diroye je ? quant vint la veille du tornoieement chascun des nouveaulx chevaliers qui vouloir avoient de proesse mostrer rompirent lances a foison. Si passerent la jornee moult joyeusement.

“ L’endemain se leva le hault prince de bon matin. Si ordonnarent lez .ii. roys leurs tournois et les nuirent enemy la praerie. Si chevauchent avant les chevaliers qui talent avoit de tournoier. Les gresles et les instrumens commencent a sonner. Et lors furent aporrees les gonffanons dedens le champ. Les chevaliers estoient armes et les dames montees es loges avecques la Royne Genievre. Et lors commence le tornoieement de toutes pars. ”

give here for the convenience of students of the *Palamedes* the rubrics of the chapters that relate the adventures of Brunor le noir : — (Fol. 179 a) Comment Nabon le noir delivra le bon chevalier sans paour pour ce qu’il veoit qu’il avoit lesens perdu et vint ches ung vavassour qui le fit guerir. — (Fol. 179 c) Comment le bon chevalier sans paour abatit quatre de compaignons de la table ronde et apres leur dist son nom. — (Fol. 181 b) Comment apres que le bon chevalier sans paour eut abatu Mador de la porte et ses compaignons chevaucha trois mois entiers parmy le Royaulme de Logres serchant adventures. — (Fol. 181 d) Comment le bon chevalier sans paour vanquit l’assemblee qui estoit devant le chastel de Brut. — (Fol. 182 b) Comment le bon chevalier sans paour arriva au Royaulme d’Estrangorre dont il estoit Roy et fut receu de ceulx du pays a grant reverence. — (Fol. 182 d) Comment le bon chevalier sans paour fut tue en chassant par deux chevaliers de son pays. — (Fol. 183 b) Comment Brunor le noir qui depuis fut appelle le chevalier a la cotte mal taillee trouva mort le bon chevalier sans paour, son pere, et du grant duel qu’il fit. — (Fol. 183 c) Comment le bons chevaliers sans paaour fit ensevely et Brunor le noir son filz fit escrire tres sur la lame.

¹ Fol. 183 d. The following rubric heads the story of the tournament : — Comment le hault prince Galehault et messire Lancelot du Lac entreprendrent le tornoyement, qui fut fait en Sorelois pour conforter la royne Genievre, qui estoit avecques eulx, qui estoit moult merrie de ce que le Roy Artus son mary l’avoit l’aissee.

After this beginning the narrative continues in agreement with Episode 5 a (*The Prowess of Lancelot*), but at the end instead of passing directly to Episode 5b (*Palamedes and the Damsel*)¹ it announces the second day of the assembly ("Or dit le compte que la seconde jornee du tornoiemment ordonna le hault prince ses chevalierz ainsi que de coustume estoit —")² and proceeds to give a full account of its joust. The culminating point is the defeat of Lamorat by Lancelot, which is the last event of importance in the day³. The story then turns to the account of Palamedes and the damsel of Episode 5b, which it introduces by the statement that they met on the second day of the tourney⁴, and follows by Episode 5c, beginning with the words, "Or dit ly comptes que au tiers jour du tornoiemment⁵," etc. The narrative continues in accord with Group I, 2 with Episodes 5d, e, f, g, h, i, and k, but the intervening episodes relating to the war with the Saxons and to Perceval, as well as Episode 5j (*The Loyalty of Gaheriet to Guinevere*), which is connected with the former, have no place in 112. The tournament

¹ I, 376, 377.

² Fol. 185 a.

³ At the beginning of the day the Roy de Norgales and the Roy des Cent Chevaliers arrange their *batailles*. Meleagant is in the first of these on the side of the Roy de Norgales. He is desirous of meeting Lancelot, but is unable to find him, for he is arranging the convoys and has not yet come into the range. Meleagant speedily meets an opponent in Fergus, the nephew of the Roy des Cent Chevaliers. They come together and each brings the other to the ground. The Roy de Norgales sends to the lists Lamorat, Blioberis, Dinadan, and Hector, who acquit themselves well. Galeholt and Lancelot, seeing their successes, decide to wait no longer and dash into the range. Lancelot overcomes Blioberis, Hector, and Dinadan in turn. Galeholt and Lamorat joust together, and Galeholt is unhorsed. Lancelot comes spurring up to his aid when he sees him on the ground, remounts him, and attacks Lamorat, gets the better of him, puts him on his horse in front of him, and rides at a great pace out of the press to the ladies, to whom he presents the chagrined and indignant Lamorat as their prisoner. Lancelot then speeds back to the field, and in the general mêlée that follows surpasses all others in prowess. Galeholt sounds the hour for dinner, and while the knights sit at meat he and Dinadan jest together to the entertainment of all the company. The queen bids Lamorat dine with her in her chamber. After dinner the knights come to her to do her honor. Lancelot tries to make amends to Lamorat for his treatment of him, but Lamorat is overcome with shame, and is prevented only by the queen's persuasions from vowing that he will carry no arms for a year because he has been so completely vanquished. She succeeds in comforting him, and he forgives Lancelot.

⁴ Fol. 186a : — "Or dit ly comptes que le second jour du tornoiemment que Palamedes s'estoit a cellui point mis apres la beste glatissant, mais une damoiselle —."

⁵ Fol. 186c.

is immediately followed by the history of Alisandre l'orphelin¹, beginning with Episode 4a of Group I, 2, which in the latter precedes the tourney, and continuing consecutively with Episodes 4b, c, d, e, and f, to which² is added a continuation and termination not found in Group I, 2, but contained in 99³.

The introduction to the tourney in 112, accordingly, supplies the story of the circumstances under which the tournament was cried⁴, and by its description of "la veille" accounts for the "l'endemain" of the sentence with which like the *Prophecies* it introduces the first day. It gives too the description of the second day that is missing in the *Prophecies*, and definitely designates as the third the day which is only the second there, but which, as we read, we suspect should be the third⁵. Thus 112, although so much later a source than the members of our Group I, 2, explains the obscurities of their version. The occasion for the tourney, the context for the opening words, the second day's jousting, all of these details, which are conspicuous by their absence in the *Prophecies*, are revealed to us by 112. Giving the essential features that are lacking in Group I, 2, it certainly preserves the story that stood in their original, and, it is safe to affirm, used the version of X, which Y had awkwardly syncopated.

There is, however, an inconsistency in 112 that shows it in one respect to be departing from X. Palamedes at the end of the first day of the joust sends his varlet to Galeholt to ask permission to enter the tourney on the following day, namely the second. 350 continues, "Or dit li contes que a celui tans s'estoit mis Palamedes apres la beste glatissant," and proceeds to narrate the story of *Palamedes and the Damsel* (Episode 5b). 112, having previously described the second day of the tourney, introduces the episode by the same sentence, but for "a celui tans" reads "le second jour du tournoient"; in other words, it puts the arrival of Palamedes and the damsel at Sorelois on the day after the varlet has announced to Galeholt that they are there. Plainly the second day of the tourney is out of place in 112. The

¹ Fols. 197d-206d.

² Fol. 201a.

³ See Löseth, *op. cit.*, § 360, note 2, for a summary of 99.

⁴ The reason given by Malory (X, xl) for Guinevere's presence at the tourney, namely, her own desire to attend it, since Arthur could not be there, would appear to be his device for explaining what remains unexplained in 99.

⁵ Löseth (*op. cit.*, p. 484) without the aid of 112 recognized that this day was probably the third of the tournament.

consistent arrangement demands that the second day's jousting should directly follow that of the first, and that at its end the varlet should come to ask permission for Palamedes to enter the assembly on the third day, on which, definitely in 112, by implication in the *Prophecies*, the contest between Palamedes and Galeholt takes place. The inconsistency in all of the manuscripts is due to a departure from this arrangement. It is not strange that a scribe, the copyist of Y, for instance, should have dropped one day out of the proceedings. When the account of each day begins with a similar formula, — "Or dit li contes que a l'endemain se leva li hauts princes Galeholz," or the like, a copyist might easily lose his place in his text; or still more probably, he might see a good opportunity to curtail the long story by omitting a day that, like the second, was merely preliminary to one of greater interest, though he retained its final scene, which was immediately introductory to the narrative of the third day, by tacking it on to the events of the day preceding it in his source.

But the situation in 112 need not be accounted for in this way. The author, who was in any case engaged in making a compilation, knowing the version of X, also used 99, a manuscript written seventeen years earlier than his own. This he betrays by adopting the conclusion of the story of Alisandre l'orphelin, which appears elsewhere only in 99, and which bears the hall-marks of a late concoction in its long series of repeated victories by Alisandre in single combat and its stereotyped romantic termination with the death of the two lovers, Alisandre and La Belle Pelerine, on the same day. There is no reason to suppose that it was not composed for 99 and adopted from it by the author of 112, who under the influence of 99, with which 112 shows verbal similarities, followed its version of the tourney, omitting, like it, the *Saxon Invasion*, but seeking to correct it by features from the original with which he was also familiar. That this original, X, had not been lost by his time we know from the preservation of at all events a part of its material in both 1498 and some of our fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Prophecies*¹. It is true that fifteenth-century sources for thirteenth-century works should always be treated with reserve, because, although it is possible that they may transmit early material, they have also been so liable to redaction and contamination that they seldom show the current

¹ See below, pp. 306-314.

of tradition flowing pure from the fountain head. Where, however, they clearly supply essential features lacking in an earlier source, or preserve a story in a form indubitably more logical and satisfying more completely the demands of narration than that contained in it, their testimony should be accepted in good faith, even though we may not expect to find it wholly free from the influence of intervening compositions.

With the original form of the story before us, the question arises whether its invention is to be attributed to the author of *X* or whether he found it already in existence in another romance. The first step toward discovering an answer is to turn to the other manuscripts in which the episode appears, namely, 362 and 363. Their variations from 350 have been given so fully by Löseth¹ that it is only necessary here to call attention to those that bear upon the point immediately under discussion.

In 362² Palamedes and his brother, Saphar, riding one day through the forest meet a maiden in search of her brother, who has gone forth in quest of adventure. "Et on m'a donnee a entendre que es marches de Sorrellois y doit avoir ung tournoy qui de nouvel a este prins a d'hui en .viii. jours." Hoping to find her brother among the many knights who will be attracted thither, she is bound for the assembly. But there are difficulties in her path, as she tells the knights, for it leads her across a bridge that is guarded by six champions who will bar her passage. The brothers offer to defend her against them and then to escort her to the tourney. They go to the bridge and overcome the six knights. As they ride on their way together after the combat, Palamedes catches a fleeting glimpse of the *beste glatissant* — to whose quest the story has previously told us he is devoted³, and forthwith makes a sudden and fruitless excursion after it. When he rejoins Saphar and the maiden, she announces that she need no longer seek her brother, and then goes on to tell the same story of her oppression by a neighbor, Gohors, and her search for a defender that is recounted in the *Prophecies*⁴, ending by hailing Palamedes as the Chevalier a la Beste Glatissant whom Saigremor had counselled her to seek, and begging him to become her champion. The brothers go with her to Gohors, Palamedes defeats and kills him, and then asks the dam-

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 483ff.

² Fols. 221b ff.

³ Fol. 220d.

⁴ I, 377.

sel to accompany him and Saphar to the tourney. They lodge with a widow in Sorelois, and Palamedes there learns to his satisfaction that Galeholt will take part in the tourney on the next morning. Galeholt, who has already heard much talk about Palamedes and the damsel on the preceding day, has demanded the first joust with the stranger knight.

It has been pointed out by Löseth¹ that in the meeting of the damsel with Palamedes and her announcement of the tourney, this version is better than the others, in which the story of the maiden, who has been waiting for Palamedes in the forest until he should cross her path in quest of the *beste glatissant*, is related as an event that has already transpired, after he has arrived at Sorelois with her and has asked permission to enter the lists. It should also be observed that in 362 a week's time is allowed for the adventures of Palamedes and Saphar before they come to the assembly, whereas 112 distinctly says, and the *Prophecies* by its "a cellui tans" implies, that these events all occur on the second day of the tourney, thus crowding into less than twenty-four hours a series of exploits rapid even for the tireless activity of a knight.

On the following day² Palamedes and Galeholt meet, according to agreement, and their combat ends, as in the *Prophecies*, with Galeholt forcing Palamedes to the ground by unintentionally smiting off the head of his horse. Palamedes threatens to do as much to the horse of Galeholt. "Damp chevalier," replies Galeholt, "vous valles bien d'avoir une des plus belles damoiselles du monde," and thereupon gives a fine charger to Palamedes, who mounts and dashes into the press, dealing blows right and left, and drawing general attention to himself. Saphar has done no less valiantly, but the heralds leave him and surround Palamedes, crying, "Vecy la fleur de la chevalerie." Thus the brothers win the honor of the day. "Ainsi ilz gaingnerent le pris et l'onneur du tournoy et furent festoiez et loez durement des chevaliers, des dames, et des damoiselles. Et n'y avoit celle qui se peust abstenir de bien dire de Palamedes et de Saphar." On the next day the brothers escort the damsel back to her own castle and stay with her until she marries a knight of the land. The tourney, in short, is nothing more than a successful adventure in the career of Palamedes, introduced with as little

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 466, 485.

² Fol. 224b.

acclaim as countless other assemblies in romance that have been invented solely to afford a definite hero the opportunity to display his prowess. The account of it is limited to the single day of the combat between Palamedes and Galeholt. Neither Guinevere nor the Saxon invasion is mentioned. It is simply a tourney, to which chance leads Palamedes and where he wins renown.

After the brothers have seen the damsel married they ride away in search of adventure, and at length¹ take the path to the Doleureuse Tour. They presently meet four knights fleeing at full speed from the Tour in deadly fear of Karados, its lord, who is the terror of the countryside. He has taken their lands and castles from them and their neighbors, and by putting them to flight and killing their companions has checked them in an attempted return to their possessions. Saphar and Palamedes undertake to reinstate the four brothers in their castle, and proceed to the Doleureuse Tour with them in search of Karados. According to the *Prophecies* Palamedes is joined at the tourney of Sorelois by Saphar, who arrives escorting four knights, who, as we are told in a few words, have been driven from their lands by Karados; Saphar has espoused their cause, and has come to Sorelois to persuade Palamedes to help him. The brothers decide that after the tourney they will attack Karados on behalf of the four knights. They hold a long conversation about the health of their parents, the desire of their mother that Palamedes, renowned as a pagan, shall be baptized, and also the melancholy condition of Arthur's court, which the four brothers have already fruitlessly visited in search of a champion. After leaving the tourney they escort the maiden to her castle, remain with her till her marriage, and then proceed to the Doleureuse Tour, accompanied by Saphar's four knights, about whom we have heard nothing since their arrival at Sorelois². The next variation that concerns us occurs after Palamedes and Saphar have reinstated the four brothers in their castle, from which they make sorties against defiant bands of the followers of Karados from time to time. After one of these successful sallies 362³ says that the knights of the castle proceed to take by assault "une tour qui estoit a Karados assise sur la chauceee et y mirent ung chevalier moult preudhomme qui mie n'amoit

¹ Fol. 225d.

² See, I, 380, 394.

³ Fol. 228b.

Karados." 350 describes the *sortie* and battle in an utterly different text from that of 362, and ends in a rather confused sentence with a reference to "la cauchie," which has not been previously mentioned:—"Quant ceus dehors virent le grant damages que entre Palamedes et Saphar son frere aloient fesant, il se mistrent en fine au ferir des esperons et il les tranchent et encauchent et pristrent la cauchie et les vont dettranchant a destre et a senestre. Cil s'en fuient qui bien estoient montes et les autrez i remestrent et lez homes a pie. Quant li oncles des .iiii. freres vit que il orent pris la meslee de seur la cauchie il mande lez viandez et lez fet metre dedens et puis dit, Or viegne Karados que asses i trovera qui la voie li destornera¹." In all of these cases 362 certainly presents the more coherent story.

We may be sure that 362 had neither 99 nor 112 for its direct source, for they do not contain the account of the war of Palamedes and Saphar against Karados. We may draw, then, one of two inferences: either 362 was directly based upon the *Prophecies*, or both it and the *Prophecies* are redactions of a version probably forming part of the *Palamedes* and anterior to the *Prophecies*. If the former deduction be correct, the author of 362 was retelling and curtailing the story of his source, omitting all material that did not relate to his hero, Palamedes, as well as some that did, notably his victory over Corsabrin, and he was also improving it as a narrative in its details. But it should be said that although the mere transference of the meeting of Palamedes and the damsel, recounted in the *Prophecies* after the event, to the time of its actual occurrence is the sort of change that a redactor might naturally make, the more elaborate improvements that he would have had to accomplish in the story of Karados and the four brothers are less easy to accept as the work of a second hand. It is very improbable, too, that a narrator would have invented out of whole cloth the latter story in the form in which it is found in the *Prophecies*. If, however, the *Prophecies* and 362 are regarded as redactions of a common source, which 362 follows closely, their differences and similarities are more readily accounted for than on the former assumption. A redactor in transferring the direct narratives of the damsel and of the four brothers, the victims of Karados, from their original place might easily fall into the confusions and awkwardnesses that appear in the *Prophecies*. The part of Saphar, for exam-

¹ Fol. 421d.

ple, in the latter is wholly explicable on this theory, and much less so on the former. In 362 his individual exploits at Sorelois are not retailed, but he is a necessary personage for the later adventure with Karados and Alisandre (Episode 4c). The *Prophecies* introduces him into the narrative after the tilt between Palamedes and Galeholt is finished, but in time to bear Palamedes company in the adventure that is to follow the tourney. After he arrives Palamedes takes him to the lists and tells Galeholt that Saphar will aid him in defending the maiden. The episode¹ is brought into connection with the history of the false Guinevere by the fruitless quest of Saphar's four *protégés* to Arthur's court during its deterioration, where finding no champion, they have recourse to Saphar, who accordingly seeks Palamedes at the assembly; this brings Saphar to the point where in the text that we are assuming was the source he was performing exploits. The author serenely disregards the clumsiness of making him conduct the four knights about the country in his wake, even to the damsel's castle, before they come into importance at the place where they first appeared in the source, namely in the path leading to the Doleureuse Tour.

It should not be overlooked also that, although 362 is in general the better narrative, there are indications that it is not creating wholly original material. Nothing is said about the false Guinevere, yet the description of the maiden's reception at Arthur's court, when she was in quest of a defender, depicts conditions that are practically the same as those described in the *Prophecies* and inappropriate except during the deterioration of the court at the time of the false Guinevere's power. " Celle damoiselle s'en ala a la court du Roy Artus ou elle ne trouva oncques nul qui vaulsist combattre pour sa querelle. Car le chevalier a qui elle avoit a faire estoit renomme estre ung tres puissant chevalier. Mais elle trouva Segremor le derree, qui estoit tout malade d'une blechure, qui lui dist, Damoiselle, je voy que par la deffaulte de ceste court vous aurez dommaige et serez en dangier de perdre vostre terre². " Furthermore in the statement that Galeholt had heard of Palamedes on the day preceding his entrance to the tourney, which recalls the mission of the varlet to Galeholt in all the other versions, there is an implication that the author is curtailing his source³. The uncle of the four disinherited brothers also appears to play his original rôle

¹ Fol. 223b.

² This was noticed by Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

less clearly in 362 than in the *Prophecies*. In the former while Palamedes and Saphar are accompanying the four brothers to the castle that Karados has taken from them, they come to the dwelling of the uncle of the four knights, who joins them in their attempt to take the castle by assault¹. In all other respects he is a nonentity, and there is no reason for his appearance on the scene. When they arrive at the castle they find the garrison sleeping; they effect an entrance by means of ladders, kill the garrison, and make themselves masters of the castle. In the *Prophecies*² the uncle is a prisoner in the castle. He sees from one of the towers his nephews approaching with Palamedes and Saphar; he descends, mortally stabs the guard, who is asleep, and then admits the relief party into the castle, where he gives them useful information about various plans of Karados for its fortification and further figures in the defense of the castle, as we have seen in the passage about the "chaucie" quoted above. All of this looks as if he had been originally introduced into the episode in an effective part, which the *Prophecies* has preserved, while the author of 362, believing that he could make a better story of the entrance into the castle without the agency of the uncle, but not being ready to discard him altogether, has kept him merely as a supernumerary in the expedition.

The relation between the texts of the *Prophecies* and of 362 is not opposed to the inference that they are redactions of a common source. Where the two narratives agree in substance they employ in many passages verbally the same text, but the *Prophecies* interlards it with far more elaborate detail than 362³. In cases of this

¹ Fol. 226c: — "Avecques les quatre chevaliers se remettent a voye Saphar et Palamedes et trouverent leur oncle en leur chemin en ung chastel qu'il avoit moult fort Si lui conterent leur affaire. Et quant ilz lui ont tout conta ilz se accordent qu'ilz yront ou parfont de la nuit prendre d'assault le chastel."

² See I, 394.

³ If E should become available for publication, it would be worth while to collate the various versions of the *Tournament of Sorelois* and *Alisandre l'ophelin*. Complete collation might throw more light upon their original forms.

The following account of the joust between Palamedes and Galeholt from 350 and 362 illustrates their relation to each other: —

350, fols. 403b ff.: — Et Palamedes avoit changies ses armes et les avoit toutes fresches noeves et i avoit fet pourtraire nouvellement la beste glatisant et autresint avoit il en sonhiaume et en ses couvretures et en son penoncel autresi. Celui jor que la damoisele

362, fols. 224a ff. Pallamedes avoit ses armes changies et avoit fait pourtraire la beste glatissante en son escu.

Ce jour qu'il estoit logie a l'ostel de la

kind we have no more right to affirm that the detailed text is an elaboration of the simpler than that the direct account is a condensation of the more diffuse, unless the contents of the two narratives confirm the relation. But where we find the briefer text, like 362, giving a version that in its material appears to be

estoit avecques lui et que son vallet li avoit aporte les nouveles du haut prince Galehoit que il devoit estre au tornoie- ment selonc sa requeste que ja de Lan- celot ai auroit destorbier sanz ce que son vallet li avoit dit et conte que il le cuita devant le haut prince et devant mainte autres barons, ne il n'avoit doute forz de lui seulement. A grant joie et a grant feste fina celui jor. Il estoit en cel ostel tous seuz et la damoisele avoec lui et la dame de l'ostel qui molt estoit sage et cortoise et avoit .i. filz bel et cointe qui molt s'entremettoit de servir Palamedes. Celui jor que Palamedes entra en son ostel s'en ala il prendre les viandez pour lui et li rois des .c. chevalierz l'endonna a grant plente. La nuit fu venue obscure et Palamedez s'ala couchier auquez par tans que molt li tardera que il n'est ja enmi la tornoie- ment, que il cuide tant faire que bien en orra Tristan parler en Benoys et la roine ausint. Mes atant laisse li contez a parler de ceste aventure de Palamedes li paiens et vous conterai du tornoie- ment que fu fais a l'endemain.

A l'endemain, ce dit li contez, se leva li haus princes auques por tans et arma son cors de toutes armes et dit a Lan- celot que il lesseira premierement le chevalier a la damoisele savoir se il a en lui si grant proesce comme il en fet le sanblant du monstrier, et lors commande les graillez a sonner et les estrumenz et li chevalier se lievent et arment leur cors, et quant li jors fu venus biaux et clerz li gonfanon furent conduit el camp. Les chevalierz les sivent ensi com il estoie[nt] acoustume et lez dames et les damoiseles conduirent la roine aus loges, et monterent avoec lui. De l'autre part Palamedes conduit la damoisele

dame nouvelles lui vindrent que Galle- hault devoit estre au tornoie- ment dont il eut grant joie et fut a celui jour servi bien et hoanourablement, car la dame avoit un homme qui s'entremet- toit fort de faire service a Palamedes et a la damoiselle.

Après souper ilz s'en allerent reposer jusques a l'endemain qui devoit estre le jour du tournoy.

Et quant le jour fut venu et que le soleil commenca a luire, les trompettes et les clarons firent leur mestier. Et tout incontinent les dames et les damoiseles monterent es eschauffaulz. Et les che- valiers se adoubèrent au mieulz qu'ilz peurent. Que vous en diroie je ? Galle- hault, qui de Palamedes et de la damoi- selle avoit oy parler moult fort au jor devant, dist a ses chevaliers qu'il vouloit premiers joster contre le chevalier a la damoiselle. Et entre ces devises les ungs et les aultres viennent en la place ou le tournoie- ment se devoit faire. Et Dieu seet com beau faisoit veoir les dames d'une part et les chevaliers d'au-

the earlier, we have ground for believing that the longer is an expanded redaction of the simpler version or of its source. In this immediate instance the evidence points to the source of the *Prophecies* as that also of 362.

qui montee estoit deseur .i. palefroï tout couvert d'un vermel samit trainant par terre. Quant la damoisele fu enmi le champ lorz commencha a crier .i. des heraus qui le tornoïement avoit acoustume a crier, Vees le chevalier a la damoisele. Qui porra ceste damoisele conquerre deseur lui il la porra prendre comme la soie. Et lorz corut cele part li chevalier. Mes le haut prince Galehoit qui montez estoit desour .i. cheval fort et isnel et estoit armes de toutes armes enprist le fes sour lui. Que vous diroie ge? Quant li chevalier virent ce il se traient tuit en sus, et Palamedes qui bien connut que ce estoit gregnor des autrez et arme si ricement comme a lui apartenoit li avoit .i. glaive en sa main, et lors lesse courre encontre la venue du haut prince qui ja li venoit a l'encontre. Mes tiex fu l'aventure au joindre des glaives que l'en ne l'autre ne gaigna rien, que ausint brisa Palamedes son glaive desor le haut prince comme il fist desous lui. Et quant il orent parfourni lor poindre, il prirent cascun .i. autre glaive et s'entrelaissent corre les glaives abesiez si durement que jusques as puins brisent lorz glaives, et puis s'entrehurent des cors et des visages si durement que li plus preus d'eulz en ot asses a soustenir. Mes Palamedes fu a chou menes que apainne se tint a ceval ains estoit tous envers sour son ceval, et neporquant il ne pert sez estriers qu'il s'affiche si durement que il remest es estriers et u ceval, et li haus princes avoit ja parforni son poindre, et puis retorna deseur Palamedes que bien le cuide oultrier d'armes, mes il le troeve aussi viste comme .i. lyon famelleus et oste du fuerre s'espee et li revient en mi le vis.

tre. Et com plaisant faisoit oyr les trompettes et clarons.

Tant ala la chose qu'il n'y ot mais que du ferir, et alors se mirent les chevaliers en point et couchent les lances. Et des les premieres rencontres ains comme Palamedes s'advanca pour avoir la joute Gallehault lui vint au devant. Si laissent courre l'ung contre l'autre par si grant force que au ferir des glaives il n'y a cellui qui vaillamment ne rompe la sienne ne aultre mal ne s'entrefont.

Quant les deux chevaliers eurent parfourni leur poi[n]dre, ilz prindrent cascun ung aultre glaive et laissent courre les glaives couchies dont ilz s'entrefierent par telle force qu'ilz les rompent au plus pres des poingz et puis s'entrehurent des corps et des visages si durement que le plus preu d'eulz en ont assez a soustenir. Mais Pallamedes fu a ce menu que a paynes se tint a cheval et fut enverse tout envers sur la cruppe de son cheval, et non pourquant il ne perdi pas ses estriers ains se affiche en eulz par grant couraige, et se redreche, et Galehault parfurnist son poindre et retorna encores sur Palamedes, car bien le cuidoit oultrier d'armes. Et lui dist que ce que il faisoit estoit pour l'amour de la damoiselle qu'il a amene au tournoy et qu'il a bien intention de le conquerer. Et incontinent qu'il lui eut dit ces parolles ilz

If we leave Palamedes and the tournament for a moment and turn to another episode, that of *Alisandre l'orphelin* (Episode 4), common to the *Prophecies* and the same texts, with the exception of 363, in which the tournament also has a place, we shall meet a similar situation. Of these sources¹ 99 and Malory may be disregarded here for the same reason that they were disregarded in the discussion of the tourney; 112 is, as I have said above, virtually in agreement with the *Prophecies* except for the termination, which it adopts from 99; 362, with some variations in

Lorz oste li haus princes s'espee du fuerre et hurte son ceval des esperons verz Palamedes. Que vous diroie ge ? Lorz comance la meslee entr'eus si dure et si aspre que li plus forz en ot assez a soustenir. Se li hanz princez donne .i. cop a Palamedes, Palamedes i rent maintenant. Lors gete Palamedes s'espee encontremont et li haus princes ausint et gete .i. cop a Palamedes par deseur son hiaume. L'espee ne le pot empirier ne tant ne quant ains chai deseur le col du destrier, et le trencha d'outre en outre, et lors fu Palamedes a terre desouz sez pies. Il tenoit s'espee enpoignie et dit, Sire, descendez, et se ce ne faites je vous ferai estre a pie ausi comme vous feistez moi. Lorz descent li haus princes de son cheval et dit a Palamedes, Dant chevalier, montez sour mon destrier. Par la riens que vous plus amez vous en pri ge que je me tieng pour vaincu, et vous claim cuite la damoisele. Quant Palamedes s'oi quiter de celui que il doutoit comme la foudre, il en fu tant liez comme nus plus. Il monta esraument et s'en vint droitement la ou la damoisele estoit.

s'entrefierent des esporons par vive force. Et adont se preuve Pallamedes comme ung lyon Et adont dient tous ceulz qui le voyent qu'il est bon chevalier a merveilles.

Que vous en diroye ge ? Lors commence la meslee entr'eulz si dure et si aspre que le plus fort en ot assez a soustenir. Car quant Gallehault donnoit ung coup a Pallamedes incontinent Pallamedes lui rendoit, sy congnut bien le dit Pallamedes qu'il avoit a faire a homme qui estoit plain de grant vertu dont le cuer lui engroissoit. Mais quant ilz eurent longuement feru l'ung sur l'autre Gallehault leva ung coup l'espee contremont et en feri Palamedes sur le heaulme si durement que quant l'espee ne puet entrer ou heaulme elle chei sur le col du destrier de Pallamedes et le detrencha d'outre en outre. Quant Pallamedes vey son cheval ainsi atourne, il sailli jus et leva l'espee encontremont et s'en vint a Galehault et lui dist, Sire chevalier, qui pour l'amour de la dame tournoyes contre moy, descendez de vostre cheval ou je ferai de vostre ainssi comme vous avez fait du mien. — Damp chevalier, fait Gallehault, vous estes chevalier digne de recommandation et valles bien d'avoir une des plus belles damoiseles du monde. Et pour ce j'en yray querir ung autre et si vous donray ung bon destrier. Par celle facon cessa la meslee des deux chevaliers.

¹ See Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff., 466-485; Malory, X, xxxii-xxxix; 362, fols. 232-248l.

substance and in general with wide variations in text, gives the same story as that of the *Prophecies*, including the termination that is contained only in *E*¹. The principal variations in narrative between 350 and 362 have been pointed out by Löseth². A few examples therefore will suffice here to illustrate the differences that are significant for us. 350³ opens the story with a bald statement: — " En ceste partie dit li contes que voir fu que le roi Marc de Cornaille ocist .i. sien frere et sa serourge quant elle sot la mort de son mari si s'en fui a tot .i. sien fuis qu'elle avoit de lui. " 362⁴ begins by supplying information that 350 evidently suppresses: — " En ceste partie dist le conte et la vraye histoire le tesmoingne que en ce temps regnoit ung roy en Cornuaille le quel avoit a nom Marc. Ce Roy Marc avoit ung frere bon chevalier a merveilles qui trop plus valoit en armes que le Roy et estoit marie a une noble dame de laquelle il avoit ung filz. " Marc's jealousy is aroused because in the adventures that they share he is always surpassed by his brother, and one day, finding him sleeping by a fountain, he kills him and rides away. A squire of his brother sees the murder, and with the help of a hermit, who dwells near at hand, buries his master, but preserves his shirt and armor and carries them to his mistress with the news of her lord's death. Taking her child the lady flees secretly to a castle that is hers by inheritance. Thus 362 gives a motive and opportunity for Marc's murder of his brother⁵, and puts Anglediz in possession of her husband's garments, which in the *Prophecies* appear suddenly and without explanation in her keeping on the day when Alisandre is knighted. " Quant le jour fu venus clers et biaux, la mere Alixandre s'en va par dehors la quintene et lorz la commence a resgarder et lors traist desous son mantel la cote et la chemise ou son mari avoit este ocis, qui toutes encore estoient ensanglantees, et lorz les geta deseur la quintene⁶. " It gives, therefore, the more coherent story. Both

¹ It does not add the elaborate termination contained in 112 and 99, mentioned above, II, 258.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 481 ff.

³ Fol. 40rb. See also, I, 375.

⁴ Fol. 232a.

⁵ 362 shows the influence of the story of the *Tristan* (Löseth, *op. cit.*, § 21), in which Marc treacherously murders at the Fontaine au Lion his brother, Perneham, who had reproached him for his cowardice. 112 (fol. 197b) adds to the opening sentence of the *Prophecies* the statement that Marc killed his brother " par jalousie. "

⁶ 350, fol. 40rd.

versions tell us that after Alisandre has been knighted he resolves to take vengeance upon Marc. 362¹ continues: — “Lors Alexandre festoia ses compaignons au mieulx qu’il peut et puis les renvoia de telle heure qu’il en y ot .ii. malvais et felons qui pour avoir l’amour du roy Marc lui alerent dire ces nouvelles de Alexandre l’orphelin et comment il desiront prendre vengeance de la mort de son pere. Moult fut plain de grant couroux le roy Marc quant il oy parler de son nepveu Alexandre.” The *Prophecies*², in contrast with this swiftly moving narrative, gives an account of the meeting of a single traitor with Marc that is laden with detail. He comes before the king, seizes his hands, and begs for a private interview; Marc takes him into a room apart; he speaks and tells his story, repeating the events that have previously been narrated at full length. Examples might be multiplied³ to show that, as in the case of the *Tournament* and the *War of Palamedes with Karados*, while 362 supplies fundamental features lacking in the *Prophecies*, the latter abounds in prolixities from which 362 is comparatively free, conditions that indicate, as in the story of Palamedes at the tourney, that 362, although much the later manuscript, preserves the earlier version, of which the *Prophecies* also contains a redaction. The texts point to the same conclusion, since although they are noticeably divergent in passages such as those cited above as well as in many others, are elsewhere very close⁴.

If then we regard 362 as a redaction of the same version from which the author of the *Prophecies* was drawing for his material, we are naturally led to the conclusion that the germ for his long

¹ Fol. 334b, c.

² 350, fol. 402a.

³ For instance in the scene between Alisandre and Brehus (See I, 403; 350, fol. 434c; 362, fol. 235b,c) the texts agree closely except in the dialogue between the two knights, which in 362 is much the briefer. Again in 362 the plots of Marc are recounted in one column (fol. 234d, 235a) without the machinery of the letters to Morgain, which is conspicuous in the longer account of 350; see I, 404, 405.

⁴ See, for example, the scene where the chastelain of Anglediz urges her to allow him to knight Alisandre: —

350, fol. 401c: — “Quant li petit enfes fu en aage de recevoir l’ordre de chevalerie, li chevaliers s’aparella a Anglediz et dist, Dame, sachiez certainement que Alexandres li petis orfelins ne puet falir a estre preudome; l’ordre de chevalerie sera molt bien emploie en lui. Se vous le loes, et je le ferai chevalier a la feste Nostre Dame de mars.”

362, fol. 233c: — “Et lors le chastelain vint ung jour a elle et lui dist, Certes, dame, je voy tout certainement que Alexandre l’orphelin vostre filz sera une foiz vaillant et preudhomme; l’ordre de chevalerie sera bien employe en lui. S’il vous plaist, je le ferai chevalier a la prochaine feste de la Nostre Dame de mars.”

account of the tourney consisted in the simple adventure of *Palamedes* at Sorelois in a form very close to that recounted by 362, which he found in one of the numerous versions of the *Palamedes* that preceded his own composition. Before we have finished our examination of the romantic material in the *Prophecies*, we shall see that several other episodes in it are to be traced to the influence of the *Palamedes*¹. It would, therefore, be entirely in accord with the methods and tendencies that the author displays elsewhere, if having found in the *Palamedes* a story of the honor that *Palamedes* won once at a tourney cried by Galeholt in Sorelois, he with his mind full of the *Lancelot* and of his plan for connecting his episodes with it, had evolved from the small beginnings of the *Palamedes* the brilliant assembly with the setting and the extended proportions that we know in the *Prophecies*. The tourney is in general a prolonged series of adventures, the principal variety consisting in the circumstances of each combat and in the ostensibly burlesque interludes created by the conversation and doings of the " fine jester " Dinadan. Much of it was undoubtedly composed by the writer for the sake of spinning out a long narrative and giving prominence to the tourney of so great a lord as the Haut Prince.

Before leaving the tourney we should find out if the other manuscript of the *Palamedes* that contains an account of it, 363, has any contribution of importance to offer us. After relating an exploit of Guiron, 363^a announces that in the meantime events which should be recounted have been taking place at court, and thus passes to the story of the false Guinevere, ending with the request of the queen to the king on the advice of the barons, who have sworn loyalty to her, that he accord her a domain where she may pass the rest of her life in safety. He designates Sorelois, and she departs accompanied by Gawain, Yvain, Keux, Lancelot, and many other knights, most of whom go back to court. Lancelot has

¹ There is proof that the author of the *Prophecies* knew of the combat between *Palamedes* and *Lancelot* that 112 records (see above, II, 255) immediately before the episodes connected with Brunor le noir, which are derived in large part from the *Palamedes*. Dinadan, in Episode 5 g (I, 384), jesting with *Palamedes* charges him with having brought the damsel to the tourney only as a means for ensuring himself against an encounter with *Lancelot*, who, as he knew, would never fight for her hand. " Je sai ertainement que l'eure quant tu la preis en conduit il te remembra de la jornee que tu encontras *Lancelot* du Lac, et ce fu quant tu fianchas prison, dont cascuns set partout la prison que il te prist. "

^a Fol. 316d.

previously refused the king's request that he return. The narrative continues, "La ou la Roïne sejournoit en Sorelois ainsi comme vous avez oy ou elle estoit servi et amee de tous les barons du pays, advint en celui temps qu'ils s'adviserent que por l'amor de la Roïne ilz feroient crier et publier ung tournoi et le feroient scavoir par tout le Royaulme de Logres, adfin que les compaignons de la table reonde y venissent¹." Thus 363, like 112, supplies the introduction that the *Prophecies* omits from its source. It continues, however, in agreement with the *Prophecies* as far as the joust between Palamedes and Galeholt on the reputed second, but in reality the third day of the tourney, giving, unlike 112, at the same point at which it occurs in the *Prophecies*, the opening chapter of Episode 6 (*The Saxon Invasion*), which reports the announcement at Sorelois that the Saxons are coming to Vincestre and Galeholt's preparations to meet them ; but no further sections of the episode are given, and it remains a pointless and isolated incident without conclusion. Its presence is only to be explained by the certainty that the author had it before him in his source, of which he tells us that in the interests of brevity he does not care to continue his version after the joust between Palamedes and Lamorat, which in the *Prophecies* precedes the next instalment of the *Saxon Invasion*. This source was probably the version of X, from which he omits the second day of the tourney for the same reason that he omits all the events following the contest between Palamedes and Lamorat.

The purpose of the author is clear when we examine the details of his narrative. It agrees with the *Prophecies* with only minor differences as far as the joust between Palamedes and Galeholt on the so-called second day of the assembly². But in the joust there is the same difference in the terminations that we have already seen in comparing 362 with the *Prophecies*. Neither knight makes headway against the other. 363 says : — "leur convient laisser la bataille par force dont le roy fut moult joyeux, car il veoit bien que au defrain ne peut il nul durer contre lui... Palamedes quand il est du Roy au deseure se fiert en la plus grant presse et commence a ferir a destre et a senestre moult merueilleux cops." The queen praises him to her maidens ; Lancelot, watching him, is amazed at his valor ; Dinadan concludes that it would be folly not to avoid meeting him in the field. Palamedes, meanwhile, makes all knights

¹ Fol. 332b.

² See I, 377 ; 350, fols. 403c ff. ; 363, fols. 338c ff.

flee before him ; he is challenged by Blioberis de Gannes, but their combat is interrupted by the arrival of the Roi de Norgales with a large following, who have come to joust with the knights of Sorelois. Palamedes and Blioberis at once take part in the mêlée that follows ; many knights fight bravely, but Palamedes is the best of all. That evening as the knights dine, there is much jesting with Dinadan, because he has not met Palamedes in the field. In the *Prophecies*, on the other hand, while each combatant is having all that he can do to hold his own, Galeholt deals Palamedes a blow with his sword, which glances from his helmet, smites off the head of his horse, and thus sends him to the ground ; but though prostrate, lifting his sword, he challenges Galeholt to dismount or be dismounted. Then the prince alights down from his horse, bids Palamedes mount, and declares himself vanquished. Palamedes, rejoicing that he is safe from an opponent, whom he feared " comme la foudre, " springs into the saddle and rides away to the damsel in whose name he is taking part in the tourney, while Galeholt calls for another horse and speeds into the range, where he distinguishes himself by his surpassing valor.

In 363, then, as in 362, the glory that is given to Galeholt in the *Prophecies* centres brilliantly upon Palamedes. This is also true in other scenes in the tournament. In the combat between Palamedes and Blanor de Gannes¹, in 363 Palamedes unhorses Blanor ; " moult felonnesement fut abatus a celui point Blanor de Gannes. Il a bien esprouve de quelle force est Palamedes. Une aultre fois se gardera il bien de joster a lui si habandonneement, car il l'a trouve trop plus fort et puissant qu'il ne cuidoit. Quant ceste joste fut faite, atant laissent courre tant d'ung coste que d'aultre et sachiez que celle encontre fut moult belle a veoir. Palamedes abati .iiii. chevaliers d'ung seul glave et au .v.^e il fut brisie. " Then, barely mentioning that Baudemagus unhorses two knights, the narrative continues with a general account of the tourney. " Qu'en diroi je ? chascun fait a son povoir mais sur tout la fait Palamedes durement bien. " But 350² says that Palamedes and Blanor " s'entrabatent a terre par deseur les crupes de cevals si felonnesement que il i orent asses que soustenir. Blanor brise sa chanolle et Palamedes conmencha a sainier parmi le nes, que il li estuet oster son hiaume de sa teste, dont il departirent l'un de l'autre sans plus meller " ;

¹ See I, 379 ; 363, fols. 345b, c.

² Fol. 405c.

the story then turns to a contest between Baudemagus and Marsile. Again, although the challenge of Lamorat to Palamedes¹ agrees substantially in the two sources, when the victory remains undecided after a prolonged battle, in 363 the queen separates the combatants, and the narrative continues with numerous details of the doings of Palamedes, but says little of Lamorat except that he was sore spent and that he had never met the like of Palamedes². The *Prophecies*, however, informs us that although Lamorat praised his valor, Palamedes, far from leaving the joust in the frame of mind of a victor, was conscious that the other knight was better than he.

363, as has been said, ends the tournament at the joust with Lamorat ; Palamedes departs on the next day and leads the damsel for whom he has been fighting to her dwelling. " Et se mist a son chemin, si trouva plusieurs adventures dont point ne vous parleray quant a ceste fois, car bien en porrez trouver ou livre de lui faisant mention. " Then a few concluding words about Guinevere are added. " Apres que la bataille de Lamorat et de Palamedes fut finée, ainsi comme vous avez oy, la Roynie Genievre s'en ralla du chastel acompaignie de moult grant nombre de seigneurs et de dames et meismes du Roy de Sorelois, de messire Guiron et de messire Lancelot et de plusieurs aultres. Car je vous dis bien que tant qu'elle fut en Sorelois fut elle moult hounouree et servie du Roy et des barons de la terre. Messire Gauvain qui moult l'amoit pour le grant bien dont elle estoit plaine lui fist illec maint bon service. Car tant que le Roy Artu fut en Karmelide avec la faulse Geniere lui tint il le plus de temps compaignie comme de tout ce pperit plus a plain ou livre de Lancelot. Et pour ce que trop alongeroie mon compte se plus vous parloie icy endroit de ceste matiere, icy en laira le conte a parler et retournera a messire Guiron³. "

We see, accordingly, that in each source the episode is given the turn that will most redound to the glory of its own hero. With this end in view the author of 363, although using the version of the *Prophecies* as his main source for the tourney, had recourse to 362 for the part played by Palamedes⁴. His production has

¹ See I, 379.

² Fol. 351c.

³ Fols. 351d-352a.

⁴ It should be noticed that Palamedes induces the damsel to go with him to the tourney because he privately is aware that by announcing her hand as the prize for the knight who shall defeat him, he is securing himself from having to meet Lan-

no great value for our purposes except as it illustrates the crossing of versions that may often be detected in a late source, based primarily on one long antedating it, but combined with elements drawn from kindred versions according to the author's individual bias.

To what conclusion in regard to the composition of the *Prophecies* does this lengthy examination of trivial episodes lead us? In the first place we have seen that the author was systematically making a large part of his romantic material a continuation of the *Lancelot* and dating it from events narrated there. Most of this material is contained in no other romance so far as we know, and is to a certain extent, as we shall find, united in plan. It is, moreover, visibly late in character¹. All of these considerations leave the balance of evidence in favor of its being the author's own composition. In the long story of the tournament, although he was embodying in it an episode from the *Palamedes*², he was in the main working out suggestions from the *Lancelot*, especially from the *Conte de la fausse Guinevere*. Leaving out the influence of the *Palamedes*, we may accept the same as true of the *Saxon Invasion*. This is a coherent story, of which the crucial point, namely Arthur's indifference because of the influence of the false Guinevere, and the dénouement, brought about by the decisive successes of Galeholt and Lancelot in the campaign, serve to confirm certain prophecies of Merlin. The device of linking it with the *Prophecies* by making Merlin predict the culminating events is simple; it had been previously employed, for example, by the author of the *Huth Merlin*, who used it to connect his work with earlier romances³. In his source the defeat of Karados was closely connected with the story of Palamedes at the tourney. The narrative passes from the exploits of the two brothers at the tournament to their victories over Karados, and with these Alisandre is immediately associated. Karados attacks him, mistaking him for Saphar; Alisandre defeats him, thus outdoing even Palamedes. It is plain that the expe-

celot (see above, I, 377). Such an admission of weakness on his part, even though he desires only reports of his valor to reach the ears of Yseut, is odd in a source that, like 363, is engaged in exploiting him, but is consistent with the situation in the *Prophecies* and to be accounted for in 363, if the author had before him the latter, in which Lancelot was the hero of the story.

¹ See, e.g., the various weak and dull episodes dealing with Morgain and Brehus.

² Cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

³ See *Huth Merlin*, I, xlvii.

riences of Palamedes at Sorelois are the door by which Karados and Alisandre enter into the *Prophecies*, and their presence there is to be explained by the resolve of the author, who first turned to the version preserved in 362 for the deeds of Palamedes at the assembly, to prolong his narrative by adding the stories that he found closely connected with them in his source.

Thus we see that the greater part of the episodic material in Group I, 2, is structurally united. We can even recognize that the conclusion of the Saxon war with its introduction of the papal call for aid for the rescue of the Holy City paved the way by suggestion for the crusading stories that follow¹. We can perceive, too, in the episodes relating to Tristan² a chain of events that loosely binds them to the story of Alisandre. The desire of Marc to take vengeance upon Sadoc, whom he believes to have connived at the escape of Anglediz and Alisandre, is the point of union; coupled with the king's wish to kill Sadoc is his equally strong determination to imprison Tristan; the imprisonment of Tristan is linked to the *Prophecies* by the customary device of a prediction of Merlin, which foretells that Perceval shall be Tristan's deliverer; the episode of his deliverance suitably has a place in the *Prophecies*, where Perceval is an important figure³. This episode (No. 15b) appears also in the manuscript of the *Tristan*, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 99, which, as has been said above contains a version of the story of Alisandre and of the tournament of Sorelois apparently derived from the text of Group I, 2⁴; its version of Episode 15 is also very close to that of Group I, 2⁵ through § b, to which a conclusion is added in E⁶, the only member of Group I to contain this section, which differs entirely from that in 99 and other manuscripts of the *Tristan*. Briefly, it relates that Tristan, who is dwelling with Yseut at the Joyeuse Garde, has confided his kingdom to Gouvernail, against whom Marc begins a felonious war, the fortunes of which are traced to a point where Marc, after hearing that Tristan is about to go to a tourney at Louverzep proposes a truce which is accepted by Gouvernail. It seems altogether probable, without entering into a discussion of the relation of 99 to

¹ I, 407-409, 412, 421.

² I, 414, 417.

³ See below, pp. 323 ff.

⁴ See above, II, 255.

⁵ Cf. above, I, 414, 415, 417, with Löseth, *op. cit.*, §§ 282e, f.

⁶ See above, I, 421, note 4.

Group I, which would lead us into complications unimportant for our purpose, that this rather pointless conclusion in *E*, which, it will be remembered, is the only complete manuscript of its group, may be laid with certain other incidents at the door of the defenceless author of *Y* (or *X*), who twice in the episode has already declined to repeat what may be read elsewhere "translatez du latin en francois par autrui," preferring to "gae his ain gait."

Even without these references it would be evident that he knew the *Tristan*, although the allusions to it are not numerous and in general concern the familiar features of the legend. The story of the birth of Tristan is told by Merlin, who also predicts his death¹, his imprisonment by King Marc, and his deliverance by Perceval². The fulfilment of this last prophecy is recounted in Episode 15³. There is a further prophecy that Lancelot in revenge for the death of Tristan will lay Cornwall waste⁴, a story the existence of which is implied in various passages in our versions of the romance of *Tristan*⁵, and which is definitely embodied in an Italian poem believed by Rajna to have been written in the second half of the fourteenth century⁶. There are two other prophe-

¹ Chapter cxliv; cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, § 20, pp. 383 ff.

² Chapter cclxxxiii.

³ See above, I, 414, 417; cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, §§ 282a, e-h, 301, 306, 317. Episode 15 precedes the prophecy by several folios, but there is no chronological inconsistency in this arrangement. The series of episodes in which No. 15 occurs is introduced at the point in Chapter cclxii where the discourse that Helias is addressing to Perceval is interrupted by the hour for food. While they are supposed to be eating, the narratives of Chapters cclxiii-cclxv and Episodes 11-15a (I, 410-415) are related. In Chapter cclxvi, "apres mangier," Helias resumes his report of Merlin's sayings; a week later he dies; Perceval goes at once to the Sage Clerc and Meliadus, and on the following day or, at any rate very soon (Chapters cclxxi, cclxxx) Meliadus repairs to the tomb of Merlin, who directs him to bid Perceval go to Cornwall in aid of Tristan (cf. Löseth, §§ 314, 315, where a maiden gives Perceval this advice) and then predicts the rescue of Tristan from prison by Perceval. As the events narrated in Episode 15 occupy a very much longer period than the time that elapses between Chapters cclxii and cclxxxiii, the release of Tristan, mentioned in 15b, following Chapter cclxx (see I, 415, note 1) would naturally be understood to take place later than the visit of Meliadus to Merlin in Chapters cclxxx ff.

⁴ Chapter clxviii.

⁵ See Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. xviii (§xvi), §§ 251, 252, 261, 293, 295, 550; see above, II, 246, note 1.

⁶ *La vendetta che fe' meser Lanzelloto de la morte de miser Tristano*, ed. Polidori, *La Tavola Ritonda*, 1864, II, 280 ff.; see especially the first stanza. For the date see *I Cantari di Carduino*, ed. Pio Rajna, 1873, pp. lviii ff.

cies¹ concerning Tristan for which I do not know the source. They foretell that he will be the irreproachable hero who, in the first case because he is not venal, and in the second, apparently (by analogy with the former) because he is free from hypocrisy, will end the conditions depicted in certain narratives that illustrate the power of Merlin, the selection of Tristan doubtless being due to the author's own fancy. There is also a general prophecy in Chapter CXLV which brings Tristan into comparison with Lancelot as another valiant knight who will terminate many perilous adventures. The prediction of the enchantment of King Meliadus, the sorrows of Helyabel, and the birth of Tristan in Chapter CXLIV² is immediately connected with the romance of *Tristan*, which inspired it, by Merlin's concluding statement that but for him Meliadus would never have been rescued from the enchantment that controlled him; for in the romance he meets Helyabel and forewarns her that her husband is bespelled and that she will not see him again, and later after the birth of Tristan and her death he reveals the means for finding Meliadus³.

Interpersed among the episodes of which we have been speaking and which are more or less closely related, or at all events, have a point of union in their relation to the *Lancelot*⁴, are scattered a few that have no connection with each other, the prophecies, or any

¹ Chapters CCXXII, CCXXIII (for the name applied to Tristan see Löseth, *op. cit.*, § 20), CCXXXIX.

² I, 192, § 1.

³ See Löseth, I, c.

⁴ There are indications that the author was familiar with the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and the *Aventures del Saint Graal*. The long prophecy concerning Perceval and his sister and Galahad in Chapter CXCI is based upon them; the passage in regard to the wife of Solomon might have been inspired by either (*Estoire*, Sommer, I, 121 ff; *Aventures*, Sommer, VI, 145 ff.); that in regard to Perceval's sister is derived from the *Aventures* (pp. 168 ff.); in the *Aventures* also (pp. 192 ff.) Perceval arrives with Galahad at Sarra. For further evidence that the author is making use of the *Estoire* cf. Chapter CCLXXI with *Estoire*, pp. 208 ff.; the story of Rogier Forguilleus in Chapter CCLV not only with *Lancelot*, Sommer, V, 319 ff., 329, 330, but also with *Estoire*, pp. 248, 261, although the passage in the *Prophecies* repeats neither. The unusual name *Palagre* in Chapter CXXII is found in the *Estoire* (p. 182) as the name of the city in Gales (Horelice) in which the elder Galahad was crowned king. For further references to the *Aventures* and the *Estoire*, see above, II, 3, ff., 244, note 6. The brilliant stone from the crown of Solomon that will adorn the crown of the Dragon of Babylon (Chapter CCVI) is confused, we must believe, with the jewel of the sword found, like Solomon's crown, on his ship in the *Aventures* (p. 145). For a theory, to which many objections have been urged, that the *Aventures* originally formed a part of the *Lancelot*, see Lot, *Lancelot*, pp. 75 ff.

other known source; among these, for example, are the stories of Mador de la Porte¹ and of Hector des Mares and his comrades². They form digressions such as we expect from any writer of mediæval romance, of whom it would be too exacting to demand that he keep invariably to a beaten track, whether it be self-appointed or prepared for him in his source.

But there is one somewhat fragmentary series of prophecies and episodes, that by the emphasis laid upon them occupy a special place in the scheme of composition. These have to do with Segurant le Brun, the son of Hector le Brun of the Isle Non Sachant, a less familiar figure in romance than Lancelot, but according to Merlin a close second to him in valor. It is true that Lancelot, "le bon chevalier qui istra du lignage de Benonic," will surpass him in knighthood, but Segurant "sera garni de si grant prouesce que il ne joustera a nul chevalier qu'il ne li face sentir la terre seche³." At the tourney of Vincestre he will be enchanted and will become the "chaceur du dragon⁴"; he will, nevertheless, be chosen and crowned king of Abiron⁵, whence he will set out on a quest for the tomb of Merlin⁶, which he will be the sole knight to find while the Dame du Lac lives⁷. When he departs from Abiron the Lord Jesus Christ will cause a miraculous fountain to burst forth in one of the rooms of his palace in order that desire to behold the marvel may entice him back to Abiron⁸. He will possess a great treasure of precious stones brought by his father, Hector le Brun, from the Isle as Griffons to the Isle Non Sachant; one of the jewels which formerly belonged to Phelippe, the first king of Greece, shines on the pavilion of Segurant at Vincestre, "comme nous vous avons conte ca en arriere" (although this is the first mention), and will adorn his crown after he is made king of Abiron; but when he leaves his kingdom to seek Merlin, he will place the stone on the altar of Our Lady, from where it will be removed by

¹ 1, 371, 372. The opening sentence of this episode, however, implies that something has been said about Mador earlier. Cf. below, p. 283, note 1.

² These latter episodes, being contained only in *E* (I, 421, note 4), cannot be summarized, and I am therefore obliged to ask the reader to accept the above statement on faith.

³ Chapter cxxiii; cf. Chapter LXXXVII.

⁴ Chapter clix.

⁵ Chapters Lxv, cxxi, cxxiii, clix.

⁶ Chapters cxxi, cxxiii, cl.

⁷ Chapter cxxx.

⁸ Chapter CLXXVII

a wicked servant of the Dragon of Babylon, who will give it to his lord for his crown. Segurant will go to the Holy Land at the time of the quest of the Graal, and in a great war during the reign of Galahad at Sarras, he will sell the jewels to the people of Greece, who will keep them until Constantinople is taken, when they will be finally removed from Greece¹.

These prophecies, couched in definite terms, presuppose existing stories about Segurant and an acquaintance with them on the part of both the writer and his readers. The tournament at Vincestre, the quest of the enchanted dragon, the treasure that Hector won are all mentioned as well known themes, which unless there were already some narrative connected with them would have no significance on Merlin's lips. In *R* these prophecies are left without a sequel, and the remaining manuscripts of the same group, instead of recounting their fulfilment in the course of the romantic portions as they do in the case of some other prophecies, give us little assistance. In their episodes the first mention of Segurant plunges us *in medias res* by referring to his release of the knights whom, "comme vous avez oi ca en arrieres" (but of whom we have heard nothing), the Damoisele de Pomenglois has held enchanted², and also casually to his pursuit of the dragon; his second adventure begins with his arrival at the Cite Fort³ and is introduced with the words, "En ceste partie dit li contes que tant s'en ala Segurant li Bruns apres le dragon tous enchantez que son escu et son hauberc et toutes sez armes estoient pertrusie"; the third episode of which he is the hero⁴ adds to our information merely that under a spell not easily to be broken he is in pursuit of the dragon that devoured one hundred knights at the tourney at Vincestre; his next appearance⁵ is at the Tower

¹ Chapters LXXXVII, CL, CCV. For the gem that Segurant places on the pole of his tent at Vincestre, see I, 435, 436. Cf. the carbuncle on the pommel of the tent in which the Virgin sits to watch the tourney in the *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist* by Huon de Méry, vv. 1466 ff.; Pannier, *Les lapidaires français du moyen âge*, 1882, pp. 73 ff., for the description of the onyx in a lapidary which has been attributed to Brunetto Latino, although there is reason to believe that it is earlier. Cf. also the two carbuncles that form the eyes of the golden eagle on the top of the fairy tent given by the Water Fay to Lancelot, Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanslet*, ed. Hahn, 1845, vv. 4788 ff.

² I, 374. On Pomenglois see Lot, *Lancelot*, pp. 144, 446

³ I, 390.

⁴ I, 401.

⁵ I, 411; cf. I, 381.

of the Copper Marvel, the adventure of which only he can bring to an end; here the Dame du Lac tells him that he is under enchantment, and when he begs her to instruct him as to how he can free himself, she bids him go to the coast and enter into a ship that he will see at its moorings, where he will find counsel; his last appearance¹ is at a meeting with Golistan, whom he suddenly leaves on catching sight of the dragon, of which he starts in pursuit. In short the manuscripts of this group give us unfulfilled prophecies² and fragmentary anecdotes, none too coherent, connected with Segurant, which leave us questioning why they should have been introduced at such length into a work of the nature of the *Prophecies*, where the greater part of the remaining romantic material is strung on a more or less connecting thread.

It is only when we turn to the episodes in *A* that we find the situation clarified. Here we have a consecutive account of the history of Segurant. We learn first of the discovery and pre-empting of the Isle Non Sachant by his grandfather, Galeholt le Brun, and his great uncle, Hector le Brun³, of the youthful prowess of Segurant himself in the Isle, his knighting by his grandfather, and his faring forth from home bound for adventure, of sundry achievements that prove his surpassing valor, and of his return to the Isle Non Sachant⁴. In the course of his adventures he is given a wonderful shield formerly belonging to the Emperor Lui of Rome, and to prove its invincibility he issues a challenge to all knights assembled at Vincestre to match their prowess against his. Arthur at once proclaims a tourney for him at Vincestre; Segurant sends his knights thither in advance of his coming, with orders not to reveal the name of their lord, but the pavilion that they spread attracts universal attention from the marvellous bril-

¹ See above, I, 418, 419. The meeting of Golistan and Segurant follows an adventure of Golistan which is dated by a reference to a story, the source for which I have not succeeded in finding, but evidently as familiar to the writer as some of the episodes from the *Lancelot* by which other events are dated, — "After Golistan had cut off the head of the giant and left the damsel —." See I, 374.

² 1498, fol. 136a, contains another prophecy concerning Segurant, delivered to Meliadus by Merlin, who predicts that Meliadus on leaving Merlin's tomb will meet three knights who are searching for it: — "Celle queste... ne sera ja achevee pour nully fors seulment pour (la chaleur) [le chevalier] au dragon que de soy fera quintaine a la court du roy Artus. Celui menra a fin seullement sans l'aide de nulle compaignie et fera telle preuve en son temps que l'en l'appellera le meudre chevalier qui soit au monde ne qui doit estre fors seulment ung autre."

³ I, 423 ff.

⁴ I, 428-433.

liancy of a jewel that flashes from the pole of the tent¹; a full account of the tourney follows, in which Segurant carries off the honors². Lancelot arrives on the scene, but as he is about to enter the lists he receives a letter from the Dame du Lac, forbidding him to tilt with Segurant, since she knows from a prophecy of Merlin that he is invincible³. Morgain, meanwhile, the implacable enemy of all good knights, desires to bespell Segurant, and accordingly despatches a fairy dragon to the tourney. It deals death and destruction to the knights and causes dire consternation. Segurant rushes to attack it, is overpowered by the enchantment, and when it flees is irresistibly impelled to pursue it. The assembly is broken up by his departure⁴. The remaining narratives in which he appears have to do with his adventures in the pursuit of the dragon, from which he cannot cease until he is disenchanted by the power of the Graal, as (according to the unfulfilled promise of the author)⁵ will be recounted later. In one of these adventures he sets free the knights who have been bespelled in Pomenglois, where we have previously been told that a fairy damsel had imprisoned Meleagant⁶.

Thus *A*, although it fails to supply any information about Hector's winning of the gems, the crusade of Segurant, or his reign in Abiron, explains the greater part of the allusions in the prophecies and also of the incoherencies in the episodes connected with Segurant in Group I, 2. We may even understand, when we read in the prophecy that his enchantment will be ended by the power of the Graal, that the ship to which the Dame du Lac directs him when she is counselling him how to break the spell, is perhaps the vessel that will convey him to Sarra. It is especially significant that *A* recounts both of the adventures, i. e., the tourney at Vincestre and the rescue of the knights from the Damoisele de Pomenglois, to which Group I, 2, has referred as already narrated in its pages. It is perfectly clear that *A* is preserving material that must originally have belonged to the source of Group I. None of this explanatory material could have been contained in *Y*; otherwise it would not have been systematically excluded from all of *Y*'s deriv-

¹ I, 432, 434-437.

² I, 438, 439.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ I, 439, 440.

⁵ I, 440-442, 447, 448.

⁶ I, 446, 448.

atives, the agreement of which in inconsistencies and imperfections is proof that these were also found in *Y*, the source of which, *X*, must have contained the material wanting in them. When Group I refers, for example, to the jewel of Segurant that shines at Vincesstre and to his releasing the knights at Pomenglois, "*comme nous vous avons conte ca en arriere*," it is unquestionably using a phrase from its source, where these events were related as they are in *A*. The relation between *Y* and *X*, so far as this material is concerned, is comparable to that between *R* and the other manuscripts of its group, and just as *R*, for instance, fails to accompany the prophecies concerning the Mauvais Jublier and those from the cemetery of Uterpendragon with the stories of their fulfilment, which were in its source, as the other manuscripts of the group show, so *Y*, although repeating the prophecies concerning Segurant, left unused in *X* the narratives that explained them, which have been transmitted to us in *A*¹.

There is no ground for assuming that every episode in *A* concerning Segurant was necessarily a part of *X*, but where it supplies visible gaps in Group I, the only reasonable deduction to be drawn is that in this respect it is the more faithful in its preservation of *X*. The manuscript is sufficiently late for the possibility of many additions to the original to be considered. The arrangement of the episodes in *A*, however, is an aid in definitely referring certain of them to *X*. All are introduced at points where there is a break in the subject matter²; four of them throw light upon the source. The first of these latter follows Chapter LIV, which appears to have been regarded as a natural division of the material, for it is at this point that the first section of 15211 and *Reg.* ends, and that 98 leaves the *Prophecies* and resumes the romance of *Merlin*. Chapter LIV concludes with the statement of Merlin to Maistre Anthoine that he must go to Norgales to protect Arthur against "*li nonpers dou monde*," and from his closing words, "*si me retournerai a vous empres son couronnement [le tornoiement, Group I, 2] pour conter ce que j'ai commencie*," the text passes in the next sen-

¹ Cf. II, 279, note 1. The phrase, "*comme vous avez oi ca en arriere*," may be a mere literary device for saving the trouble of repeating well known facts, but when we frequently find the justification of its use, we should be ready to take the author at his word, or at all events to admit that there is reason for doing so.

² See I, 115, note 6; 175, note 16; 181, note 27; 183, note 7; 188, note 9; 192, note 24; 197, note 31; 201, note 1; 205, note 1; 209, note 2; 213, note 1; 218, note 3; 223, note 3; 226, note 12; 232, note 4.

tence, beginning with one of the stock formulae of romance for introducing a new subject, " En ceste partie dit li contes, " to events occurring after Arthur has left Gales, having dedicated his allegiance to Merlin. Between these two sentences *A* introduces a long account of the exploits of Galeholt le Brun and Hector le Brun, which is connected with the prophecies by the customary device of making Merlin foretell the events of the narrative, in this case the valorous deeds of Galeholt and Hector at the tournament of Salebiere, the account of which is not given, although the preparations for it and Merlin's instructions of Arthur as to his deportment there are dwelt upon. The reading of the manuscripts of Group I, 2, " apres le tornoiement, " pointless as it stands, shows that this section must at all events in part have been in *X*, but that it was omitted by *Y*, whose phrase, " apres le tornoiement, " *R* unsuccessfully seeks to make more intelligible by the rendering " couronnement. " Again after Chapter CLXXXIII, Group I, having given the adventure of the knights at the Quaking Mountain, concludes, — " Si s'en taist atant li contes de ceste aventure et parole d'une autre et des prophecies Merlin " [350: "retorne as prophecies Mellin"); the next sentence continues, " En ceste partie dit li contes que quant la montagne qui debatoit ot deglouti les .iiii.chevaliers, " and then proceeds with a *résumé* of the adventure, " ainssint comme vous avez oi ca en arrieres, " and so goes on to further prophecies. This beginning, " En ceste partie, " etc., and the summary of the episode immediately preceding it suggest that material has been omitted. In *A* we find at this point, namely between the adventure at the Quaking Mountain and Chapter CLXXXIV, the account of the tournament at Vincestre, one of the episodes that we have seen above must have belonged to *X*. It should also be noticed, although we cannot give it great significance, that the second part of Episode 2b in *A* — *Segurant at the Pas Bertelais* — follows Chapter CXXXVI, which in Group I, 2, is succeeded by the story of Mador de la Porte, one of the few episodes, as I have pointed out, that has no connection with any other. Its appearance here is explicable, if we recognize that the sections of *Segurant at the Pas Bertelais* had the same position in *X* that they occupy in *A*, and that the redactor of *Y*, having for reasons of his own discarded the first section of the episode in *X* but desiring to vary his narrative, would naturally have substituted a different story at this point. It is also to be observed that *A* does not contain Chapters CLXXXVII-CCXXIV, and that its last episode, *The Dame du Lac in*

Gales, follows Chapter CLXXXVI¹ and is the same that in Group I, 2, stands after Chapter CCXX; in other words *A* gives only the first of the episodes occurring in Group I, 2, between Chapters CLXXXVI and CCXXIV. Its position in *A* is therefore naturally accounted for by simple omissions, which may have been due to defects in the manuscript from which *A* was copying (where we have found blemishes), or to the intentional curtailments made by the scribe. Whatever the process, the connection in the narrative is broken by this omission, for Chapter CLXXXVI leaves Perceval at the court of Arthur, and we find him again at the beginning of the text after Chapter CCXXIV², wandering in the forest of Arnantes in search of Merlin, the story of how he came there, narrated in Chapters CXCI-CXCIII, having disappeared. In conclusion then, we may accord a place in *X* to the tourney of Salibiere and its accompanying predictions, the tourney of Vincestre, the disenchantment of Pomengloiz, the experiences of the Dame du Lac in *Gales*, and probably also those of Segurant at the Pas Bertelais.

It almost goes without saying that the Segurant cycle came into the *Prophecies* from the *Palamedes* (known sometimes in its first part as the *Meliadus* and in its second as *Guiron le courtois*), which is our ultimate source for the history of the family le Brun³, although the deeds of Segurant himself are contained in only a few of its numerous versions. It has, however, as is very well known, been subjected to so great mutilation and to so many redactions⁴ that in the large number of its manuscripts and the present inedited state of its text, any conclusions in regard to its relation to our other sources must be formed with the utmost reserve. But if we could find among the versions at our disposal one containing the Segurant material of the *Prophecies*, we should be a step nearer a position for drawing inferences as to the contents of *X*; for if episodes belonging both to Group I, 2, and *A* appear united in a version of the *Palamedes* from which they were certainly derived, we should at least have the right to assume that *X* had freely pillaged that version for the other stories that now appear divided between Group I, 2, and *A*. It is worthwhile, therefore, in spite of uncertainties, to note the scattered traces of such a version in our available material. In a fifteenth-century manuscript of the

¹ I, 232, note 4; 264, note 8.

² I, 265, § 1.

³ See Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 434, note 3, § 630a.

⁴ See *ibid.* pp. 433 ff.; P. Paris, *MSS. français*, III, 64.

Guiron le courtois, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 358¹, there are found three of the adventures of the *Prophecies*: the story of Segurant at the hermitage from Group I, 2, given in a form that explains its numerous inconsistencies²; the joust between Segurant and his uncle Galeholt le Brun at the bridge, from A, in a version entirely agreeing with it in content³; and the victory of Segurant at the Pas Bertelais, also from A, in a version that differs widely from it⁴. The texts of the first two adventures are at times in very

¹ Anc. 6978. For a summary see Löseth, *op. cit.* § 630 a.

² I, 401 ff. The narrative in 358 (fols. 80c ff.) is as follows: — Segurant riding through a valley, meets a horrible fire-breathing dragon, with whom he fights until sunset, when the dragon flees, Segurant following him as long as daylight lasts; in the morning he resumes the pursuit, but in vain, for the dragon has gone so far away that no man can overtake him. Towards evening Segurant comes to a hermitage, where the hermit gives him food. Segurant surprises him by his enormous appetite, but assures him that if he should be hard bested, he would find that the food had been well bestowed. While they dine a varlet enters in great terror and announces to the hermit that thirty hostile knights are coming against him. A certain good count, who has recently died, built a chapel in the neighborhood and established many chaplains there. Since his death his bastard son, not wishing to support it, has with the aid of thirty knights, destroyed it, killed the chaplains, stripped the building of its adornments, and in order that no man of holy life may blame them for their misdeeds, they have sworn to take prisoners and then burn all "sains religieux" that they can find in the next twenty days. Segurant, on hearing this story, rises from the table, girds on his armor, mounts, and rides out to meet the miscreants. He sees four *avant couriers* approaching to take the hermit prisoner, dashes upon them, and sends them to the ground. Ten others follow of whom he wounds or kills all but one, who escapes and tells the news to the remaining knights, who are on their way with the bastard, driving their prisoners before them like beasts. The leader, in wrath, when he hears the fate that has befallen his men, binds the prisoners to a great chestnut tree near at hand, and goes on with his followers to the combat. Segurant, who is resting after the fray, springs up when he sees them advancing, attacks and kills the entire company, with the exception of one, whom he forces to lead him to the chestnut tree, where he kills him and unbinds the prisoners. After taking them to the scene of the battle and showing them the fate of their captors, he escorts them to the hermit, who gives him his blessing, and assures him that he does not begrudge him the food that he has eaten. Segurant stays in the hermitage till the morrow, when he sets out again in pursuit of the dragon.

³ I, 429, 430, 431, 432; 358, fols. 157a-167d. Cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. 431, 438. This episode is also contained in the compilation of Rustician da Pisa; see *ibid.*, § 629.

⁴ I, 429; 358, fols. 76b-80c; Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 437. The differences of the two versions may be seen by comparing the following summary from 358 with that given above from A: — Segurant while he is still at his father's dwelling hears that Bertoullars, the lord of the Chastel du Trespas, has vowed vengeance for the death of his kinsmen, the previous owner of the Chastel and his two sons, at the hand of Guiron le courtois, and has stationed twenty-four knights at the Passage du

close accord and at times widely at variance. The conclusion is obvious that in these episodes the *Prophecies* and 358 are presenting two redactions of a common source and that this source, combining the story of Segurant at the hermitage from Group I, 2, and the two stories from *A* was that employed by *X*.

In connection with the relation between 358 and *X*, the prologue to a manuscript of the *Palamedes* (*Guiron le Courtois*) in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin (L. I. 7-9) is of interest. This manuscript, which consists of three volumes, contains in addition to the ordinary prologue known as that of Hélie de Borron², another, which precedes it and states among other announcements of the subjects about which the author intends to write that in the first part of the romance he will tell of the origin of the family le Brun, "et comment la terre du royaume Sauvage fut par eulx nommee et conquise. Après comment la valee aux Bruns, toute plaine de jayans, fut par eulx delivree, et ceulx qui y habitoient mis hors de servage; et comment ils gaingnerent les ysles Mescongneues³." These promised narratives are not found, so far as I

Trespas to guard it until a knight comes who can vanquish them and himself as well. Segurant undertakes the adventure, and in prolonged contests with the defending knights, singly and in groups, shows himself so valiant that he convinces them that he is under enchantment; wounded and deprived of his shield he still deals blows that maim or kill all the combatants. Bertoullars resolves to fight with him on foot, and sends him a battle-axe with a challenge, which Segurant in spite of his wounds accepts. A mighty combat ensues in the course of which Segurant smites Bertoullars to the earth with a blow that leads him to cry for mercy and pronounce the adventure ended. Segurant leaves the Trespas and betakes himself to a castle where his wounds are tended. When he is healed, he fares forth through the forest to a valley where he encounters a fire-breathing dragon, with which he engages in a desperate battle that lasts until sunset, when the dragon takes to flight, Segurant pursuing him until compelled by the blackness of night to relinquish the chase. In the morning he resumes it, and all day searches in vain for the dragon. In his wanderings he comes to the hermitage, where he has the adventure that has been related above in note 2. When Galeholt le Brun hears that a knight who is in pursuit of a dragon has come to Logres and that he overcomes all opponents, he undertakes the defence of a bridge, in the hope of meeting him.

Of these two versions for the fight at the Pas Bertelais that of the *Guiron* is the better, for in *A* the Pas is merely said to be held by some pagans, while for the meeting of Segurant with the dragon *A*, which ascribes the spell cast by the dragon to an agency hostile to Segurant, namely, Morgain, is better than 358, which gives no reason for the enchantment exercised by the dragon.

¹ See P. Paris, *MSS. français*, II, 346; *Huth Merlin*, I, xxxiii; Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

² See P. Rajna, *Romania*, IV, 264 ff. Rajna believes that this prologue was written after the completion of the romance, while the prologue of Hélie, composed at

am able to determine, in any of the other manuscripts of the *Guiron*, nor can we learn whether even the Turin version related them, for we have no record of its contents, and the first volume in which, according to the prologue, they should be recounted, was so seriously damaged in the disastrous fire of 1904 that it has been impossible as yet to restore it to a legible condition¹. *A*, therefore, at present, appears to be our only source for the story of the arrival of Galeholt le Brun and Hector le Brun at the Isle Non Sachant, the mysterious name of which is made more intelligible by that which, as we must believe, is used in the prologue to denote it, the Ysles Mescongneus. *A* alone also has a reference² to the ancient feud between the giants and Galeholt le Brun which is mentioned in the Turin prologue: — “Or dit li comptes que asses demoura Seguranz ou Royaume sauvage aveques mon seigneur Galehot le Bruen son oncle, et quant il y a tant demoure com a son oncle pleut, apres ce qu’ilz orent les jayans occis et mis a destruction qui pour la famine qu’ilz avoient aux montaignes estoient venuz au plain pour disrober et ilz avoient mortel guerre a mon seigneur Galehot le Brun pour la mort de leurs peres qui avoient este ocis a Kamaalot et a Rome, ainsi comme li comptes a devise ca en arriere.” Löseth³ in the lack of definite information as to whether the manuscript contains the history projected in the prologue, surmises that it really belonged to a redaction of the *Palamedes*, which was wholly unlike that of the Turin manuscript, into which the prologue was mistakenly or carelessly inserted. This redaction he has reason to believe was a compilation parallel in part to the *Palamedes* and in part to the redactions contained in certain Paris manuscripts, one of which is 358. If this assumption be correct, Löseth’s conjectural redaction would appear to have contained the account of the Isle Non Sachant and the conquest of the giants preserved in *A*, as well as those episodes which we have found are common to both the *Prophecies* and 358. A version uniting all of these fea-

its beginning, was used in the partial copies that were made while the work was still in process of construction. Complete copies were rare, and therefore the second prologue, the promises of which the incomplete text did not fulfil, was considered needless and was abandoned, it consequently is preserved to us only in the one exemplar at Turin.

¹ I am indebted for this information to the courtesy of Signor Carlo Faustino of the Biblioteca.

² Fol. 83a.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 434, note 3.

tures would be such a source as the author of *X* must have known.

Still another inference in regard to *X* is suggested by the story of the birth of Meliadus. We have already seen¹ that the author of the *Prophecies* turned to the *Palamedes* for this narrative, and that *A*, unlike Group I, gives its conclusion. This termination may have been added to his source by the redactor of *A*, but inasmuch as *Y* elsewhere omits material from *X* which *A* gives, it is more reasonable to assume that *A* found this story, like other episodes from the *Palamedes*, also in *X*.

In considering the possible influence of the *Palamedes* upon *X*, we ought to note certain episodes illustrative of the Segurant material in the *Prophecies* that are related in a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12599, which contains an Italian fragment of the *Guiron le courtois* and detached portions of the French *Tristan*, among which is inserted a congeries of adventures, most of which are not found elsewhere². It is in the latter compilation³ that the incidents to which I refer have a place. This portion of the manuscript contains a section of the *Tristan* that mentions the deliverance of Tristan from prison by Perceval⁴, which also is predicted in the *Prophecies*⁵, and in the course of the numerous episodes carelessly strung together there is one⁶ which recalls the part of Golistan le Fort in Group I, 2⁷ : —

Golistan longs to be knighted by Segurant, in whose tent he is dwelling, in order that he may take vengeance upon Tristan for the death of his father, Morholt d'Irlande. Segurant knowing of the valor of Tristan is reluctant to allow Golistan to meet him, "que molt seroit grant damage se li uns d'eux ocist l'autre." Hence he puts Golistan off from day to day. A little later he and Golistan, accompanied by Dinadan, meet Lancelot, Galaaz, Palamedes, and Tristan in the forest. Segurant and Palamedes begin to tilt; Segurant unhorses Palamedes, then Tristan, who joins in the combat, and finally Lancelot. Galaaz mounts to avenge his father's fall, but Segurant refuses to joust with so good a knight as he, and dashes into the forest at full speed, Golistan spurring after him. "Dex aide, ce [dist]

¹ II, 247, note 4.

² 12599 is described and summarized by Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. xx (§ xvii), 231, 488.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 283a ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-190.

⁵ Chapter cclxxxiii.

⁶ Fols. 280c-282d

⁷ I, 374, 418

Galaaz, qui puiet estre celui chevaliers qui si bien joste et qui tant de bons chevaliers en abatuz ? — Sire, ce respont Dinadam, ce est li chevaliers au dragons, que dusqu'atant que li siege perilleus ne fu compliz que vos meemes enportastes l'onor, ne fu il se enchantez non... De l'autre part mon seingnor Lancelot dou Lac qui tot enragiez voloit monter desor son cheval por aler apres le chevaliers ne trouve pas son cheval bien aasiez. S'en vet a Dinadam et il demande son cheval. Mes il li dist, Soiez en pes ; ne prenez estrif au chevalier que meisement la Dame dou Lac qui vos nori le vos defandi jadis. — Adonc est, fait Lancelot, li chevaliers qui venqui le tornoiement de Vincestre ? — Vos dites voir, fet Dinadan. — Puisqu'il est celui bons chevaliers, fait Lancelot, assoferir le me convient. " Segurant and Golistan continue their way to Vincestre, where they take ship and sail to the Isle Non Sachant. " Il descenderent en seche terre a grant joie et a grant feste. Mais quant Siguranz vit les letres escriptes et entaillies en le mur de l'eygleise que disoient que l'apostoille de Rome le semoient qu'il s'en alast de la mer, il prist la croiz et comanda aparoillier son oirre, et que a chief de l'an il passera la mer. Mes atant laisse li contes a parler de ceste aventure... "

The author of 12599, we see, knew of the tourney at Vincestre, the command of the Dame du Lac to Lancelot not to joust with Segurant, as well as the enchantment of Segurant that only the winner of the Graal could dispel — features all of which we find in the much later manuscript *A*. He knew of the meeting of Golistan and Segurant at the latter's tent and the desire of Golistan that Segurant should knight him, which existed in a different development in *Y*. But he knew, too, an account of the crusade of Segurant to the Holy Land, which no version of the *Prophecies* gives, although it is foretold by Merlin in a prediction that we have already observed implies the existence of such a story. The beginning of this story is preserved only in 12599, and that it is no concoction by the author added as a conclusion to his narrative of Segurant is clear from his reference, as to something that was familiar, to "the letters on the wall of the church," containing the summons of the Pope to the crusade. It is not too large an assumption that he found the entire story in the same source from which he had been drawing for the rest of his Segurant material, and that this was either *X* itself or the version of the *Palamedes* that *X* used¹. The contents of this

¹ In the vast compilation of Rustician of Pisa the adventures of Segurant and Horderis (see above, I, 430) and of Segurant and Galeholt at the bridge (see above, I, 431) are narrated, and still another episode of Segurant which recalls the

version in its Segurant material is preserved for us today more nearly in *A* than in any other source. In *A* the narrative has a cyclic quality and enables us to follow Segurant from the story that establishes his ancestors in the Isle Non Sachant through one adventure after another culminating in the ill-starred tourney at Vincestre, where he is overtaken by the malign influence that will give him no peace until the day when the troubles of Logres shall be terminated by the winning of the Graal. It is far less probable that these tales are bits taken from now one, now another source, woven into this whole, coherent and consecutive so far as it goes, than that we have here only the earlier part of a history, of which the continuation, bringing Segurant to the Holy Land, was also related in the same text, devoted in part to his glorification. It should not be forgotten that the references in the *Prophecies* to stories of Segurant for which there is no existing source is proof that much material of which he was the hero has been lost.

By far the greater number of the episodes of *A* have to do with Segurant, and even two in which he is not an actor are brought into indirect connection with him. Of these the first¹ relates colorless doings of Dinadan, who finally betakes himself to Vincestre to await the coming of Segurant, for whom, after the tourney is broken up, he undertakes a useless quest; the second² recounts the events that follow the escape of Meleaganz from the fairy damsel of Pomenglois ("ainsi com vous avez oi ca en arriere"), who learns by her magic art that he will go to Vincestre and be wounded there by Segurant. That this story of Meleagant was told "en ar-

tilting scene of 12599 that we have just been examining (see Löseth, *op. cit.* pp. 431, 432). Here Segurant (Segurades le Brun), spoken of as the Knight of the Dragon and victor of the tournament of Vincestre, whom as "le maistre vous fait assavoir," none, not even Lancelot, could overthrow, is wandering in Logres with his squire Golistan, who hates Tristan, because he has killed his father (namely Morhout). At a fountain they meet Lancelot, Tristan, Gawain, Palamedes, and Kex, all of whom Segurant unhorses with the exception of Lancelot, with whom the Dame du Lac has forbidden him to joust. This adventure is immediately preceded in Rustician by another in which Segurant figures (not connected with the *Prophecies*), which also immediately precedes the tilting scene in 12599. These resemblances should be noted, although they cannot serve for any trustworthy argument while the texts of Rustician remain in their present weary length of inedited disorder (see Löseth, p. 473, on the manuscripts and early editions of Rustician); but on the surface they suggest the possibility that in this section of Rustician we have a redaction of that same version of the *Palamedes* that influenced *X*.

¹ I, 432, 433, 435, 440.

² I, 438.

riere," i.e., earlier in the source of *A*, is, as I have said, wholly probable, the author later referring to the same incident in the same way in the account of the knights whom the same damsel had bespelled and whom Segurant released; and considering that Group I also indicates the existence of material in its source recounting this incident, we may be practically certain that it too was contained in *X*.

Of the remaining episodes in *A* only two are found also in Group I, 2. One of them in fact scarcely deserves to be called an episode, for it is merely the opening of Episode 11a in Group I, which in *A* stands at the beginning of the long passage quoted after Chapter CLXXVIII¹. In Group I it forms a suitable introduction to the story of the knighting of Bohors and the ensuing incidents. In *A* it prefaces a tiresome burst of contrition from the Dame for her treatment of Merlin and sage responses from Bohors, who sternly holds the mirror of her deeds before her eyes. This scene is awkwardly attached to the prelude by a far fetched excuse; the Dame weeps because she thinks of the plans that Morgain has formed against Lancelot, and is thus reminded of her own sin in entombing Merlin, to which she was impelled by her jealous fears of Morgain; Bohors finds her in tears over these reflections; this opens the way for confession on her part and reproaches on his. The version of Group I may reasonably be assumed to have belonged to *X*, since by the adventure at the Tower of the Copper Marvel it is connected with the Segurant story², while in *A* the greater part is omitted, and the redactor merely makes use of the introduction to bring Bohors and the Dame du Lac together for the dialogue that sets forth the excellence of Merlin and the shame of the Dame in having confined him. The other episode that is connected with Group I is the last in *A*, of which I have spoken above³.

The further episodes of *A* are concerned with the personages that figure in Group I in entirely different situations, and are plainly developments of the *Lancelot*⁴ on one hand and of the *Tristan* on the other⁵. In most of these the writer tells us frankly that much to which he refers is related in the *Lancelot* or the *Tristan*, and adds that he has no idea of spending his time on twice-told tales but

¹ I, 223, note 4; 395.

² I, 410-412.

³ II, 284, 285.

⁴ Episodes 4, 7, 9, 10.

⁵ Episodes, 8, 13. Episode 12 is in a way a continuation of Episode 6d.

intends to regale his readers with what cannot be found elsewhere. For example in Episode 4, the principal elements of which — the association of Galeholt with Baudemagus, his designs against Logres, his marvellous palace, his aid of Arthur in the Saxon war, his friendship for Lancelot — are derived from the *Lancelot*, after Galeholt has reproved Baudemagus for making depredations upon Logres and has announced that he will use the proper formalities for declaring war upon Arthur, the author adds : "Ainsi com je le vous ay dit le fist li haultx princes Galeholt, mes ce qu'il fist en la terre le Roy Artus ne vous deviseray je pas, car asses en est devisez ou livre que mestre Gautiers Map translata de latin en francoys, dont je tiendray mon droit compte et vous deviseray comment avint d'autres aventures qui ne sont pas es autres livres devisees a celluy temps¹." Again in Episode 5c Palamedes leaves the tourney of Vincestre for Cornwall where he later did mighty deeds, "et qui ce vouldra savoir apertement si prengne l'istoire de mon seigneur Tristan que mon seigneur Luches de Gant translata de latin en francoiz, car illec est devise comment il ouvra adonc et douba

¹ Fol. 135d. See above, I, 443. Cf. *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 406 ff.; IV, 5-7, 9, 38 ff. In the same episode (fol. 139 b) Gawain arrives with Hector des Marcs at Sorelois and finding Lancelot there, "s'estoit combatus a li ainsi com li contes de sa vie le tesmoigne apertement" (See *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 399 ff.). In this episode there is a break in the manuscript and an evident omission from the text (see above, I, 444, note 3). At the beginning of the narrative Galeholt decides to attend the tourney of Norhout, but at the end he declares that he cannot go to the assembly, for he has already promised Arthur to aid him in his war with the Saxons at the Roche aus Saisnes, and at that moment Lionel enters announcing that all is ready for their departure for the Roche. "Mais," continues the author, "atant lesse ores li contes a parler de ceste aventure car bien est devisee ou livre que fist Mestre Gautier Map de l'istoire Messer Lancelot." See also fol. 96a, Episode 7 (I, 434) : Morgain is said to have kept Lancelot in prison a long time, "ainsi com Mestre Gautier Map le devise appertement en son livre, mais non pour quant je vous en feray aussi mencion non pas pour ce qu'il fust a cestui temps dont je parolle yci, ancoiz fut de grant temps apres. Fu voir que celles ymages e[t] celles portraictures que Lancelot fist yllec monstra puis la desloyal Morgain au roy Artus (se devise appertement), dont je me departiray de poursuivre celle matiere car asses souffisamment est devisee illec ou je t'ay dit, et viendray a mon droit compte, ainsi com appartient a mon livre, et quant compte[r] devray de celui bon chevalier que fist les merveilles proeces pour amour de la Royne Genievre, si vous en compteray asses, car maint comptes de lui furent lessiez a translatez de latin en francoys, et je vous en compteray la droite verite, ainsi com la vraye histoire le tesmongne appertement" (*Lancelot*, Sommer, V, 217 ff.; *Le mort Artus*, Id., VI, 238 ff.). See also Episode 9b (I, 448), where the plots of Meleagant against his sister and his death at the hands of Lancelot "ainsi comme l'istoire de sa vie le tesmoigne appertement," are given briefly (See *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 198, 275, 279-282; V, 97).

sa honte, miez por ce que illec est devise ne le deviseray ja pas en mon livre, mais ca avant vous conteray ja bien maintes belles aventures et maint grant fait de Tristan et de Palamedes qui es autres livres ne furent translatez." Such are evidently the further episodes concerning Palamedes and Tristan, as well as those that have to do with Hoel de Breitaingne, all of whom figure in the *Tristan*, but not in situations that are paralleled in the *Prophecies*. In the midst of these episodes there are from time to time references to the *Tristan* for material which the author does not choose to recount¹.

Even by a careful comparison of Group I, 2, and A, it is impossible to define precisely the contents of X. In the foregoing paragraphs we have seen indications that allow us to reconstruct a part of its material, but beyond these there is no reason to dogmatize in regard to which of the episodes of A formed a part of X and which were later additions. Enough is clear to show us that there were originally two cycles interwoven into the *Prophecies*, — one, that of Lancelot, the influence of which was distinctly constructive, and the other, that of Segurant, which, while less prominent, had quite as surely a place in X. We have sufficient evidence also to prove that the author of the *Prophecies* was relying for the greater part of his romantic material on the *Lancelot*. He probably elected Lancelot, the nursling of the Dame du Lac, as the most appropriate hero to be brought conspicuously into his

¹ See fol. 134a (I, 443) : — King Marc has sent Tristan to Ireland for Yseut la blonde, hoping that he will be slain there and that thus the death of Morhout, whom Tristan killed, will be avenged, "ainsi com le livre de sa vie le tesmoigne appertement, mez il avint une aventure que Tristan combati en la court le Roy Artus pour le Roy d'Irlande encontre Blanor de Gannes qui de traison avoit appelle le Roy d'Irlande et l'outra d'armes, et qui cestui compte voudra veoir apertement comment messer Tristan vanqui ceste bataille et comment il ot pries Yseut la blonde, si prengne le livre que fist messer Luches car illec est divisiez appertement" (cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, §§ 36, 38). Fol. 138d (I, 444) : — At the time when Tristan and Galeholt were brought together, Galeholt had Lancelot with him in Sorelois, "ainsi com Messe[r] Luches de Gant le tesmogne appertement en son livre" (cf. Löseth, §§ 40, 41). Fol. 147c (I, 446) : — King Marc has Brengwine watched, "por ce qu'elle ne li aportast nouvelles ainsi com il fist jadis, quant Tristan se fery es fosses que li traitres Andret avoit fait mettre devant le lit la royne ainsi comme Messer Luch de Gant le devise appertement en son livre" (cf. Löseth, § 48). In a passage in Episode 7 (I, 435) it is said that when Marc returns to Cornwall after his visit to Claudas he finds Securad there with his wife, whose beauty Marc at once perceives, "et le tray une nuit ainsi com le livre de son enfance (evidently the *Tristan*) le tesmoigne apertement comment li felons roy Marc se mist en agait por Tristan et comment il le navra et Tristan ly" (cf. Löseth, § 34).

romance, because of the association of the Dame du Lac with Merlin, and the personages and situations of " le conte de sa vie " as supplying the most interesting subjects to be recalled to his readers, or as offering the most promising centres for fresh narratives. In order to prolong his story, perhaps merely to bring another favorite hero into contrast with Lancelot, he places Segurant in the lime-light also, with whom the *Palamedes*, as all the evidence proves, had made him familiar. When the redactor, whose work we know through *A*, wrote his version, having a taste for novelty and desiring to write something " not told in other books, " he introduced episodes dealing with the same personages that he found in his source, and used only a part of its romantic material, including probably most of the adventures of Segurant, in the course of which he makes no references to his determination to discard previous sources and tell us something new, as he does in other sections. His narrative material, apart from the Segurant episodes, lacks the connection that we have seen in Group I, 2, and in so far has the effect of being a more arbitrary selection of stories put together for the sake of variety and novelty. *A* thus is seen to be a late redaction of *X*, — a relation confirmed by the text¹.

Before leaving the episodes we must consider for a moment the connection of *A* and Group II, as represented by *B*. In the description of the manuscripts I have pointed out that *A* contains those portions of *B* not found in Group I, with the exception of the brief passages that are evidently the abridgements of longer narratives. For the first of these two classes of material *A* and *B* appear to have a common source. As to the narrative sections we are left more or less in the dark. They have almost no meaning in themselves. For the first concerning the imprisonment of King Marc² I know of no source, and the others are entirely trivial and insignificant³. Unfortunately all occur between chapters that are omitted in *A*, namely Chapters CLXXXVII to CCXXV; consequently there is no means of determining whether the source of *A*, which it is safe to assume contained these chapters, related also the episodes of which *B* gives a hint⁴. There is a high degree

¹ See above, I, 29.

² See Löseth, § 282a (pp. 188, 191) for a reference to the imprisonment of Marc by Tristan.

³ See above, I, 20, 21.

⁴ *B* even in the prophetic portions has a marked tendency to abridgement; that is, where Group I uses two epithets *B* often uses only one, and where Group I

of probability that it did, even as it certainly gave a place to the long episode about Galeholt le Brun and the prophecies of which *B* has only a section in Chapter LIV¹. But the lack of material makes it impossible to assert that this was the case in the narrative paragraphs between Chapters CLXXXVI and CCXXV. The indications go to show that from *X* sprang two versions, *Y*, the parent of Group I, and *Z*, the parent of Group II. *A*, combining characteristics of both, but textually more closely related to *Y* than to *Z*, occupies a middle ground, yet its union of features from both branches is not to be accounted for by a crossing of derivatives, but by a preservation of many of the features of *X*. The relation of *A* to Group II, however, is such that we cannot deny the probability that it is not a direct redaction of *X*, but is derived from an intermediate version from which *Z* also sprang, although the material to prove its existence is wanting.

One romantic narrative, which appears in all versions of the *Prophecies*, stands apart from the rest, because it contains the most important feature of the legend of Merlin, except the tradition of his birth, that figures in the romance. This is the account of his entombment by the Dame du Lac, his fairy love². Only such points of this episode as are connected with the composition of the *Prophecies* call for consideration here. In its bare outline it relates that Merlin leads the Dame to a cave in the forest of Aurences, where he has constructed a dwelling for their abode and a tomb for their common final resting place. Hating him, she persuades him by a ruse to lie down in the tomb, then claps its cover upon it and binds it fast by an invincible charm. No knight save Segurant, Roi d'Abiron, shall ever find his way thither unless he be conducted by the Dame du Lac. She later³ escorts her lover, Meliadus, to the place, and Merlin prophesies to him from the tomb. At the time of the visit of Meliadus, it appears that the entrance to the cave is guarded by the "montaigne qui debatoit," to pass which is a perilous adventure⁴. What was the author's source for this strange story? This is the point that it is of interest for us to ascertain.

adds modifying or explanatory phrases, *B* adds none. Therefore the theory that it is abridging longer episodes in these strange, short narrative passages is quite in accord with its prevailing characteristics.

¹ See above, I, 28, 113., note 6.

² Chapters CXXI-CXXX.

³ I, 184, 185.

⁴ See *l.c.*, 195, 198, 208, 218, 233, 311, 332.

In the prose romances anterior to the *Prophecies* there are three versions of Merlin's imprisonment by his fairy mistress. These are all so well known to the readers of Arthurian legend that a simple reminder of their chief characteristics will suffice for our purposes¹. In the prose *Merlin*², the maiden, Viviane, or Niniane, who is not once called the Dame du Lac, while Merlin sleeps an enchanted sleep under a spell that she has cast, fashions about him a tower of mist, which he can never leave. One day somewhat later, as Gawain rides through the forest, Merlin, speaking from behind the walls of mist, prophesies to him. "Moi ne verres vous jamais ; ce poise moi quar plus n'en puis faire. Et quant vous departires de chi jamais ne parlerai a vous ne a autre que a m'amie ne jamais n'en isterai." In the *Lancelot*³ the Dame du Lac, who is identified with Niniane, by enchantment casts Merlin into an endless sleep in a cave in a forest of Little Britain. The greater part of the story is devoted to the relations of the lovers, and the dénouement is given in a brief sentence. "Ele l'engigna et le seela tout en dormant en une cave dedens la perilleuse forest de Darnantes qui marchist a la meir de Cornouaille et al roialme de Soreillois. Ileuc remeist en teil maniere. Car onques puis par nului ne fu seus ne par nul homme veus qui noveles en seust dire." The third version is preserved to us from the lost *Conte del Brait*⁴ in the *Huth Merlin*⁵ and with minor differences in a Spanish source, the so-called *Baladro del Sabio Merlino*, which exists in a single exemplar of an edition published at Burgos in 1498⁶, a redaction of which forms a part of the *Demanda del Santa Grial*, published in 1907 by Bonilla y San Martin⁷. In this version Merlin at the entreaty of Niniane, called also the Damoisele du Lac and the

¹ For a discussion of these versions see my *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Chapters XIII, XIV; also, from a totally different standpoint, a learned and complicated series of articles by Brugger, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XXIX, XXXIV, XXXV, *Abhandlungen*, 1 ff.

² Sommer, II, 209 ff., 452, 461 ff.

³ Sommer, III, 21.

⁴ On the much discussed *Conte del Brait* see *Huth Merlin*, I, xxix-xxxii, lxxii ff.; Klob, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVI, 177 ff.; Sommer, *ibid.*, XXXII, 323 ff.; Id., *Romania*, XXXVI, 374 ff., 399 ff.; Brugger, *l. c.*, XXXIV, 99 ff., 119 ff.; XXXV, *Abhandlungen*, 38 ff.; Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 480 ff.

⁵ II, 191-198

⁶ See *Huth Merlin*, *l. c.* and pp. lxxxi ff. where selections from the text and the chapter headings are published.

⁷ *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, VI : *Libros de Caballerias*, I, chap-

Damoisele Chaseresse, leads her to a rock-cut chamber in the Forest Perilleuse, where two lovers have lived, died, and been buried together in one tomb. She induces Merlin to raise the enormously heavy cover of the tomb that she may look into it. That night while Merlin sleeps under a spell¹, she bids her attendants carry him to the tomb and lay him in it ; then by a charm she seals the lid upon it. No one can move the cover nor see him until the Damoisele herself shall come there by the prayer of Tristan, and no man ever again heard him speak save Baudemagus, who visited the tomb a few days after Merlin was laid therein. This adventure the *Huth Merlin*² adds is related at greater length in a book by Maistre Helies, the *Conte del Brait*, " li daerrains brais que Merlins gieta en la fosse ou il estoit... Et del brait dont je vous parole fu la vois oie par tout le roiaume de Logres. " The fuller account of the visit of Baudemagus to the tomb is given in the *Baladro*³. Merlin laments his own fate, utters a loud cry (" un muy doloroso baladro "), and dies. In the *Baladro (Demanda)* in a passage evidently to be attributed to the Spanish redactor Merlin delivers various prophecies concerning Arthur and the Round Table to Baudemagus before his cry. Baudemagus after Merlin has died goes to court and reports to Arthur all that has occurred. Arthur has his account put into writing⁴.

Such are the versions of the imprisonment of Merlin that might have been familiar to the author of the *Prophecies*. The extent to which they differ in outline, not to mention details, from each other and from the *Prophecies* is patent to any reader. The version of the latter is either a composition of the author or is directly derived from a source lost to us. If we grant the former for the moment, we can see that in his acceptance of the identity of the Dame du Lac and Niniane and his selection of the cave rather than the tower of mist for Merlin's prison he was working under the influence of the *Lancelot*. From this starting point his elaborations appear to have been suggested to him by the *Conte del Brait*, for although we cannot be sure of the exact contents of the *Brait* it is practically certain that the passages that come into discussion here, as well

ters 324-332. To distinguish this version from that of the Burgos edition I refer to it below as *Baladro (Demanda)*.

¹ It is implied, though not directly stated, that Merlin is bespelled.

² II, 198.

³ See *Huth Merlin*, I, lxxxv ; *Baladro (Demanda)*, Chapters 333-341.

⁴ Cf. Brugger, l. c., XXXIV, 134-136 ; XXXV, *Abhandlungen*, 44 ff

as many other adventures of Baudemagus, had a place in it. There is an indication at the beginning of Chapter cxxiii that the author was thinking of this source. There we read that Merlin and the Dame wandered through the forest of Aurences " tant que il vindrent a l'entree ou la croute estoit ou Merlin avoit la meson estoree et la tombe dont la Dame l'avoit prie." This is the first that we have heard of the house or the tomb. In the *Huth Merlin*¹ in a section that there is every reason to assume formed a part of the *Brait*, Merlin leads the Damoisele to the Lac de Dyane and points out to her a tomb into which Dyane, a huntress of the time of Virgil, had enticed an unwelcome suitor, Faunus, whom she had put to death in the tomb ; the Damoisele is charmed with the lake and Merlin constructs a house for her on its shores. Later² she begs Merlin to take her to the tomb of the two lovers in the Forest Perilleuse, in which she incarcerates him. These two passages the author of the *Prophecies* is uniting in the sentence quoted above, either for the sake of condensing his material, or far more probably with the confidence that we have previously seen him display in his readers' acquaintance with the story that he has in mind. There is ground for believing that the *Conte del Brait* was in large part devoted to Baudemagus³, and that as the hero of the romance he is permitted the crowning distinction of finding the tomb of Merlin and of holding converse with him. This feature, too, is reflected in the *Prophecies* in the prediction that Segurant, one of its chosen heroes, shall merit the same honor. This last detail is so entirely in harmony with the purpose of the author to extol Segurant, manifested throughout the work, that we may surely attribute it to his invention. Probably in the visit of Baudemagus to Merlin's tomb in the *Brait* he found a suggestion for his scene when Meliadus first is admitted to the cave where Merlin is buried⁴. Lastly from the final speech of Merlin to Baudemagus, he may have derived the grotesque idea of allowing Merlin to deliver his series of prophecies from the tomb to Meliadus. Thus we may account for his story of the entombment of Merlin as his own invention based upon a version of the *Conte*

¹ II, 144-146. This section is incomplete in the *Baladro (Demanda)*, Chapter 323, which omits the portion that bears upon the *Prophecies* ; Brugger, l. c., XXXIV, 28-130, has shown that it was certainly contained in the *Baladro*, Chapter xxxvi (*Huth Merlin*, I, xci).

² *Huth Merlin*, II, 191 ff. ; *Baladro (Demanda)*, Chapter 324.

³ See Brugger, l. c., XXXV, *Abhandlungen*, 36 ff.

⁴ I, 183, 185.

del Brait. On the other hand it is only fair to point out that the greater simplicity of the version in the *Prophecies*, as well as the otherworld character of some of its details (e.g., the Quaking Mountain) suggest the possibility that he was working from a source more primitive than the *Conte del Brait*.

We must remember in estimating the use that the writer makes of the entombment story that his preoccupation is not with the legend of Merlin, but with Merlin as his chosen vehicle for the expression of historic fact, moral teachings, or spiritual forebodings. He introduces the imprisonment merely as an episode that breaks the line of prophecies and produces a variety by allowing him to change his spokesman from Merlin in the flesh to Merlin in the otherworld; perhaps, too, by embodying it in a work in which Merlin's wisdom is so highly exalted as in the *Prophecies* he intended to emphasize its satiric quality, which, whatever the origin of the legend, was without question recognized by thirteenth-century writers, who used it as a favorite illustration of the weakness with which even the wisest of men succumb to the wiles of a woman. It does not, however, here as in the other prose romances prove a quietus to Merlin's prophetic utterances, and far from silencing him, it puts an even higher premium upon his vaticinations. It is still further woven into the scheme of composition by its references to the future visit of Segurant to the tomb of Merlin.¹

¹ The resemblance in situation between the *Brait* and the *Prophecies* was perceived by the Spanish redactor of the *Demanda*. He interpolates two sets of prophecies, in addition to those addressed to Baudemagus, delivered by Merlin, which have no relation to our prophecies, but are concerned chiefly with the affairs of Spain (see Klob, *l. c.*, pp. 183-184). The first follow the account of the return of Baudemagus to court (Chapter 341) and are said to have been delivered by Merlin before his death; the second set (pp. 155-162) is inserted between the first and second books of the *Demanda*. Merlin is in the palace of Arthur when he begins to prophesy. One proof that the redactor knew something of the *Prophecies* is that he introduces Maistre Antoine (p. 157); it is true that he is not the scribe of Merlin, but is a devout son of the Church, who to test Merlin's faith engages in controversy with him disastrously to himself.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCRIBES OF MERLIN.

In the foregoing studies we have been concerned with the internal elements of the *Prophecies* ; we have still to examine its outer structure. The dialogue form in which the greater part of it is written is so well known a means of conveying moral teachings in the literature of the middle ages that it requires no comment ; the dialogues of Secundus, the romance of *Ypotis*, *Salomon et Marcoul*, *Le Livre de Sidrach*, *Placide et Timeo* are a few out of numerous works that afford illustrations of this type of expression. The structural individuality of the *Prophecies*, therefore, apart from its alternation of prophecy and romantic episode, lies not in its dialogue form, but in its arrangement in groups of disconnected predictions delivered by Merlin to successive scribes. Who these clerks were, whether there is any significance in their choice as the persons through whose hands the wisdom of Merlin was to pass, how their individual books are linked together, and whether any of these existed in separate form before being incorporated into the *Prophecies* are questions that naturally call for an answer.

It should be said in advance that the scribe is a traditional figure in the literary legend of Merlin. In so early a work as the *Vita Merlini*, which is believed to have been written about the year 1148, Merlin provides himself with a mighty retinue of *notatores*, who are to record the prophecies that he intends to utter on observing the courses of the stars¹. In the prose romances, the next

¹ The number of the *notatores* is susceptible of more than one interpretation. Merlin (ed. Michel and Wright, 1837, vv. 556 ff.) is instructing his sister, Gannieda, how to build a house for him in the Caledonian forest : —

*Cui sex dena decem dabis hostia totque jenesstras,
Per quas ignivomum videam cum Venere Phœbum,
Inspiciamque polo labentia sydera noctu,
Quas me de populo regni ventura docebunt.
Totque notatores quas dicam scribere docti
Assint, et studeant carmen mandare tabellis.*

P. Paris (*Les romans de la Table Ronde*, 1868, I, 85) understood *sex dena decem* to mean "seventy" and *tot* in. vv. 556 and 560 to indicate the same number. According to Lot also (*Annales de Bretagne*, XV, 329) *sex dena decem* has the same force

sources chronologically that enter into consideration, he is attended by no such array of clerks. Here, throughout, his first and most important scribe is Maistre Blaise, the confessor of his mother, and the faithful recorder of events, past and future, which Merlin assiduously visits Northumberland to report to him. The book of Blaise was nearly completed, the *Huth Merlin*¹ tells us, before Merlin became entangled with Niniane. It by no means primarily consisted of prophecy, but is said to be so essentially a record of fact as to lend an additional degree of probability to the highly reasonable conjecture that Maistre Blaise is none other than the *fabulator Bledhericus* (Bleheri, Breri), one of the recognized early authorities, whether he be authentic or not, to whom writers of Arthurian fiction refer as a source².

In the *Merlin*³ and the *Huth Merlin*⁴ we hear of a book entirely distinct from that of Blaise, consisting wholly of the prophecies of Merlin. This is written at the behest of Pandragon after the fulfilment of a prediction of Merlin concerning the triple death of a certain baron has been announced at court. All the hearers exclaim that Merlin is the wisest being on earth. "Et lors dient qu'il ne li orront jamais chose dire qui a venir soit qu'il ne le metront en escrit. Ensi l'ont tout devise et par ce fu commenchies li contes des

but since he interprets the *tot* of. v. 560 as referring to the number of doors and windows taken together, he gives Merlin one hundred and forty scribes; he further suggests that *sex dena decem* may mean "six hundred." Villemarqué (*Myrdhin ou l'enchanteur Merlin*, 1861, p. 128) explains *sex dena decem* as "sixty." By analogy, however, with the other distributives in *-dena* (e.g., *duodena*, *tridena*, *quindena*), which are used in multiplication, *sex dena* should mean "sixteen at a time," or "by sixteens"; *sex dena decem hostia* would then mean "ten doors in sets of sixteen," or "one hundred and sixty doors." Since Merlin is arranging a point of observation for the heavens, his doors and windows would naturally open to the four points of the compass; an interpretation of their number which supplies a multiple of four would therefore meet the demands of the situation better than "seventy." *Tot* in v. 560 may refer to the number of doors and windows taken together, or, like that in v. 556, to the doors alone. If this interpretation of *sex dena decem* be correct, Merlin had either one hundred and sixty or three hundred and twenty scribes on his hands.

¹ II, 139.

² For this hypothetical identification and for a discussion of Maistre Blaise see W.H. Schofield, *Mythical Bards*, 1920, pp. 176-183. On Bledhericus see J. L. Weston, *Revue Celtique*, XXXII, 5 ff.; Id., *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, 1906-1909 I, 288 ff.; Id., *Romania*, XXXIII, 333 ff.; Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, 1912, pp. 33 ff.

³ Sommer, II, 47, 48.

⁴ I, 84-86.

profecies Merlin de ce qu'il dist del roy d'Engleterre et de toutes les autres choses dont il parla puis. Et por ce ne dist pas li livres ici qu'il metroient en escrit se ce non qu'il disoit, et ensi demora li rois une grant pieche... Et quant Merlins sot qu'il avoient ensi parle qu'il devoient metre en escrit sa parole si le dist a Blayse, et Blaises li demanda s'il feront autre tel livre comme il fera. Et Merlins respont que nenil, il ne metront en escrit se ce non qu'il ne poront connoistre dusques ce soit avenu, et Merlins s'en revint a la cort et quant il i fu venus si li conterent les noveles autre si comme s'il n'en seust rien. Et lors commencha Merlins a dire ces obscures paroles dont ces livres fu fais des prophesies que on ne puet connoistre dusques qu'eles sont avenues. " It is apparently this traditional book to which Arthur refers in the *Huth Merlin*¹, where after Merlin has foretold various events culminating in the destruction of the Round Table, the king exclaims, "Che sont des prophesies Merlin. Mettés ceste en escrit avoec les autres. "

In the prose *Lancelot*, since Merlin is entombed very early in the work and remains silent ever after, he has no occasion to employ the offices of a scribe². Maistre Blaise consequently does not appear, but another clerk is mentioned, who has been the scribe of Merlin, Maistre Petroine, the founder of the first school at Oxford, one of the eight wise clerks sent by Arthur to Galeholt to expound his troublesome dream³. Another of these eight clerks is Helyes le Toulousan⁴, who explains the dream more skilfully than his fellows,

¹ I, 275.

² In the *Lancelot* "sages clerks" who at the king's request put into writing the memorable exploits of valorous heroes are no unusual figures (see *Lancelot*, Sommer, III, 429; V, 332; P. Paris, *Les romans de la Table Ronde*, IV, 89; Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 15, note 1). Such personages were introduced by the writers of romance doubtless because a reference even to fictitious records as a source was a satisfaction to their public, and if these records were represented as contemporary with the events, so much the greater was their authority.

³ *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 23. Cf. above, II, 243; Lot, *Lancelot* p. 186, note 8. It is scarcely necessary to point out the anachronism that makes the scribe of Merlin the founder of Oxford University. The first known master at Oxford is said to have been Richard Pullus, who came there from Paris in 1134 (See H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford*, 1886, p. 9). Freeman's remarks (*History of the Norman Conquest*, 1867-1876, V, 318 ff.) about the foundation of Oxford are apposite: — "The University of Oxford has no foundation and no founder; she grew up from a seed cast at random. The origin of the great body which took its first root in the times with which we are dealing [i.e., the reigns of Henry I and Stephen] has been carried back to distant times and has become the subject of legend and worse than legend."

⁴ *Lancelot*, Sommer, IV, 20, 34.

and is pre-eminently the brightest star in the galaxy of clerical wisdom. We learn more about him in the *Livre d'Artus*¹. He is "uns bons clers et sages," who has come to court from Rome at the time when a great tempest has swept over the land, which, as he reveals to Arthur, will last until the Laide Semblance has been sunk in the sea, — an adventure that can be accomplished only by the counsel of Merlin. Shortly after this, Merlin arrives at court; he and Helyes meet with rapture and hold a long conversation in Latin. Before they part "si dist maistre Helyes a Merlin que il li feist escrire et il li diroit assez de tels choses ou il se porroit assez estudier. Et maistre Helyes dist que se fera il volentiers, mais vos en volez aler si serai toz appareillie a vostre revenue, car ge meismes, fait maistre Helye, escrirai de ma main ce que vos me diroiz por plus abregier les paroles que vos diroiz. Ja de ce, fait Merlin, ne vos mesleroiz, car itelx com ge les vos dirai itelx seront escrites... Et li contes dit que tandis com Merlin sejorna a la cort escrit maistre Helyes les propheties que il profecia a son tens et toutes celes qui encores sont a venir et qui avenues sont, et furent mises en escrit en un livre trestout par soi que l'en claime encore les Propheties de Merlin, et Blaises meismes les escrist en son livre avec l'estoire qu'il avoit encomenciee²."

From the above passages we see that the scribe of Merlin was an established accessory to the preservation of his wisdom, that in prose romances which were written before our version of the *Prophecies* three of his clerks are mentioned by name, Blaise, Petroine, and Helyes, and also that two books each called the *Prophecies de Merlin* are said to have been compiled at court. With these facts in mind it remains for us to see how far they are connected with our romance.

In all the versions of the *Prophecies* except *C*, 1498, *V*, and *P* the opening chapter shows Merlin in close conversation with Maistre Antoine, "cil qui metoit an celui tens les propheties Merlin en escrit," whose function is to preserve in writing the prophetic observations of his master. But at the end of Chapter II of our text, when Merlin has predicted the fate of the pope Alexandre in Ireland, a certain Bishop Tholomer without introduction or explanation looms up mysteriously in the foreground as a collector of

¹ Sommer, VII, 158 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp 160, 163.

Merlin's sayings : — " Quant li evesques Tholomers sot ce que Merlin ot dit sus ceus d'Illande, il fet maintenant metre en escrit tout ce qu'il ot dit sus eus, et l'envoie en Illande, ainssi comme premmis leur avoit. " The next mention of Bishop Tholomer is in Chapters xxix and xxx, and is equally casual : — " En ceste partie dit li contes que tout ainssint vint li mesages de par l'apostoile en Galles pour l'evesque Tholomer, qui esleus estoit .i. des tireurs de cordes, comme Merlin en dit. Ainssi fu esleu mestre Antoine a evesque, comme Merlin l'avoit profecie, et de tot ce que je vous ai dit ca en arrieres que il avoit dit n'en failli il de riens. " Antoine refuses to be consecrated bishop until Merlin shall have finished his prophecies. Before the departure of Tholomer Merlin in answer to his questions foretells the fate of Rome, and gives him counsel as to his course amid the corruptions of the Roman curia. Tholomer takes his leave, and Merlin and Antoine return to their scriptorium. When the three cardinals visit Merlin they say that they have heard of him in Rome from Tholomer¹. Later yet² Merlin announces that Tholomer has died in the Holy Land, and at the same time he sends certain predictions to Maistre Antoine which he is to add to " celui livre que entre lui et mestre Tholomer ont fet. " At last in Chapter CLXI we come upon a direct reference to Tholomer as the second scribe of Merlin : " Blaise, li premier mestre Merlin, et Tholomer, qui apres mist en escrit la science, mestre Antoine aussi, " and in Chapter CCLXVII a prophecy is quoted from the book that had been written by Tholomer and Antoine. In Chapter CCCX, we are also told that Tholomer, who appears to be acting as a scribe of Merlin, came to Ireland with Pope Clement³, of whom he was a clerk ; a prophecy delivered to him at that time by Merlin is quoted in Chapter CCCXII. These passages assume an acquaintance on the part of the reader with Maistre Tholomer and with his book of prophecies, and even without the reference at the beginning of Chapter xxix to the election of Tholomer as cardinal and the appointment of Maistre Antoine to a bishopric, as has been foretold by Merlin " ca en arrieres," it would be quite certain that some account of Tholomer as well as a collection of predictions written down by him was known to the author of the *Prophecies*.

¹ I, 96, 108.

² I, 185.

³ Clement is an apocryphal pope ; there was no Pope Clement at the time when Merlin and Tholomer are supposed to have lived.

There is a *résumé* of the situation in a passage in *B*, *A*, and 1498¹, which adds a little to our information. The Dame du Lac explains to Bohors that Merlin has been wont all his life to associate with none save holy men, first in Northumberland with a hermit called Blaise, "et icil Blaise nos tesmoigne de s'anfance et de ses ovres que il metoit en escrit tout ce que il veoit de lui." This book of Blaise was carried into "paenime" and was afterwards brought back to Ireland. There was with Pope Clement at that time a "sage clerc," Maistre Tholomer, who was bishop of Gales, and who put into writing a great part of the wisdom of Merlin. He was created cardinal, and a holy man named Maistre Antoine was made bishop of Gales in his place and also kept a record of the wisdom of Merlin². From this passage, then, we see that for the redactor Merlin's scribes in order of succession were Blaise, Tholomer, and Antoine, and we also have in outline the story of the two latter, which is implied in *R* and the kindred texts. But it is evident that we have not quite touched bottom. To do so we must resort to those versions that contain prophecies delivered by Merlin to Maistre Tholomer, namely *C*, 1498, and the Italian texts with the exception of *S*. Because of the fragmentary and disordered state of the two French sources we cannot look to them for a consecutive narration of any events, but at the end of the romance of *Merlin*, before the second section of the *Prophecies*, *C*³ gives a fairly lucid account of Tholomer, which explains the allusions in Groups I, II, and III: —

Ci fenis li contes de maistre Blaise que plus ne parole des fais Merlin en cestui livre ne plus ne truis escrit. Mes apres ce que maistre Blaise fu pazez de ceste siecle vos sai je dir que Merlin s'acointa droitement en Gales a un champellain de l'apostolle qui fuiz s'en estoit de Rome o toz son seignour por la paor des paiens que en cel point estoient veanz entor Rome, si la tenoit en assie. Mes de cestui faiz vos lairai atant, car il me conven torner a ma istor. Cestui capellain dont je vos ai fait mencion estoit apellez Tolomer, si erent amique feoil de mon seignour l'apostolle, mes il se parti de lui seillement por estre avec Merlin que por escrire ce que Merlin li disoit, si vos sai dire que il venoit ensemble sovent et menuz en une chambre qui Tolomer avoit qui illec escrivoit toz cel que a Merlin plaisoit a dir⁴.

¹ I, 225, 226.

² *A* adds a devout abbé to this list of Merlin's scribes; see below, p. 326.

³ Fol. 163a. Cf. above, I, 37.

⁴ After an expression of confidence in Merlin from Tholomer and Merlin's reply, the text passes to a prophecy delivered to Maistre Antoine in Chapter LX.

This account is supplemented by the following passage from 1498¹, which is not found elsewhere : —

Mais lors quant monseigneur le pape Clement vint au pays d'Yrlande il amena avecques luy ung clerc moult charge de clergie. Et lors s'en alla Merlin en Yrlande et tantost et se fist congnaistre au pape Clement et tint moult grant parlement a lui. Il s'acointa du clerc et moult fut bien de lui. Tant l'ayma celu[i] clerc qu'il deguerpit le pape Clement et demorra en Yrlande et illec fut fait chappellain et fut tant illec qu'il fut esleu evesque de Galles. Ce fut maistre Tholomer. Illec fut avec lui Merlin et puis vint ceste part avec lui et tant furent icy a mettre en escript ce qu'il disoit que maistre Tholomer fut esleu ung des tireurs des cordes du pape.

These passages are necessary for an understanding of the previous references to Tholomer in both versions. Both introduce him in their first sentences with no less abruptness than *R* uses in introducing Maistre Antoine, *C* beginning its opening paragraph with an unintelligible remark of Tholomer at the close of an interview with a lady², and 1498 with the statement that Merlin "estoit ung jour en Gales en la chambre de maistre Tholomer," and continuing with the prophecies that Tholomer writes at his dictation³. Later both sources give an account of Tholomer's election to a bishopric in Gales, his departure from Ireland (where 1498 has previously stated that he is), and his appointment of twenty-two new canons on his arrival in Gales⁴. Later yet⁵ Maistre Tholomer leaves Gales for London attended by a great company of clerks. Merlin soon comes to him and bids him appoint one of the number to succeed him as scribe, since after his consecration it will not be seemly for him to continue in that capacity. Tholomer accordingly calls a clerk of Normandy, Antoine by name, "sage et loial envers Dieu et le monde," and appoints him as his successor. Antoine immediately enters upon his duties. No further narrative about Tholomer is given until those sections of the text that correspond to the passages from *R* cited above relating to Tholomer⁶. *C* and 1498, however, although they are alike in the parts

¹ Fol. 147b, c ; see above, I, 486.

² "Ma dame, fait Tolomer, je ne meterai home ne feme qu'ele no ve plara, et cele lor mercie. Atant s'en part Tholomer d'ilec et comanda la dame a Deu."

³ See above, I, 449.

⁴ For 1498 see above, I, 456, 457; *C*, fols. 16d ff.

⁵ For 1498 see above, I, 474 ; *C*, fol. 28a.

⁶ A glance at the table of contents of the two sources (I, 38, 40), will show

that I have mentioned, differ materially in the series of prophecies attributed to the *Book of Tholomer*, and also in the order of those that both contain¹; the predictions that are not common to the two texts resemble each other in character and are of the same nature as those with which we have become familiar in *R*². In *C* the *Book of Tholomer* occupies the first twenty-two folios, and a few more prophecies from it are inserted later³ between others to Maistre Antoine. In 1498 the *Book of Tholomer* extends to folio 13d, and further prophecies from it are cited on folios 144d-145d⁴. Its misarrangement and defective condition is illustrated by the constant shifting of the scene between Gales and Ireland without reason or warning. At the opening of the book Tholomer is said to be in Gales, but two folios later it turns out that after all he is in Ireland, whence he sails to Gales, where Merlin awaits him. At folio 10d Merlin and Tholomer are discovered together in Ireland: — “Or dit le compte que maint jour demoura Merlin en Yrlande entre luy et Tholomer pour mettre ses prophecies en escript.” A series of prophecies follows to folio 13c, at the end of which Maistre Tholomer goes from Gales to London⁵.

Leaving these two unsatisfactory sources for the moment we find in the Italian text preserved in *V* and *P* vastly better disposed material. This version opens with a book of prophecies addressed to Blaise of which there is no trace in the French sources, and which is followed by a part of the romance of Merlin. The text then continues⁶: —

that not all of these passages occur in both. *C*, for example, does not contain the account of Tholomer's appointment as cardinal.

¹ The following prophecies are common to both *C* and 1498, although the texts exhibit many verbal differences: — 1498, fol 2d, the prophecy concerning Arthur (I, 453); *C*, fol. 2a. — 1498, fols. 9a-10a (I, 465-467); *C*, fols. 2b ff. — 1498, fols. 2d-8d (I, 453-464); *C*, fols. 14c ff. — 1498, fols. 1b, c, the prophecy concerning the wicked clerks and the sea that will submerge the mountains, (I, 449, 450); *C*, fol. 21b. — 1498, fols. 13c-14a (I, 473-474); *C*, fols. 28a ff.

² Those in *C* treat of the “mauvais œuvres des clers,” of the Bons Mariniers, Milan, the fall of Jerusalem, the affairs of Spain, and one tells of the plot of Bertholais and the false Guinevere, and the rescue of Queen Guinevere by Lancelot. The most important passage is discussed below, pp. 329 ff.

³ Fols. 26d-28a.

⁴ See above, I, 449-474; below, p. 314.

⁵ I, 449, 455, 456, 468, 474. Even the not unprecedented use of the name Ireland for Britain in the romances (see below, p. 311, note 3) does not sufficiently account for all these rapid changes of place.

⁶ Fol. 47c.

Questo e il fine del libro el quale fece scriver Merlino a maestro Blasio Romito e suo confessor, el quale visse giorni .xxii. dopo la incoronatione del Re Artus, e poi passo di questa vita ala celestial gloria, al quale per sua pieta e misericordia ne conduca el nostro signor Jesu Christo che vive e regna in secula seculorum. Amen.

Dopo che maestro Blasio, facto romito, fu passato di questa vita, Merlino stete continuamente in Gaules, e fece grande amicitia con uno capellano del apostolico de Roma, che si chiamava Ptolomeo, el qual era campato de Roma per paura dei pagani che persequitavano la sancta chiesa. Et essendo venuto nele parte del Inghelterra, udendo le grande cose che Merlino havea facto, si acosto a lui e prese grande domesticheza con quello, e missesse a scrivere de le sue prophetie, e fece el secondo libro. Ma peroche lui dimoro poco in Gaules apresso Merlino, essendo facto Cardinale, pero ello scrisse poche prophetie. Or essendo un giorno Merlino nela sua camera, Maestro Ptolomeo li parlo e disse, Merlino, veramente a me e stato affirmato che tute le cose che hai dito sono state vere, e pero de tuto quello che me dirai, securamente ti credero. — Al nome de Dio, disse Merlino, io so molto bene tuto el tuo pensiero, peroche tu voli ch'io ti dica de quelle cose che deno avenire. Et benche impossibel saria a dirte de tute cose pur non di meno tante maraviglie saperai per me, che alcun core humano non ne saperia la mita, se non solo el nostro signor Dio, el quale le potria revelar ali suoi amici per el suo sanctissimo Spirito. Or adunque trova carta e penna e calamaro e comincia a scriver. Et prima scrivi che tu dimorerai poco apresso di me in Gaules, peroche tu serai electo cardinale dal apostolico e subito andarai a Roma.

The prophecies that follow¹ agree in substance with those relating to the Good Mariners contained both in 1498, folios 9a-10c², and C, folios 2b ff., after which Merlin announces : —

E voglio che meti in scripto che ogi tu e stato electo fratello e cardinale del nostro signor apostolico de Roma. Et infra pochi giorni venira el meso onde tu ti partirai de Gaules. Et udendo cio maestro Ptolomeo fu molto dolente de partirse cosi tosto da Merlino, impero che desiderava molto de esser apresso lui, e meter in nota gran parte de le sue prophetie, ma non possendo far altro crete a Merlino, e misse li suoi fati in ordine, perche gionto el messo se ne potesse andare con quello. Et sapendo certo che li convenia andar a Roma non si curo de dimandar piu Merlino de le sue prophetie.

Et cosi se aparichio maestro Ptolomeo per il conforto de Merlino de tuto quello che li era di bisogno per andare ad esser fratello in Christo de[l] apostolico de Roma. Et tuto li advene como Merlino li

¹ Fols. 48a-d.

² See above, I, 465-468 ff.

disse, impero che l'apostolico de Roma lo fece uno di tiradori de corde, e facta la electione subito mando per maestro Ptolomeo, il quale havendo ricevuta l'ambassata da parte de lo apostolico refuto la dignita del vescovato de Gaules, e fu quello beneficio donato ad uno savio clerico lo qual si chiamava maestro Antonio, e questo era molto erudito nele .vii. liberal arte, al quale li havea prophetizzato Merlino che tosto saria beneficiato del vescovato de Gaules, ma non sapea pero el dicto maestro Antonio, quando ne per qual modo, perche Merlino non li lo havea ancor voluto dire.

The narrative then passes immediately to the material contained in Chapters XXIX and XXX of *R* (i. e., the appointment of Tholomer as cardinal, the prophecy concerning Rome, and Merlin's instructions to Tholomer), although the text differs substantially from that of the French versions. After Merlin's parting advice to Tholomer the narrative continues¹: — " Et il Cardinale Ptolomeo prese combiato da tuti quelli de Gaules, e andosene poi alo apostolico. Ma da poi che Merlino fu domesticato con Maestro Antonio, ello ando molte fiate a lui e fece li meter in scripto molte prophetie, sicome l'havea facto meter maestro Ptolomeo. Et cio che lui fece meter in scripto se dira in questo libro sequente, lo quale ello scripse in vita de Merlino." Chapter I of *R* follows. This version thus gives a well coordinated *Book of Tholomer*; it presents his *cursus honorum*, duly dismisses him from the scene, and leaves Antoine comfortably ensconced in his place. The prophecies are few in number, but there is good reason for this, the author tells us, because Tholomer, rising swiftly in ecclesiastical dignity, was for only a short time the scribe of Merlin.

The other source for the *Book of Tholomer* is the Vatican manuscript, Palatine 949². In this version after the folios devoted to the romance of *Merlin* there is found an account of the appointment of Tholomer as Merlin's scribe which accords with that of *V*. In the last folios of the manuscript, after a blank page following the predictions of Cecco d'Ascoli, a few prophecies said to be extracted from the *Book of Tholomer* are given³. The first of these is long

¹ Fol. 49b.

² See above, I, 49.

³ Fol. 121c: — " Queste profecie fuoro trate de quello proprio libero francixi loqual scrise maistro Rìcardo de Ierlanda lo qual maistro Rìcardo traslata de gramadega in francixi quello proprio libero de Merlino la qual avera scripto maistro Tolomer de Ierlanda cho le sue proprie man per lo chomandamento de Merlin. E maistro Rìcardo lo traslata del .mccxxviii. E maistro Tolomer lo aveva scripto per lo chomandamento de Merlino del .cccclxxxii. "

and relates principally to the Boni Marinari and their part in the Fourth Crusade; the second agrees in substance with that in 1498, folios 1a-2a¹, concerning the sins of the cardinals, although verbally and in arrangement the two sources are very unlike. The next prophecy is that delivered to Maistre Antoine in Chapter XXI² through the sentence, "et avoit a non cele cite Faloence."

With the texts in so defective a condition it is obviously impossible to speak with much assurance about the *Livre de Tholomer*. The references to it in Groups I, II, and III indicate that it must have been contained in the original version from which they ultimately sprang, namely X, but that it certainly had no place in Y or Z³. It is also impossible to reconstruct its contents with any degree of accuracy, but it certainly related that when Pope Clement came to Ireland (or England)³, he had with him a clerk, Tholomer, who, captivated by the wisdom of Merlin became his scribe, then was appointed bishop of Gales, and later cardinal,

¹ See above, I, 449-452.

² This must also be true of a story associated with Tholomer, of which there is evidence in the *Livre de Maistre Antoine*. In Chapters LXXVI and XCI Merlin announces to Maistre Antoine that they will both be present at a council in Rome, which will be summoned because of the Emperor of Rome, and where Merlin will perform wonders; on their return home he will resume the dictation of his prophecies. Chapter xciii begins: — "Que vous iroie je disant? Et Merlin qui retournes estoit du concille et mestre Antoine estoient a prives conseil en la chambre ou il estoient acoustume a estre, et lors parole Merlin et dit — ." The prophecy that Merlin proceeds to deliver predicts the great mortality that will befall a host who will go with the emperor to the Holy Land. The natural inference is that there was originally a story of the Council and the marvels that Merlin wrought there, without which the above references are incomplete and pointless. 1498 (fols. 25d-29b; I, 475-481) and Pal. 949 (fols. 93c-97d) give a full account of a council in Rome at which the Emperor makes his submission to the Pope and pledges himself to undertake a crusade. The narrative continues with the controversy between Merlin and the Bishop which is contained also in V (fols. 67b-69d), and which has been mentioned above, II, 191, 192. Maistre Antoine is present with Merlin at the Council, and they consort with Cardinal Tholomer, who is also there. The story contains an anachronism, for Tholomer is supposed to live in the fifth century, and the Pope of the Council is evidently identified with Gregory X (See above II, 175 ff.). The entire episode, however, so completely explains the allusions in Chapters LXXVI, XCI and xciii, that it must have formed a part of X which has been lost in all of the derivatives except those mentioned above. Possibly when the *Livre de Tholomer* was suppressed, this episode also was excluded because of the close association of Tholomer with it.

³ This difference of place in the versions has no significance. "Ces illes d'Irlande" is used for Britain in the *Modena Perceval*; see J.L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 12.

another clerk, Maistre Antoine, succeeding him both as scribe and as bishop. Only the existence of such a version can account for the strange references to Tholomer in the derivatives of *X*. Of so much we may be sure, but we have not sufficient evidence to decide whether all of the prophecies that have reached us as *disiecta membra* in our sources formed its pages, or whether some of them are later additions. The book was quite evidently designed to serve as an introduction to the others, and to initiate the proposed line of Merlin's scribes with a worthy successor to the revered Blaise, namely Tholomer, a promising clerk and a favorite of the Pope, who makes a rapid ascent of the churchly ladder until he reaches the papal court, which is the particular object of Merlin's animosity. Hence his admission into it provides an opportunity for Merlin to expose its sins and temptations. The orthodoxy of Merlin, insisted upon throughout the work, thus receives at the outset the seal of approval from the Church; he whose words two wise and excellent bishops, one of whom is blessed with the papal favor, delight to preserve, must indeed belong to the true faith. If this book was more than an introduction to the others, it is difficult to see why it should have been so completely discarded as the existing manuscripts lead us to believe was the case. Its absence in either *Y* or *Z* may be due to the influence of one version from which it had disappeared upon the other, though it is entirely conceivable that each dropped it independently. But had it contained many and interesting prophecies, they would almost certainly have maintained their place beside those of Maistre Antoine. *V* and *P* present a version of the type that we can readily understand might have been abandoned when the work passed through French, or indeed any save Venetian hands, where the affairs of Venice, which form the preponderating subject of the prophecies, had no vital importance. If the book were in the main discarded, the parts telling of the promotion of Tholomer to the cardinal's robes and of Antoine to the bishopric of Gales would naturally have been transferred to the *Livre de Maistre Antoine*, where we find them in the other versions. Yet we cannot maintain that *V* and *P* accurately represent the original version of the *Livre de Tholomer*, for they leave a gap in his history, saying in the first place that he is a "capellano del apostolico," and when he is elected cardinal explaining that he renounced the bishopric of Gales in favor of Antoine. The *Livre de Tholomer* certainly told of Tholomer's election to the bishopric, and it also surely contain-

ed, as we shall see in the next chapter, material about Maistre Richart d'Irlande that is lacking in *V* and *P*. All that can be affirmed is that they show us intelligibly the kind of composition which it is reasonable to suppose that the original *Livre de Tholomer* was.

The prophecies that it recorded never can have been numerous, for Tholomer is represented as being for no long time in a position to act as scribe, and the Italian texts state that this is the reason why his book is so brief¹. In the French sources after he goes to Gales to enter upon his see, his consecration is temporarily postponed; meanwhile he diligently puts into writing the prophecies that constitute the greater part of his book. Then Merlin bids him appoint a successor, "car puisque tu seras sacre evesque il ne seroit pas chose convenable que tu en escripuisses plus en avant²." Later when Maistre Antoine accepts the bishopric, he refuses to be consecrated until Merlin shall have finished the prophecies, since he desires to complete his work. Yet after his consecration his office is no obstacle to his continuing his duties as scribe³. The delay in the consecration of Antoine looks suspiciously like a mere reproduction of that in the case of Tholomer, whose understudy Antoine practically is, and so far as Tholomer is concerned, a device on the part of the author to give himself the opportunity of adding more prophecies to his original. In so disconnected a miscellany as the *Prophecies* accretion or reduction was always a simple matter, for the trick of the trade was not hard to acquire; hence it is far from unlikely that in *C* and 1498, both late sources, the original has been subjected to interpolations and other changes. It is not without significance that in 1498, on folio 5d, Merlin for the first time in the book refers to the "Marche Amoureuse," which will become "ploureuse," as the "marche que je t'ay dit aultrefois en mes prophecies," and attributes its disasters to the "mauvais gaing" to which it has surrendered itself; this passage corresponds so closely with the burden of the prophecies relating to the Trevisan mark in *R*, especially those in Chapters ix and x as to arouse the suspicion that the author in his "aultrefois" is referring not to sections of the *Book of Tholomer* now lost, but casually to those which he already had found in later books.

¹ *V*, fol. 47c: — "Ma peroche lui dimoro poco in Gaules apresso Merlino essendo facto Cardinale, pero ello scrisse poche prophetie."

² Fol. 13c; see above, I, 474.

³ See Chapters cxvii, cxxi.

So also in a purported extract from the *Book of Tholomer* in 1498¹, after a reference to "le mauvais dragon qui doit decevoir l'humain lignage par ses ars et par son engin qu'ilz auront des ennemys d'enfer, ainsi comme je vous ay compte en mes prophecies," the passage continues with a brief mention of the various miracles of the ministers of the Dragon which are foretold at greater length in *R*. In fact², although the romantic chronology is earlier than that in the later books, several scenes being laid in the reign of Uter Pendragon instead of in the reign of Arthur, so closely in theme and spirit do the greater part of the prophecies in the *Livre de Tholomer* in 1498 resemble many in *R*, especially those that have to do with the "mauvais euvres des clers," that they sound like echoes from the latter, and quite as if they had been suggested by them³. These conjectures cannot be pressed; all that should be insisted upon is that the present condition of the material is logically accounted for by the hypothesis that the *Livre de Tholomer* formed part of *X*, where it served as an introduction to the rest of the work, that it consisted chiefly of prophecies relating to the Venetians and the cardinals, that *C* and 1498 represent mutilated but extended versions of it⁴, and that the nearer conception of the original form is afforded by *V* and *P*.

The reason for the author's selection of the name Tholomer for that of Merlin's scribe is obvious. Few more honorable names could have been appropriately chosen for him than that of the great astronomer and astrologer, Ptolemy, whose works had been translated into Latin in the twelfth century and circulated in southern Europe, and whose *Almagest* and *Quadripartitum* were recognized as the most authoritative sources for astronomical and astrological knowledge; the latter, indeed, had been translated into Latin for

¹ Fol. 145b.

² The same situation occurs in Chapter cclxx, where in the *Livre de Merlin*, which pretends to have been written before the prophecies to Maistre Antoine, there is a reference to the Four Smokes foretold in Chapter LI, "si comme je vous ai dit en mes prophecies."

³ It is worth noting that Pal. 949 gives a version of the material found in 1498, fol. 1d (see above, I, 451, note 1), in which the sentence, "Et seront avecques ung gouverneur a qui sa porte sera brisee a force d'argent que li tirans lui dourront," is much clearer, and evidently refers to the events foretold at greater length in Chapter XI (see above, II, 161 ff.); the clause is added "chusi chomo io te diro de qua in drieto," which looks as if this also may have been composed after Chapter XI.

⁴ For other late additions to 1498, see below, pp. 320, 321.

Frederic II¹ even as the *Prophecies* claimed to have been translated into French at his behest. There is no lack of testimony to the great repute of Ptolemy in the middle ages as a seer and teacher. Dante places him in the "philosophic family" in the *nobile castello* of the Limbo², Fazio degli Uberti in the *Ditta Mundi*³ receives instruction from him, and Jean des Preis d'Outremeuse describes him⁴ as "uns divins et moult souffisans en l'art de mathématique, qui adjostat à astronomie plus de raisons qu'ilh ne trovat en escript faite par les altres devant luy. Chu fut le plus mervelheux et souffisans clers qui onques fuist en astronomie." As one of the most learned seers in astronomical science he was depicted beneath the sculptured personification of Astronomy in the old portal of the cathedral of Chartres, where below the representation of each of the Liberal arts was carved the figure of one of the illustrious men who had cultivated it⁵. His was an altogether suitable name to bestow upon a clerk of Merlin, whose book, as we shall see, ostensibly was also destined to be sought after by the Emperor Frederic.

Maistre Antoine, an entirely colorless person, is as fictitious a being as his predecessor. That he is a double of Tholomer in the scheme of the book is evident from what has been already said in regard to him. Beyond his enthusiastic recording of Merlin's words he has little part in the narrative. He has still less individuality than Tholomer and is an even duller creation⁶. After a long service as scribe he receives a prophecy of Merlin⁷ which predicts that after his death his bones will be taken to Sadaine. He at once enters a hermitage and fifteen months later dies. Before his death he had appointed a Sage Clerc de Gales, "moult sages en

¹ See Rose, *Hermes*, VIII, 327 ff., 335; Haskins and Lockwood, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI, 77, 78, note 2; Haskins, *Mediaeval Science*, pp. 68, 103-112.

² *Inferno*, IV, 142.

³ Ed. 1501, Lib. I, cap. v, vi.

⁴ *Ly myreur des histours*, ed. Borgnet et Bormans, I, 56r.

⁵ See Mâle, p. 111.

⁶ There is a reference in Chapters LXXXIV and XCII to a deception practised upon Brehus by Merlin, who sent him a devil as messenger in the semblance of Maistre Antoine, which is explained by nothing in any of our versions, but we may assume that it refers to an incident in X. For a further reference to Maistre Antoine see above, II, 311, note 2. See Chapters CLXIV and CLXVII, where the author makes a convenience of Maistre Antoine for the sake of introducing bits of didactic wisdom.

⁷ Chapter CLVII.

l'art de l'astronomie," to preserve in writing all the prophecies of Merlin that might be brought to him¹. The writer undoubtedly put Antoine to death and installed the Sage Clerc in his place purely for purposes of variety. Even an alleged prophet must occasionally consider the policy of relieving his monotonous composition by an attempted diversion, although it be no more startling than a change in the personality of the scribe. There seems to be no reason why the new clerk should have been called Antoine rather than after any other saint. Perhaps Merlin's scribe, Maistre Petroine, whom the author had met in his favorite romance of *Lancelot*, suggested to him a name similar in sound².

The Sage Clerc, who cannot boast of a proper name at all except in a passage in 1498 which is almost certainly a late addition, where he is called Raymon³, simply serves to carry on the mechanism of the work. He is the recipient of the various prophecies that Meliadus or other wayfarers bring to him for preservation in writing⁴. He serves to make the narrative less uninteresting by his eagerness to visit the tomb of Merlin and his decision that since this is impossible for him, Meliadus alone having access to it, he will hold converse with the devil who engendered Merlin. Meliadus reports this desire to Merlin, who sends word by him to the Sage Clerc bidding him go to the court of Arthur and there await Perceval le Galois, who will conduct him to a point where he will find a round stone; if he throws a spell upon it, he will be able to speak to the father of Merlin, who is enclosed within it. By the prayer of Perceval he will escape alive. If he mounts the stone, it will speed away flying through the air, and from it he will view not

¹ See Chapters CLVII, CLX.

² Antoine is, of course, the Sire Amytayn, or Auntayn, whom Robert Mannyng of Brunne mentions as one of Merlin's scribes in lines that supply an interesting testimony to his acquaintance with the *Prophecies* (*The Story of England*, ed. Furnivall, 1887, I, 208, vv. 8213 ff.) : —

*Thenne seyde Merlyn many thynges,
What y this lond schuld lide of kynges,
That are in Blase bokes writen. —
They that havyt more hit wyte: —
And in Tolomer and sire Amytayn [Auntayn ?],
Thyse hadde Merlynes bokes playn,
Ffor thyse thre write his prophecyes,
And were his maistres in ser partyes.*

³ Fols. 147d, 148a; see above, I, 487. In *V* and *P* he is not differentiated from Maistre Antoine, whose death is omitted.

⁴ See, e. g., Chapters CLXI, CLXVII, CLXXIV, CXCv.

only the cave where Merlin is entombed, but the entire world below the skies. Meliadus returns to the Sage Clerc and retails to him all that Merlin has said. The Sage Clerc goes to court, and there encounters the experiences foretold by Merlin. He mounts the Pierre Reonde, which darts at once into the sea, then soars into the air and so away over the countries, towns, and castles of the world, the devil who has been incarcerated in the stone by Merlin in the meantime conversing with him about the miraculous birth of Merlin, his sin of "luxure" that has occasioned his confinement in the tomb, and his surpassing wisdom. When the devil has finished his discourse, the Pierre Reonde takes its way to Camelot, deposits the clerk safely on the ground, and then is swallowed by the earth, which yawns open to receive it. The Sage Clerc hastens to Meliadus to recount his adventures and to beg him to visit Merlin and hold converse with him¹. When Meliadus arrives at the tomb², Merlin at once begins, "Meliadus, Meliadus, or ai je a tesmoing le plus sages clerck du monde de mout de choses," and proceeds to deliver a long series of prophecies about the various regions over which the Sage Clerc has flown, usually beginning, "Je sai apertement que il vit" one or another place about which he has a prediction to make.

Thus the adventure serves to introduce a new list of prophecies with a varied formula. The journey of the Sage Clerc is also made the means for bringing Perceval into the story as well as the Duc d'Ancie and the Roi de Bernie. As the Pierre Reonde passes over the palace that St. Thomas built in India³, the Clerc takes advantage of the opportunity to grasp the cloak of the Roi d'Inde and carries it away with him. When the stone reaches Bernie (Berne), which is doubtless Burmah, the Roi de Bernie sees it with the Clerc upon it, and falling on his knees entreats the Lord to vouchsafe him an understanding of the marvel; the stone at once halts, and the devil explains that he has been imprisoned within it by Merlin. Whereupon the Roi de Bernie sets out to find so great an enchant-er⁴. On his way over Ancie (Antioch ?)⁵ the Clerc lets the cloak of the Roi d'Inde fall; the Duc d'Ancie finds it, and marvelling at

¹ Chapters CLXXIX-CLXXXI, CLXXXIV-CXCV.

² Chapters CXCV ff.

³ See above, II, 220, note 1.

⁴ Chapter CXCI.

⁵ In Chapter CCLIII B supplies the variant *Antioche*. It should be said that *Antioche* is the form invariably used elsewhere in the *Prophecies* for the name of the city.

it goes "cerchant ce que il ne set neis demander." His wanderings bring him to a meeting with Perceval, who has learned of the cloak from the Sage Clerc and consequently when he hears the perplexities of the Duc is able to explain them to him¹; he despatches the Duc to the Sage Clerc with a message from him². Both of these personages, the Roi de Bernie and the Duc d'Ancie, are prominent in the rest of the book as listeners to Merlin's prophecies, who have come from afar in quest of him. The story of the Sage Clerc and the Pierre Reonde, therefore, serves to weld together their part and that of Perceval with the preceding sections, as well as to introduce a fresh list of prophecies. It is only this adventure that gives the Sage Clerc any individuality. It was undoubtedly concocted by our author to unite more closely the elements that he intended to use in his book, and to diversify its course. As a Venetian he might have received a suggestion for it at any time, as he passed the north side of the basilica of S. Marco and saw there the Byzantine relief representing Alexander the Great riding in his griffon-drawn chariot on his aerial journey³.

¹ Chapter cclxi.

² Chapter cclix.

³ See Boito, *La basilica di S. Marco*, p. 254; Lambert li Tors, *Li romans d'Alexandre*, ed. Michelant, 1846, pp. 383-446; P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française*, 1886, I, 189, 195. On the prevalence of the tradition of Alexander's aerial journey in art, especially in Italy, see R. S. Loomis, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXII, 135 ff., 177 ff.

Cf. the popular legend of the ascent of S. Marco to the clouds by permission of God in order to find out the cause of thunder, *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, II, 98; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Dist. viii, cap. lix, (II, 131): — a certain Gerardus of Hohenbach visits the shrine of St. Thomas in India and there meets the devil, who, telling him that his wife, under the supposition that he is dead, is about to marry another man, offers to transport him in a day to his home in Germany. Gerardus accepts the offer, and arrives in time to prevent the marriage; Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 1872, IV, 108: — a clerk teaches a maiden to fly through the air; Giraldus Cambrensis (*Expugnatio Hibernica*, cap. xxxviii), V, 287, 288: — the speaking stone of Lechlavar on which, according to a prophecy of Merlin, a king of England would die. For other examples of aerial journeys and wonderful stones, see E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 393, 402; *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 172, 173, 192, 193. With the action of the Clerc in seizing the cloak of the Roi d'Inde cf. *Il Propugnatore*, I, 236; Heywood, *A Study of Mediasval Siena* (*Ensamples of Fra Filippo*), 1901, pp. 313, 314, for a story contained in a fourteenth-century manuscript of the Biblioteca Magliabechiana (Cl. xxxviii, N. 121), which relates that one of the most learned youths in Paris, having become proficient in necromancy, finally gives himself body and soul to the devil. Later, conscience-stricken at the thought of his sin, he decides to become a monk. The

The Sage Clerc is the last of Merlin's scribes in Groups I, II, and III. The chapter before the last in *R* and *E* contains an account of a visit of Meliadus to the Dame du Lac, of which *R* gives very much the briefer version, reducing, as is its wont, the narrative portion to a slender compass. In this visit Meliadus and the Dame du Lac talk together about the deception that the Dame has practised upon Merlin, and the wiles whereby women deceive men, and also about the fate of Lancelot and his cousins, which Merlin has foretold. It is an episode that serves to gather together some of the romantic factors that have been important throughout the book and would in itself form a suitable conclusion to the whole. But the next chapter turns from it to the Sage Clerc, who is peacefully reading from a book of the wisdom of Merlin, of which he is the happy possessor, a brief prophecy concerning Barcelona, after which *R* adds,

devil pursues him, and for his protection he is provided with two brothers as constant companions. One day as they walk together, a crowd of demons hover over them waiting to carry off the monk ; he begs the attendant friars to hold him by the sleeves of his habit ; the demons drag him away from their grasp, and throw his habit down to the monk. With Merlin's imprisonment of the devil in the stone cf. *Placide et Tiseo*, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 212, fols. xxi, a,b,c : — certain devils were imprisoned by Solomon in a vessel of brass ; after his death the vessel was found buried in the earth by the Babylonians, who were digging to lay the foundations for a new city wall ; they broke the vessel, and the devils escaped and were scattered through the world ; Löseth, *Tristan*, § 293a, p. 220 : — Galahad brings to a halt the moving stone in which Merlin had imprisoned a devil.

Two stories are recounted in 1498 that appear to have been suggested by the adventure of the Sage Clerc. In the first (fols 142d ff.) the Sage Clerc finds it related in the *Book of Merlin* that one day Uter Pendragon asks Merlin how the two dragons of Vortigern's tower could live under ground. Merlin for reply leads him to a valley where there is a round block of stone " sans pertuis et sans meshain." Within this, Merlin says, there is a little serpent which is gnawing the stone. At his bidding Uter Pendragon has the stone split, and the serpent darts forth. He is captured, and Merlin points out how sharp his teeth are, and that when they (the serpent having by this time become pluralized in the text) have gnawed their way through the stone, they will fly over the earth working harm to man and beast. Merlin then proceeds to deliver a mysterious prophecy concerning the serpent of Monte Gargano (fol. 143b ; see above, II, 29, note 3), after which he has the four teeth of the serpent of the stone set in four rings, which he sends to the Dame du Lac, who finds that they possess great virtue. In the second story (fols. 145d, 146a) the Sage Clerc casts a spell upon a round stone which trembles perpetually, and commands the spirit that is within it to speak. The enemy replies that he had been sent by Morgain to the Dame du Lac for the purpose of breaking a glass floor of a chamber that the Dame had constructed ; Merlin had espied him and had incarcerated him in the stone, where he must remain till the Day of Judgment. The clerk lifts his spell and the stone darts away.

"Cy fenissent les prophecies Merlin," and *E* its "Explicit." We have found evidence in the course of these studies that the author of the *Prophecies* was composing his work according to a definite plan; it therefore is inconsistent with our knowledge of his intention to suppose that he would have tacked the stray prophecy about Barcelona to a chapter that forms a natural ending for the work. The reasonable inference is that *X* ended with this chapter, and that the redactor of *Y* added the final chapter that stands in *R* and *E*.

Unlike the above groups 1498, after having given the same long version of the visit of Meliadus to the Dame du Lac that *E* contains¹, as well as the prophecy concerning Barcelona, continues with three utterly banale incidents from the *Book of Merlin*², followed by prophecies which the Sage Clerc reads from the *Livre de Tholomer*³, setting forth the sins of the Christians in leaving the Holy Sepulchre in the hands of the pagans, and also the works of the Dragon of Babylon, the second story of the Sage Clerc and a Trembling stone mentioned above⁴, and a prophecy from the *Livre de Merlin* concerning a servant of the Dragon of Babylon⁵. At this point⁶ the Sage Clerc falls mortally ill, and perceiving that his end is near, bequeaths a sum of money to the Church for the good of his soul, and decrees that the rest of his fortune, no mean sum, shall be spent in the service of Merlin. He appoints Rubers le Chappelain in his place to put into writing any marvels of Merlin that shall be brought to his notice. After his death, which quickly follows, Rubers reigns in his stead, and forthwith begins to read a prophecy from the *Livre de Merlin*. He is interrupted by a knight from India who reports to him a prophecy of Merlin that he has heard there. Rubers accordingly despatches emissaries to India and to other parts of the world to collect any sayings of Merlin that they may find and report them to him for preservation. A story that he discovers in the *Livre de Merlin* follows, and is succeeded by prophecies or narratives illustrating the power of Merlin, which the various clerks sent forth by Rubers bring back to him. The first episode — the story of Ramberge and Naymars — from the *Livre*

¹ See above, I, 484, 485.

² Fols. 142d-144d.

³ Fols. 144d-145d.

⁴ Cf. II, 318, note 3.

⁵ Fols. 146a-147a.

⁶ Fols. 147b ff.; I, 486 ff.

*de Merlin*¹, like the narratives in the *Livre de Helias*², takes us back to the *enfances* of Merlin ; his attempted destruction of Ramberge is a reminder of the plot of Argistres against him³. The prophecies following this story, which for the greater part have to do with the Isle de Cir et de Pol have very little meaning and sound like futile attempts to write predictions concerning the isle which was conspicuous in the main body of the work⁴. The story of the fallen angel whom Merlin has enclosed in the image of brass⁵ appears to echo that of the devil in the Pierre Reonde ; the prediction in regard to Padua⁶ is a reminiscence of that in Chapter LXXIV ; the prophecy concerning the Dame de Kaifas⁷ repeats the substance of Chapters xcix and c. And finally, after having passed the point where a conclusion was in order, the book closes abruptly quite as if the feeble ingenuity of the writer had at length luckily given out.

It does not require much perspicacity to see that most of this material is a late addition. The original form of the conclusion that is elaborated by 1498 is almost certainly given in the Italian text of *V* and *P*, which, omitting the chapter concerning Barcelona and all of the material that in 1498 intervenes between this prediction and the illness of the Sage Clerc, agrees substantially, with only minor differences, with 1498 from the beginning of the visit of Meliadus to the Dame du Lac⁸ to the point where Rubers sends

¹ Fols. 149a-150a ; I, 489-491. This episode embodies a well known story that is attached to Merlin's name also in a manuscript of the *Reine Sibile* in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (No. 3351), and is related elsewhere with a different hero. In all of these sources it is used to illustrate the virtue of the dog as a friend. The version of the *Reine Sibile* relates that Julius Caesar kept in captivity a man named Merlin, either in order to test his wisdom or for the pleasure of hearing him talk of marvels. The emperor tells him that he cannot be released until he leads into his presence his friend, his enemy, his liegeman, and his serf. Merlin departs, and returns with his wife, who is his enemy, his ass, which is his serf, his son, who is his liegeman, and his dog, who is his friend, and whose fidelity and affection he eulogizes. The story of the *Prophecies* is diverted from its original significance, and is used to emphasize the hostility of the wife of Merlin's host rather than the fidelity of his hound. For a collection of the sources for this story and especially for its text in the Arsenal manuscript see *Romania*, XLIV, 11 and note.

² Chapters ccxxv ff.

³ Chapter ccxxv.

⁴ See I, 288, 335 ; II, 44, note 1.

⁵ See I, 493, 494.

⁶ See I, 494.

⁷ See *ibid.*

⁸ Fols. 96a ff

his emissaries forth to collect the prophecies of Merlin. Then with the words, — “ Et a tal modo como e dicto di sopra funo adunate e messe in scripto le maravigliose prophetie de Merlino,” the text ends. This version opens up another possibility for the termination of the work. If it were ever to be brought to a conclusion, this is certainly a fitting point at which to end it. The Sage Clerc is laid to rest, and honorable provision is made for the continuation of his labors; here is the place to write “ Finis.” There is no further internal evidence, such as there is in the case of the *Livre de Tholomer*, to show that this termination was a part of X. The condition of the manuscripts indicates that copyists felt that they might be broken off at almost any point, and if the ending of V had a place in X, it assuredly added nothing so important that it could not have been dropped without being missed. There is not sufficient evidence on either side, however, to allow us to affirm whether X ended with the visit of Meliadus to the Dame du Lac or with the project of Rubers for collecting the prophecies. That it ended at one of these two points is virtually certain, and that Y added the chapter on Barcelona. All was fish that came to the net of 1498, and while it follows the version of Y so far as the visit of Meliadus and the prophecy on Barcelona are concerned, it adds the termination preserved in V with elaborations of its own. The picture of a *chappelain* waiting for the clerks, whom he has sent out into the world in search of the marvels of Merlin, to return, bringing their sheaves with them, is a situation that invites a supplement, and a continuator could scarcely be expected to withstand the temptation of trying his hand at carrying on the work. There are so many possibilities for the crossing of versions in 1498 that one cannot force conclusions in regard to its immediate sources, but from its visible treatment of the version which V preserves, and which must have been its source for the sections dealing with Rubers, we have confirmation of the probability pointed out above that the *Livre de Tholomer* has been subjected to the same sort of alteration.

The contents of the various books of Merlin's prophecies is so similar that the only motive for changing the personality of the scribe could have been to gain the advantage of variety. For the same reason, too, undoubtedly, the Dame du Lac and Meliadus are made the immediate recipients of the prophecies, which, since they alone have access to Merlin's tomb, they transmit to the accepted scribes. So also the many prophecies of Merlin that are found

after his entombment and reported to Antoine or the Sage Clerc are all part of the same machinery. The most conspicuous illustration of this aim to produce variety is in the story of Perceval and the hermit Helias, which extends through many chapters.

Perceval first comes on the scene when he arrives at court, where the Sage Clerc is waiting for him in accordance with Merlin's instructions; he conducts the Sage Clerc, as Merlin has directed, to the tower by the sea where the serpent was killed¹, and as he sees the Pierre Reonde bear the Sage Clerc away, he falls on his knees and breathes a prayer, which, as Merlin had predicted, saves the Sage Clerc from destruction in his perilous adventure. When the Sage Clerc returns to court, he tells Perceval of the marvellous wisdom of Merlin, of his confinement in a cave, and of the prophecies that he has uttered concerning Perceval's sister and Perceval himself, who will preserve his virginity in order to win the Graal, and will journey to the Holy Land with the "bon chevalier." Perceval, who has never before heard of Merlin, vows that he will set out in search of him; the Sage Clerc warns him that his quest will be useless, though he will meet many brave adventures on the way². Perceval rides through the forest, where he accomplishes various exploits, and in the course of time chances upon a hermitage, in which he finds hospitality for the night³. The hermit, Helias, who is old and feeble, tells him that he is waiting for Perceval, the son of Pellinor. Long years before⁴, a certain knight had unjustly suspected Helias of loving his wife, and was planning to kill him, when Merlin prophesied in his presence that Helias would retain his chastity to the end of his days, and that he would not die until Perceval, the son of King Pellinor, should arrive at the hermitage. The prediction convinces the husband that Helias is innocent. Merlin sternly reproves him for the sin of jealousy, and then presents Helias with a book of his prophecies, bidding him give it to no one save Perceval. Without revealing his name Perceval lingers at the hermitage, Helias in the meantime entertaining him with the narratives concerning Merlin that form the *Livre de Helias*⁵. When it becomes evident that the hermit's death is

¹ This is a reference to the *Aventures*, Sommer, VI, 67-75, with which the author has shown his familiarity in another episode; see above, II, 31.

² Chapters CLXXX, CLXXXI, CLXXXIV, CLXXXV, CXCI-CXCIV.

³ I, 265.

⁴ Chapter CCXXXI

⁵ See I, 7.

close at hand¹, Perceval reveals his identity, and Helias presents him with the *Livre de Merlin*, which Perceval after the death of Helias takes to the Sage Clerc, who proceeds to read from it to the edification of himself and his hearers.

The greater part of the *Livre de Helias* has a distinctive character, for it consists almost entirely of reminiscences of Merlin with which Helias entertains Perceval, and which are designed to exemplify Merlin's power in detecting and reproving various sins, and thus to serve a didactic end. Its material so far differentiates it from the rest of the *Prophecies* that at a first reading one might suspect it to be an addition to the original. But we have seen² how closely this section is interwoven with the purposes of the work, and we shall also find that it is structurally bound in with the general framework. In regard to Helias himself it should be said that there is no ground for identifying him with Helie le Toulousain, the "sage cler" of the *Lancelot* and the *Livre d'Artus*³, although, as Lot has remarked⁴, the latter is a "moraliste distingué" rather than a mere magician; but there is little doubt that his name was selected by the author for the hermit who had consorted with Merlin and received a book from him⁵. The object of his introduction into the *Prophecies* and of the entire story of Perceval is to secure diversity.

But, granted the author's purpose, why should Perceval be the hero selected by Merlin to be the possessor of the *Livre*? Spotless knight as he is, he naturally can offer a prayer that avails to save the Sage Clerc from the wiles of the adversary within the Pierre Reonde, yet he is brought into the story of Helias with a visible effort. The narrative, if it had ended with Merlin's prediction that proclaims the chastity of Helias, followed by his objurgation of the jealous husband, would have accomplished its ends by giving an example of the sin of jealousy and the power of Merlin, but when the prophecy adds the clause concerning Perceval, we at once wonder why he, the virgin knight, should be destined to receive from the hands of the chaste hermit the valued book of Merlin,

¹ Chapters CCXLVIII, CCLXVII.

² II, 157, 158, 230 ff

³ See above, II, 303, 304.

⁴ *Lancelot*, p. 373.

⁵ Cf. Freymond, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVI, 114. I see no reason for connecting the hermit Helias with Hélie de Bauxon. Cf. *Huth Merlin*, I, xxxii, note 1.

whose one blemish, as the *Prophecies* reiterates¹, is the sin of *luxure*. There was surely some more cogent reason for according Perceval this rôle than is seen on the surface. This reason is supplied by the prose *Perceval* of the Didot and Modena manuscripts², in which Merlin appears as the fairy guardian of Perceval. He has known of Perceval long before his birth, has created the Round Table and destined the Perilous Seat for him, follows him throughout his career, reproves his weaknesses, guards him on his way to the Graal Castle, and by bidding him ask the needful questions there leads him to achieve the quest of the Graal. His is so completely the guiding hand throughout the career of Perceval, in whom "est accomplie la plus haute prophécie qu'oncques avenist," that it is no wonder that the colophon of the Didot *Perceval* gives as the title of the work, the *Prophecies Merlin*. At the end of the book it is said that Blaise, who had put into writing the history of Arthur's expeditions to France and Rome, his battles with Morred and his passing to Avalon, took his book to the Graal Castle to Perceval and told him all that was therein³. The author of our *Prophecies* surely had this material in mind when he composed the episode that we are considering. Knowing that Perceval had been the object of Merlin's special protection and that Merlin had destined him to achieve the Graal, knowing, too, that Blaise had carried his book to Perceval in the Graal Castle, he conceived the idea of bringing Perceval into the *Prophecies* as the favored knight who should have the high privilege of guarding the treasured volume of Merlin's wisdom. In other words, the situation, curiously pointless without the prose *Perceval*, becomes entirely fitting and natural with it in the background. It formed a part of the author's literary subconsciousness, which prompted him to his invention. The connection of thought in the two sources was recognized and openly made in a version of the *Tristan* that exists in a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fr. 103) and in the printed editions of the prose *Tristan*, where the incidents of the Modena and Didot texts are given in a shorter form with the addition of the story of Perceval and the hermit, whom he

¹ I, 121, 225, 226, 234, 235; cf. I, 229.

² For the text of the Didot *Perceval* see Hucher, I, 415 ff.; for that of the Modena manuscript, J.L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 9 ff. For the date, Bruce, *Romanic Review*, IV, 448.

³ See Hucher, I, 415-429, 460-472, 481-485, 502-505; J.L. Weston, *op. cit.*, II, 9-23, 52-68, 79-85, 111, 112.

visits in the course of his quest, not for the tomb of Merlin, as in the *Prophecies*, but for the Graal Castle. This addition is an abridged version of that in the *Prophecies*. Many details are omitted, and only the first of Helias' narratives, that of the abbot and the Host, is recounted. Verbally the text is very close to that of the *Prophecies*, and is plainly derived from it; not only is Perceval's father, who is Alain le Gros in the earlier sections based upon the prose *Perceval*, where he bears that name, called Pellinor in the story of Perceval and the hermit, as in the *Prophecies*¹, but the incident is left without point, for although the *Livre de Merlin* is in the hermit's hands to be given to Perceval, he, after having passed a night at the hermitage, "prist congie a l'ermite sans faire lui savoir que il fust. Si s'en parti²." That the author of the *Prophecies* should have made Pellinor instead of Alain le Gros the father of Perceval is not hard to understand. He knew certainly the former tradition in the prose *Tristan*, the *Livre d'Artus*, and perhaps in the *Huth Merlin*, and evidently out of the several names that are given to the father of Perceval in romance it happened to be Pellinor that stayed in his memory³.

In the course of the story of the *Livre de Merlin*, after Perceval has left it in the keeping of the Sage Clerc, there turns up unexpectedly another scribe of Merlin, the Abbé d'Orcanie, the predecessor of Tholomer; he is mentioned also by B, A, and 1498 as second in a list of Merlin's scribes⁴. Many prophecies in the *Livre de Merlin* are said to have been written by him. Certain other passages imply that Merlin himself wrote the book⁵. Its reliability is attested by its agreement with the book of Blaise⁶. There is some confusion in regard to its contents. It is apparently the book

¹ See J.L. Weston, *op. cit.*, II, 6. On the six names borne by the father of Perceval in the prose romances, and the influence of the prose *Tristan* in establishing the name Pellinor see Bruce, *Modern Philology*, VI, 66, 341 ff.

² For the text of these sections of the manuscript see J.L. Weston, *op. cit.*, II, 118-122; *Tristan*, Paris, 1489, Seconde partie, Chapter xxi. Cf. Löseth, *Tristan*, p. 188.

³ There is no indication that the author of the *Prophecies* accepted Perceval as the winner of the Graal, or that he knew the tradition that Perceval rescued Merlin from the enchantment of the Dame du Lac; cf. Sommer, *Modern Philology*, V, 291 ff.; Id., *The Structure of Le Livre d'Artus*, 1914, p. 33; Bruce, *Romanic Review*, IV, 468 ff.

⁴ I, 226, 309; 1498, fol. 147b (I, 486).

⁵ Chapters CCLIX, CCLXVIII. V says (fol. 78b) that it was written by Helie: — "el libro de le prophetie de Merlino lo qual esso havea scripto el tempo che Merlino usava al suo romitorio."

⁶ Chapter CCLXXX; cf. I, 198, § 2.

from which the Sage Clerc is reading in Chapters CCCIX-CCCXIII yet he seems to be reading the prophecy in Chapter CCCXII from the *Livre de Tholomer*, as he is that in Chapter CCLXVII. In fact neither the Abbé nor the contents of his book appear to have great consequence in the eyes of the author, and he certainly does not rank with Tholomer, Antoine, or the Sage Clerc in importance. The *Livre* itself is of significance in so far as it serves to bind Perceval and Helias with the main thread of the work, to introduce prophecies which, deriving from an ancient and revered source, have equal authority with those that Merlin delivers directly to Meliadus, and to break their continuity by providing the Sage Clerc with material for reading instead of for writing¹. Its scribe is a person of secondary consideration, and he is given a name and a mention almost as an afterthought. His title was perhaps suggested by that of the Abbé of Northumberland, who figures in the first narrative of Helias² as associated with Merlin in the time of Blaise.

All of the mechanism that we have been examining in this chapter belongs to a consistent whole, and so united is it in its parts that it is manifestly the work of one hand. The scribes are fictitious authorities for whom we have no actual prototypes. They stand as imaginary descendants from Maistre Blaise in a presumably honored line of succession. They were suggested to the author by the other scribes of Merlin that have a less conspicuous place in the legend, and he created them the better to spin out his formidable list of prophecies.

¹ Chapters CCXCIV ff., CCCIII ff.

² Chapter CCXXV.

CHAPTER X

MAISTRE RICHART D'IRLANDE

It is high time to consider the personality of Maistre Richart d'Irlande, the avowed author of the *Prophecies*, to whom, it must be admitted, we have thus far accorded but cavalier treatment. We have inferred wholly from internal evidence what the period, nationality, and mental, political, and spiritual attitude of the writer were, leaving far in the background his own scanty statements in regard to himself ; but such as they are, we are the better able to interpret them for having first examined his work.

In conformity with the custom prevailing among mediaeval authors of representing their writings as translations from the Latin, Maistre Richart d'Irlande announces his authorship of the *Prophecies* by saying that he translated it from Latin into French¹. The brief prefatory paragraph in *R* and Group II, which there is good reason to believe had a place in *X*², does not mention Maistre Richart, but merely states that the *Prophecies* was translated from Latin into French at the command of the Emperor Frederic. Further information about this translation is supplied by a narrative contained in all the manuscripts except *R*, which omits it in common with much other episodic material, and *H*, *Reg.*, *M*, and 1498, which are defective in other respects at this point³. We may therefore infer that this section stood in *X*. It occurs after a narrative recounting that when Orbanse was destroyed⁴, its emperor, fleeing for safety, was drowned in the Mer Morte, where his ship foundered. His crown, adorned with four precious stones of wonderful brilliancy, will be discovered in the sea by a poor fisherman at the time when Merlin's prophecies will be translated from Latin into French. The fisherman, not aware of its value, will sell it to a lapidary in Saragossa, who will melt the gold of the crown and take the gems to Messina to the Emperor Frederic, who will be skilled in the knowledge of precious stones. He will marvel at their beauty,

¹ I, 76, note 6.

² See I, 17, 18.

³ I, 76, 77.

⁴ Chapters xiv, xvii.

and will give the lapidary a castle in exchange for them. "When Maistre Richart began to translate the prophecies," a knight, who was with him by the command of the emperor, on reading this prediction confirmed its truth, for he had himself been an eyewitness of the meeting of the emperor with the lapidary and also with the fisherman whom Frederic had summoned to testify to the lapidary's story. The knight accordingly begged Richart to suspend his translation until he had copied this prophecy carefully and sent it to the emperor. Frederic, on receiving it, had it translated into Saracen and presented the translation with the stones from the crown of Orban to the Sultan of Babylon. At this point the text, except in 98 and the Italian versions, *V*, *P*, and *S*, drops into the first person: — "Si vous di certainement que li emperez m'envoia .v. onches d'or pour seulement cele prophecie que je li envoiai, et me fist priier en touz gueredons que je me hatasse de tranlater." We hear no more of Maistre Richart, but we are familiar enough with the methods of our source to understand that this first casual mention of him¹ betokens that something more was known about him and his translation than is contained in our version.

This preliminary material is supplied by *C*, which although giving the above narrative in its place, says much earlier in the manuscript² that one day Merlin told Maistre Tholomer that he had prophesied to the Marchis Anduins that he would be made king of Ireland, and would have an heir, who should be called Lac and should become the father of Erec. These words Anduins had ordered to be carved upon a marble block, which he erected before his dwelling. When the prediction was fulfilled, he placed a companion stone beside the other with an inscription on it, setting forth that not a word of Merlin's prophecy had failed. Then the author announces that he will tell how he came to translate his book from Latin into French: —

Le maestre Richarz de Yrlande vos en dirai le sor plus que entraslaitari de latin en franceis coment li rois Lac oissi del roi Anduins et pois ot celui rois Lac un hoirz que Herec fu apelles ensint com li contes nos dira la verites ca en avant, mes puis que je ai exclaris mon non vos dira je coment cestui livre fu translates de latin en francois.

¹ In some of the manuscripts he is mentioned in the concluding sentence of Chapter xvii, which merely announces the subject that is to follow: — "li contez... parole de maistre Richart d'Irlande, de celui qui tranlata de latin en franchoiz ceste livre."

² Fol. 11 a,b. Cf. the story of the Roi de Galvoie, I, 198-201.

Por celui comandement il fu translates. Tiblans [?] li Franceis por celui comandement vint en Yrlande et furant encor mon seignor li rois de Yrlande que il en prist andox les pieres marbrine, dont mon seignor li rois les envoa au bon enperaor de Rome que Frederi est apeles. Apres ce que li enperaor fu en sasine des les pieres il envoa cest part por cestui livre avoir, mes ce fa por noiant, que mon seignor li rois ne l'avoit, ainsi estoit cestui livre en latin en Gales. Tant me periere li .iiii. chevaliers messagiers de l'imperior Frederi et mon seignor li roi le me comanda que m'en alai en Gales avec aus et traslatai tes co que vos ai contes ca en ariere et que je vos ai conte ca en avant de latin en franceis. Si avoit oste celui livre de latin escrit par la main meesme de maestre Tholomer de Perose, li clers de l'apostoille Clemens que puis fu esvezquez de Galles au temp li rois Uter Pandragon, li fis Constans que rois fu de la Grant Bertaigne.

A celui tens que¹ li grant livre de latin fu escrit par la main meesme de celui Tholomer que par maintes fois aves oir conter il jor li avènement de nostre seignor Jesu Crist .ccc.lxxxii. ans, et le maistre Richars de Yrlande les ais translates de latin en franceis en .m.et.cc.xxviii. ans. Mes je voil que vos saches que je trovai celui livre que Tolomer esclrist si baus et si freis que ce fu une des grant mervoilles dou monde. Mes atant lesseiru je a parler que plus nos vos en dirai de meis fais fors itant que je vos dirai que de usquez tant que le traislaitae furent avec moi li .iiii. chevaliers messagiers de l'enperaor, et si ne fu il tratex en dox ans, et si vos dirai por quoi. Je ne fui par nes ne de Yrlande ne de France, mes a Malangne. Poes aprecevoir que je fu nes en Lombardie, mes ces en France m'en partue por un meffet que mon pere fist que il ocist un chevalier en la cite meesmes ou il fu nes, ce fu en Vercelans. Por ce que je ne sai bien li franceis m'en destornoie li meslacter[?] ases. Mes atant lasse li contes de ceste profecie Merlin et retorne et parles do un autre profecie Merlin.

C thus accounts for Maistre Richart and his translation in a narrative, the existence of which, at least in its bare outline, is to be presupposed from our other texts, and which must have stood in the original version of the *Livre de Tholomer*. The above passages represent the extent of our knowledge of Maistre Richart. Both of the stories with which he is associated are *super facie* not authentic narratives. King Anduins, his son Lac, and his grandson Erec, known to fame through the pages of Chrestien de Troyes and the prose *Tristan*, as well as the romantic prophecies that the Emperor Frederic accepts for historic truth are here as removed from real existence as are the crown of the Emperor of Orbance and its brilliant gems. The discovery of the marvellous *Livre de Tholomer*

¹ A blank space of half a line intervenes here.

and the emperor's eagerness for a translation of it belong equally in the land of fable. The narrative of C is merely one of the many fictitious histories of mediaeval works, whose authors magnified the importance of their productions by endowing them with an extraordinary pedigree and by bringing them into relation with a celebrity of their alleged period¹.

A close parallel to the supposed history of the *Prophecies* is afforded by that of the *Livre de Sidrach* as it is recounted in the prologue of the work²: —

The *Livre* was made by the command of King Boctus in order to preserve the answers of Sidrach to his questions. After his death it passed through many hands and finally was found by the *clergie* of Toledo, who translated it from Greek into Latin. The King of Spain hearing of it requested that it be given to him; he in turn was asked for it by the Emir of Tunis, whose ears its fame had reached; whereupon the King of Spain had it translated from Latin into Saracen and sent the translation to the Emir, who held it in high esteem. Many years later at the time of the Emperor Frederic II, the lord of Tunis attained a wide reputation for learning; emissaries of Frederic who were at his court brought back to the emperor reports of the marvellous volume, the reputed source from which the lord of Tunis derived all his wisdom. Frederic accordingly begged that the book be sent to him, and at the request of the lord of Tunis that he provide him with a clerk versed in both Latin and Saracen, he despatched to Tunis a Minorite brother of Palermo, Roger by name, who translated the book from Saracen into Latin, and brought the translation to the emperor. Todre, a philosopher of Antioch was living at the court of Sicily at this time; by bribing the royal chamberlains he secured possession of the coveted volume, secretly copied it, and sent the copy to Aubert, patriarch of Antioch, who had with him a clerk from Lyon, Jean Pierre by name. He in turn copied the work and brought it to the school at Toledo.

"Habent sua fata libelli," it seems. There is no need to demonstrate that the purpose of this complicated history is to cast a glamor upon the book by representing it as sought after by potentates and learned men, especially by the Emperor Frederic II, the Maecenas of his day, whose eager intelligence and unquestioned learning led him to encourage philosophic and scientific inquiry in whatever form it presented itself. The introduction of the

¹ See Steinschneider, *Il Buonarroti*, gennaio, 1872 (Ser. 2, II), p. 240.

² On the *Livre de Sidrach* cf. above, II, 223 ff. For a summary of the prologue see *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 287 ff.

historic personalities, Todre, the philosopher, who has been identified with Theodore, an astrologer of the Sicilian court, and Aubert, bishop of Brescia, who was patriarch of Antioch in the reign of Frederic¹, gives a greater air of verisimilitude to the fantastic story. From the character of its contents it might, albeit presumptuously, claim to be a representative of the type of learning that had its centre at the court of Frederic, and the author, though he gave free rein to his imagination in describing the adventures of the famous work, very suitably, when adopting the literary convention of attaching his composition to the name of a distinguished patron, selected Frederic II, already celebrated for his zeal in promoting the translation of learned productions².

The likeness in the fortunes of the *Prophecies* and the *Sidrach* before reaching the hands of their translators adds another similarity to those that we have already found existing between them in form and to a limited extent also in spirit. But granted that either work was drawing from the other, which of the two served as the source is a question [to which] nobody is in a position to offer a wholly reliable answer until the date of the *Sidrach* can be more definitely stated than is at present possible. That given in the prologue, 1243, is recognized from internal evidence to be apochryphal, and Langlois has shown that as one of the prophecies in the body of the work contains a probable reference to the occupation and ruin of Antioch by Bondocdar, or Bibars, sultan of Egypt and Syria, in 1268, we must assume that the book was written after that year.³ It cannot, however, be dated with assurance until its prophetic portions have been made the subject of more careful study than they have as yet received. If it were written immediately after 1268, we might believe that the author of the *Prophecies* knew it and, since it belonged to the same type of work as that which he intended to produce, found in it a suggestion for the history of his *Livre de Tholomer*. His purpose throughout the *Prophecies* is to emphasize the authority of Merlin's utterances by giving example after example of his super-

¹ *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 290; Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. dxxix ff. On Master Theodore see Haskins, *Mediaeval Science*, pp. 246 ff.

² See Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, pp. dxxii ff; Haskins, *op. cit.*, Chapter XII, especially p. 254.

³ See above, II, 233, note 1, for the date. For the reference to Antioch see Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature*, p. 197. For a valuable discussion of some of the vexed problems connected with the *Sidrach*, see *ibid.*, pp. 180 ff.

natural wisdom; again and again he repeats that Merlin had been endowed with his *science* by God expressly for the high purpose of bringing to naught the wiles of the devil; all that he knows he has learned "par nostre saigneur Jhesu Crist et par sa grace¹." Sidrach, too, was highly revered because his gift of universal knowledge had come to him directly from God. What easier step for an author than to endow the book of Merlin's wisdom with a career, less chequered, it is true, than that of the *Livre de Sidrach*, but tinged like it with the lustre of having served as a magnet to the great emperor himself? All the more explainable does this connection of thought become when we remember the predilection of Frederic for prophecy², and also that he had in his possession for the last ten years of his life a copy of the *Palamedes*, the romance which was certainly one of the sources for the *Prophecies*, and which it is by no means improbable that he acquired as the fruit of his expressed wish that manuscripts of the Arthurian romances be collected for him³. On the other hand if the *Sidrach* were written in the last quarter of the century, as Langlois suggests, but later than the *Prophecies*, this would not have been possible. In that case its author might have known the *Prophecies* as a new work, more or less kindred to his own, and have here and there culled material from it, and indeed (always supposing that the prologue was not written by a later hand) have succeeded in out-Heroding Herod by giving his book far the more notable

¹ I, 104; cf. I, 101, 225, 227, 234, 296.

² See above, II, 153, 154, note 4; Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.

³ See Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. dxli, dxlii; Ward, *Catalogue*, I, 366. Cf. Merlin's prediction (I, 117) that the Emperor, evidently Frederic, will praise the court of Arthur.

There is no reason to suppose that the author of the *Prophecies* knew anything of Giraldus Cambrensis, yet it is interesting to note as an illustration of the mediaeval conditions that gave rise to such fanciful stories as those that we have been considering, that Giraldus, when he was about to write the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, desired to bring together in it some of the prophecies of Merlin; they were retained, he tells us, in the memory of British bards, but were rarely found in writing. After looking for them far and wide in Wales, at length in the remote northern province of Lein he came upon the book that he sought. He at once translated it from the British tongue into Latin, excluding the additions that modern bards had made. See *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Liber III, Praefatio (*Opera*, V, 402). A similar search for the prophecies (Merlin's among them) that he wished to collect was made by Telesforo of Cosenza; see above, II, 147, note 2. Cf. also the search of Gherardo da Cremona for the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, of which he made a Latin translation; see Haskins and Lockwood, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI, 77; Rose, *Hermes*, VIII, 334.

and amazing history. The *Sidrach* shows so great a familiarity with the Latin Orient as to convince Langlois that the author must have lived there ; if this be true, with the communications so close as they were between Venice and the East, the *Prophecies* as a Venetian work might not improbably have come into his hands. But, not to continue piling Ossa upon Pelion in the land of conjecture, all that we can affirm is that the immediate influence of one production upon the other is possible, that the evidences of it are not very pronounced, and that such resemblances as exist between them may in general be accounted for by the practices and the prevailing thought of the period in which both books were written. The parallel in their alleged history and also other examples show us that the *Prophecies* in its account of the *Livre de Tholomer* is entirely consistent with contemporary literary conventions.

Friar Roger of Palermo, the translator of the *Sidrach*, and Jean Pierre de Lyon, its copyist, have both been relegated to the sphere of fiction¹. Has the claim of Maistre Richart d'Irlande to the authorship of the *Prophecies* a more substantial basis? Maistre Richart is a learned person attached to the court of a nameless king of Ireland in the lifetime of Frederic II. Hence, of course, his patronymic. In *C* the supplementary information is given that he was of Lombard birth and lived in France. But we have discovered that the *Prophecies* must have been composed by a Venetian, who was a Guelph in his sympathies, after the attitude toward Joachism which developed later than 1260 had become pronounced, and between the years 1272, or very much more probably 1276, and 1279. These conditions cannot possibly be reconciled with the statements made about Maistre Richart. But it is to be noticed that although all the sources imply that he translated the whole of the *Prophecies*, *C* connects him especially with the *Livre de Tholomer*. It is conceivable, therefore, that a short book of prophecies of Merlin known as the *Livre de Tholomer* was written by a Maistre Richart d'Irlande in the lifetime of Frederic II, and that this served as a basis for the long Venetian production that we know. Such an idea, however, is made untenable by everything that we have learned about the *Prophe-*

¹ Jean Pierre de Lyon was formerly regarded as the veritable author (*Histoire littéraire*, l. c., p. 290), but Langlois (*op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195) has done much to clear him of the charge.

cies. It bears in its structure, purpose, spirit, and methods distinctly the marks of being in the main the work of a single late thirteenth-century hand; and that this was a Venetian hand even the remnants of the *Livre de Tholomer* testify. Take away the elements that enable us to determine these facts, and there is little or nothing left to lay at the feet of Maistre Richart d'Irlande. In short, the only explanation of Maistre Richart consistent with the conditions is that he is as fictitious a person as the scenes in which he bears a part, and that he should take his place beside Hélié de Borron, the Robert de Borron of the prose *Merlin*, and many others of the company of apocryphal writers, whose names have been attached to the works with which the veritable authors (or later scribes) have for one reason or another seen fit to accredit them. In the *Prophecies* the writer's motive is not inscrutable. Merlin was to him "li prophete des Anglois," and a suitable country therefore with which to connect his book and its translator was Gales, which he was known to have frequented, or Ireland, the scene of his most marvellous achievement in the reign of Uter Pendragon, the removal of the Giants' Dance from Mt. Killaraus to Salisbury Plain. Far more authentic would a record of his words appear, if it purported to have been made by a clerk of Ireland in Gales than if it were acknowledged to have emanated from "la mestre ville des Bons Mariniers"; far greater the importance of the Bons Mariniers themselves, if the predictions of their incomparable doings were translated in a distant land by an Irish scholar than if they were declared to have been made available by one of their fellowcitizens in their own Rialto. To connect Frederic II with Ireland was not to make too great a strain upon the credulity of the reader, for after his marriage with Isabella of England, Frederic had relations not only with England but with Ireland as well; there are records of sundry embassies sent by him to Ireland between 1236 and 1245, and at one time we find Henry III of England giving orders that the activities of his messengers to Ireland be carefully watched¹.

The name, Richart, that the author selected for his pseudonym is not so uncommon that he must be supposed to have any one individual in mind to suggest it to him. Still it is possible that he was influenced in his choice by the thought of Riccardo, the favored *camerarius* and confidant of Frederic II — a native Sicilian, be it

¹ See *Neues Archiv*, XIII, 217 ff.

said, — with whom Sanesi has conjectured that he should be identified¹. The date, 1228, like 382 (or the 482 of S), is a touch added to give an air of greater historical reliability to the narrative, just as for example, the prologue to the *Livre de Sidrach* is dated 1243 with the same design. It is thus possible to account with far greater assurance for the use of the name Maistre Richart d'Irlande as a pseudonym than for the composition of the *Prophecies* by a person with this patronymic who lived in the reign of Frederic II.

But have we any right to dismiss as spurious an author who gives such definite details from his personal biography as the statements in the concluding sentences of the passage from C quoted above? The alleged Maistre Richart takes us into his confidence here, apologizing (and with good reason) for his poor French, and explaining that he was born not in Ireland, not in France, but in Milan in Lombardy, and that he is living in France because his father had once killed a knight in his native town, Vercelli. Even if we grant that Maistre Richart was a real person, this story is not altogether consistent with what we have previously been told about him. If he is a Lombard living in France, why does his name indicate that he is from Ireland? Why, when it has been said that he was connected with an Irish court and translated the *Livre de Tholomer* in Gales, does he explain that he lived and translated his book in France? In no case can we believe that the *Prophecies* was the composition of a Lombard author; no Lombard could possibly have taken its attitude toward the Venetians. The statement in C looks suspiciously as if we had here the work of a Lombard scribe, who, *more scribarum*, identifies himself with the supposed author², Maistre Richart d'Irlande, but with a realizing sense of his own linguistic deficiencies adds his item of personal biography as if it were that of Maistre Richart himself³. The excuse that he

¹ See Sanesi, *Storia*, p. lviii. Cf. Huillard-Bréholles, *Introduction*, pp. cxlvii-cxli; see p. cxlix for the suggestion that Riccardo was of Saracen stock. The mere statement in S (p. 2) that Maistre Richart was "in Saragossa overo in Catania" when he made the translation lends no support to such an identification, for the tendency in any late source would be to establish the writer near the court of the Emperor.

² See Hope E. Allen, *Romanic Review*, VIII, 451, note 47.

³ If this be the case not C itself but its original would have been the work of the Lombard scribe, for I am assured by M. Macon, Conservateur-adjoint du Musée Condé, that C is unquestionably written in a French hand.

makes for his French is one that is not infrequently offered by veritable Italian authors who write in French¹.

A different solution, however, is suggested by the *Book of Blaise*, which is contained only in the Italian version represented by *V* and *P*. It is the first book of the *Prophecies* in this version and is intercalated² into the romance of *Merlin*, which is resumed after it and continued to the coronation of Arthur. Twenty-two days later Blaise dies, Tholomer succeeds him as Merlin's scribe, and the *Book of Tholomer* begins. The *Book of Blaise* opens with the statement that Merlin left Pandragon and his brother and went to Norbelande to his confessor, Blaise, whom he bade write his prophecies in a volume, which men in the future will consult and will find absolutely true. The book is short and gives quite as much space to anecdotes illustrating the power of Merlin as to historical prophecies. Its Arthurian chronology is earlier than that of the later books; Pandragon is reigning, the succession of his brother, Uter, to the throne as Uterpandragon is predicted, and the wife of Vortigern is alive and figures on the scene³. But the whole is manifestly a late production; the much freer use of animal nomenclature in the prophecies indicates a different hand from that to which the main part of the work is due; the narratives are more puerile⁴, and the same poverty of invention and effort at expansion of material that they exhibit is shown in a list of the places, occupying an entire folio⁵, which Merlin announces that his knowledge will enable him to make the subject of his predictions. Much of the material is merely a re-working of the themes that are prominent in *R* — the unworthy lives of the clergy⁶, the presence of good and evil angels in the heart of man⁷, the power of the Cross to put devils to flight⁸, the "luxuria" of Merlin⁹, and especially the divine source of his knowledge¹⁰, together with predictions concerning Arthur, Lancelot, and Galahad¹¹.

¹ See P. Meyer, *La langue française en Italie*, pp. 20, 21.

² See above, I, 47, 48.

³ Fols. 26b, c.

⁴ See, e.g., fols. 25b-d, 26b, c, 28a-29a.

⁵ Fol. 22a-d.

⁶ Fols. 21b, 25d.

⁷ Fol. 21c.

⁸ Fol. 27b.

⁹ Fol. 27a, b.

¹⁰ Fols. 22a, 23a, 25a, 27a, b, 28c.

¹¹ Fol. 26d.

At least two prophecies supply proof of a late date. One of these occurs¹ in a chapter containing obscure predictions relating to various members of the house of Monferrato: — "E poi ne hara uno altro el quale credera superare tuto il mondo, e le sue ale li falirano. Onde esso caschera in terra." This is plainly a reference to the Marchese Guglielmo VII, "il Grande," "Spadalunga," (1254-1292), who by taking advantage of the internal discords of Lombardy and judiciously changing sides as fortune bade him succeeded in extending the borders of his principality, already of no inconsiderable extent at the beginning of his reign, until he held under his authority the principal neighboring towns between the Ligurian Alps and the Adda. By marriage he allied himself with prominent royal houses; his first wife was the daughter of Richard, Earl of Gloucester, his second the daughter of King Alfonso X of Castille, and his daughter Iolanda married the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus of Constantinople. His power came suddenly to an end in 1290 when the people of Asti, recently his allies but now his foes, incited factional feeling against him in Alessandria, of which he had become lord; when he went in person to quell the disturbance, he was met by open hostility and in the fighting that ensued was taken prisoner by the Alessandrians, who kept him in captivity in an iron cage until his death in 1292². It was all too true that his wings failed him when he was soaring highest.

The other prophecy³ is absolutely clear in its interpretation, and foretells still later events: —

Io voglio ancora che scrivi, disse Merlino a maestro Blasio, che in Catelogna naschera uno boscardo che dritamente se metera in mare con grande compagnia de robatori de mare, e meterasse a robar tuti quelli che navigherano per lo mare. Ma tal sera la sua ventura che al trapassar del mare ello si incontrera in altri baroni in mare dove la battaglia sera dura e aspra, che assai fara a contenir se l'una parte e l'altra. Ma ala fine li pesci del mare se ne porterano la victoria, che uno mal tempo e una tempesta li trovera in mare, e per viva forza li aneghera tuti in megio el mare. Et questo sera al tempo del re de Franza

¹ Fol. 29b.

² See *Chronicon Parmense*, R.I.S., IX, 795 ff.; *Chronicon Astense*, R.I.S., XI, 166 ff.; Loria, *L'Italia nella Divina Commedia*, 1872, I, 53 ff.; Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, 1906, 367-372; Toynbee, *A Dictionary of Proper Names in the Works of Dante*, 1898, s.v., "Guglielmo³"; *Purgatorio*, ed. Scartazzini, VII, 134 ff., notes.

³ Fol. 27c.

che Carlo Martello sera chiamato, e sera al tertio giorno de la sua incoronatione.

Robert of Calabria ("il boscardo di Catalonia"), afterwards king of Naples, was held as a hostage for his father, Charles II of Naples, by Alphonso III of Aragon in Catalonia from 1288 to 1295; his captivity thus began three years after his brother Charles Martel had assumed the government of Naples ("al tertio giorno de la sua incoronatione") on the death of his grandfather, Charles of Anjou, in 1285, while Charles II was still a prisoner of Alphonso III. While Robert was in Catalonia he gathered about himself a company of Catalans ("una grande compagnia di robatori"), who attended him on his return to Italy, where they distinguished themselves by their rapacity and greed for plunder. The latter part of the prophecy refers to the shipwreck of Robert in 1301, when with Ruggieri di Loria he was on his way to provision certain fortresses of Sicily recently captured in the war that Charles II of Naples and James II of Aragon were waging against Frederic II, King of Sicily¹. It is certain, accordingly, that of these two prophecies one was written after 1292 and the other after 1301.

More indirect evidence that the *Book of Blaise* is a late addition may be found in its version of the test of Merlin's faith in the sacrament contained in the *Book of Helias*². Here the story is introduced by a reference to material of the prose *Merlin*, for the incident is said to have taken place after Merlin had acquitted his mother from dishonour when she was questioned before the judge in regard to the father of Merlin³. The story is quite in harmony with the purposes of the *Prophecies*, since it illustrates the belief of Merlin in the sacrament and hence his orthodoxy, and serves also to emphasize the corruption of the clergy by the final turn that is given it, when Merlin proves the abbot, who is the celebrant, to

¹ These events have been made familiar to us all by Dante in the words of Charles Martel in the Heaven of Venus (*Paradiso*, VIII, 76-84), where he refers to the avarice of Robert and the greed of his followers, and (according to some authorities) to his shipwreck.

See Speciale, *Historia Sicula*, R.I.S., X, 1030; Murena, *Vita di Roberto, re di Napoli*, 1770, pp. 78, 79; Scartazzini, *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, 1896-1898, I, s.v., "Catalogna"; II, s.v., "Roberto II"; for a concise account of Robert with especial reference to the events foretold in the prophecy, see Toynbee, *op. cit.*, s.v., "Roberto".

² Chapters ccxxv, ccxxvi.

³ *Merlin*, Sommer, II, 13-17.

have been guilty of simony. In *V* and *P* this narrative does not occur in the *Book of Helias*, but appears in a different setting in the *Book of Blaise*¹. The predictions of this book are supposed to be delivered after Merlin has acquired great fame for his supernatural wisdom at the court of the two brothers, Pandragon and Uter and has sought Blaise to bid him record his words of wisdom²; hence they belong to a much later point in the history of Merlin than his acquittal of his mother. After listening to sundry prophecies Blaise expresses his admiration of Merlin's ability : —

Molto mi maraviglio, disse maestro Blasio a Merlino, de quello che tu mi vai dicendo, che non e cor de homo al mondo che potesse tanto dir ne pensar ne saper como tu sai. Et dicote apertemente che tuti i propheti che funo avanti l'advenimento de Christo non videno tanto avanti quanto tu hai veduto. Et pero io credo veramente che questo sia per il baptismo che hai sopra di te, loqual io ti doni in riverentia del nostro signor Dio. Et pero te ha dato Dio tanta gratia che in te ha posto el spirito de prophetia, et dicote che del tuo sapere ogniuno si meraveglia vendendote de cosi piccola eta como de anni .xvii. Ma pregote che per mio amore me dichi alquanto de la fede de Jesu Christo imperoche infino qui tu non me hai dicto alcuna cosa. Et questo disse el sancto Romito dubitando che Merlino non dicesse le cose venture per spirito diabolico, e pero dimandolo che lo amastasse nela fede di Jesu Christo e disseli, Dime, Merlino, tua madre pur me diceva che tu non eri ingenerato de huomo mortale, ma si de spirito maligno. Onde io mi fazo grande meraveglia considerando che nullo spirito maligno ha carne ne ossa da poter ingenerare alcuna creatura. Et questo ti dico per saper da te la verita de questo tuo advenimento. Et quando tu me lo harai dicto, io saro molto contento.

Alhora Merlino comincio molto a pensare, e poi disse a maestro Blasio, De la fede de Jesu Christo tu non mi ha ancor dimandato cosa alcuna, e de mia madre tu non la poi biasmar, impercio che quello lei te ha dicto, e quello che io te diro de la mia nativita e tuto vero. Et Jesu Christo el sa molto bene, e esso me aiutara fino ala consumatione del mondo, e la sua gratia me defendera contra li dimonii d'inferno. Or, maestro Blasio, dimandame de la fede de Jesu Christo che io te ne diro tuta la verita con la gratia de lui che mel consentira. Et dicto che hebbe Merlino questo, maestro Blasio molto si penso sopra la risposta che li havea facto Merlino, et havendo grandemente pensato poi disse, Merlino, creditu nel Padre e nel Figliolo e nel Spirito Sancto ? Et Merlino disse, Si veramente io credo quello che dici. Et Blasio disse, Per che cagione credi ? Et Merlino a lui, Io tel diro. El e vero che il

¹ *V*, fols. 23a-d.

² *Merlin*, ed. cit., p. 48.

signor Dio fece el cielo e la terra e tute le cose, et volendo crear l'omo e denotar la sanctissima Trinita, cioe il Padre, el Figliolo, e el Spirito Sancto, disse, Faciamo l'omo ala imagine e similitudine nostra. Et pero e da credere che Dio Padre e il Figliolo e il Spirito Sancto tute tre persone concordenelmente feceno e creono l'omo a la sua imagine, peroche s'el Padre havesse facto lui solo l'omo, haria dicto pur, Facto sia l'omo a la mia similitudine. Ma perche non fu solo come io te ho dicto, disse, Faciamo l'omo a la nostra imagine, cioe del Padre e del Figliolo e del Spirito Sancto, lo qual e una similitudine, una substantia, una volonta, e una sapientia, siccome uno arboro lo quale porta foglie e fructo e e arboro e foglie e fructo, tre cose conjuncte in uno, e e uno solo arboro. Quando maestro Blasio udi cosi parlar Merlio de la Sancta Trinita fu molto allegro, e poi disse nel aio suo che ancor lo volea provare in uno altro modo. Et alhora si parti da Merlino e ando ad armarse de le sancte arme de Jesu Christo. Et poi canto la messa del Spirito Sancto, e avanti che l'havesse compita prese il corpo del nostro signor Jesu Christo che havea consecrato nele sue mane. Et quando Merlino il vide, subito se misse in genochioni. Et maestro Blasio disse, Merlino, che e quello che io tengo nele mane ? Et Merlino disse, Tu tieni nele tue mane il corpo del nostro signor Jesu Christo, lo qual prese carne humana de la gloriosa Virgine Maria. — Et per che cagione credi questo ? disse maestro Blasio. — Io tel diro, disse Merlino. Quando il nostro signor Jesu Christo fo a la cena appresso i suoi discipuli, ello prese el pane e disse, Togliete e mangiate., Questo e il mio corpo. Et simelmente fece del vino ch'el disse, Bevete che questo e il mio sangue. Et alhora maestro Blasio disse a Merlino, Credi tu che il pigior huomo del mondo, siando sacerdote, potesse consecrare il corpo del nostro signore Jesu Christo ? — Si, certo, disse Merlino. — Et per che cagione lo credi ? disse maestro Blasio. — Io tel diro, disse Merlino. Se il sacerdote hara dentro del suo core una piaga o grande o piccola che sia, pero ello non fara mal alcuno ne a me ne ad altri li quali starano a vedere lo corpo de Jesu Christo, e de cio ti mostrero uno exemplio materiale. Et alhora prese una candela e accesela e misse la de sopra el capo e disse a Blasio, Vedi tu questa candela aluminata ? Et Blasio disse che ben la vedea. Et Merlino disse, Se il sacerdote consecra el verace corpo de Christo, se e malvagio ello e a se e non ad altri. Et cosi como questa candela illumina ciascuna persona che la vede, cosi el consecrato de Jesu Christo illumina ciascuna persona ch'el vede. E tuto il mondo e ripieno de la gratia del nostro signor Jesu Christo. De queste parole si maraviglio molto maestro Blasio, e hebe nel suo core grande allegrezza. Et poi disse a Merlino, Or vedo ben che sei perfecto ne la fede del nostro signor Jesu Christo. Et alhora fini la messa del Spirito Sancto.

In this passage the conversation between Blaise and Merlin

preceding the questions in regard to the consecrated wafer is in its tenor similar to that which they hold in the prose *Merlin*¹ after Merlin has defended his mother and when Blaise "se mist en moult grant paine d'assaier Merlin en maintes manieres." Since there is nothing in the context to have recalled this scene to the mind of the writer, the inference is natural that he already knew the *Book of Helias*, and being reminded of the conversation in the *Merlin* by the mention of the acquittal in the opening sentence of the story of the Abbot decided to transfer the incident to his *Book of Blaise*, where he could use it as one of the tests that the master applied to Merlin. In the same way the sudden question of Blaise to Merlin in the Italian version as to whether a wicked priest could consecrate the Host looks as if it had been suggested to the author by the unworthiness of the symoniac celebrant in the *Book of Helias*. In short, the form and setting of the story in the *Book of Blaise* are better explained, if we assume that it had been transferred there by the author from the *Book of Helias* with alterations that it itself suggested to him, than if we suppose that it already existed in the *Book of Blaise* and, when the rest of the book was discarded, was alone preserved and incorporated into the *Book of Helias*².

There are only nineteen prophecies in the *Book of Blaise* that can be called purely historical; in many of these "Merlino parla molto oscuramente" — to quote one of the rubrics, — but eight are certainly connected in one way or another with Lombardy³. Since the remaining eleven are on scattered subjects, Lombardy has indubitably the predominance. Although the province and especially Milan are branded as centres of heresy⁴, the importance of the Lombards in the accomplishment of various creditable undertakings is foretold⁵. The Venetians are not once mentioned, and the Lombards, although fewer encomiums are bestowed upon them than are heaped upon the Venetians in the later parts of the work, are here only a little less prominent relatively than the Venetians are in the other books. A long story centres about Vercelli⁶: —

¹ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

² This story was incorporated from the *Book of Helias* into a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Tristan*, Bibl. Nat., fr. 103; see Löseth, *Tristan*, p. 188.

³ Fols. 22d, 23a, 24d, 25d, 27a, 29b.

⁴ Fols. 23a, 24c.

⁵ Fols. 22d, 24d, 25d.

⁶ Fols. 23d-24c.

Merlin and Blaise are in a church together. As a certain woman enters, Merlin begins to laugh and proceeds to reveal to the bystanders that she is a native of Vercelli in Lombardy and is the mother of Blaise. Thirty years earlier, when Blaise was a child, he had been stolen from his home and sold to the Count of Norgales, who had brought him up as his own son. His parents had come to Norbelande in a vain search for him. His father had later gone to look for him in the Isola Negra, and finding the son of the lord of the island in revolt against his father, he had joined the forces of the latter, succeeded in taking the son prisoner, and then in effecting a reconciliation between them. But after a time the son treacherously cast his father and his followers, the father of Blaise among them, into prison, and seized the lordship of the island. He proved so cruel a tyrant that the people put him to death and reinstated the rightful lord. The father of Blaise had died in prison ; his relatives, Merlin adds, are still pagans and live in servitude in Vercelli. The king of Vercelli is wicked, and he will be fatally stabbed in his palace by Hernolt the uncle of Blaise, who will be made lord of Vercelli in his place. To attest the truth of his words, at Merlin's bidding, Blaise orders a wise clerk to go to Vercelli and await the fulfilment of the prophecy. The clerk later returns with the news that Merlin's words have come to pass. " E poi [maestro Blasio] tene Merlino molto savio in tute cose le quale lui manifestava. "

There is no especial appropriateness in connecting this foolish narrative with Vercelli, but if we suppose that the writer had fled from Lombardy to France because his father had killed a knight in Vercelli, we can see that he might readily have concocted the story and localized it there. In short from the above facts the conclusion is not unwarranted that the *Book of Blaise* is a later Lombard supplement to the accepted text of the *Prophecies*, which was inserted into the *Merlin* at a suitable point and which might have been composed by such a person as the writer of the final statements in the passage from *C* describes himself to be. The inference then would be that the original of *C* contained the *Book of Blaise*, but since *C* is mutilated at the beginning there is no way of determining whether this was or was not the case. All that we may venture to affirm is that there is a strong probability that it did, inasmuch as the character of the book as we have it and the remarks in *C* mutually explain each other. The name Hernolt in *V* implies that the original was written in French. The highly imperfect state of *C* leaves us without evidence as to how far such a Lombard redactor effected changes in the rest of the work, or how much of the additional material in *C*, *V*, and *P* that is found in no other manuscripts should be attributed to his pen. We have

not sufficient basis for comparison. In any case this question is more suitably discussed in connection with the Italian texts in their entirety. But it is, at all events, plain that the passage in *C* is not trustworthy evidence for the veritable authorship of Maistre Richart d'Irlande.

One further matter connected with the story of the translation by Maistre Richart calls for comment. The author's inconsistency in stamping with the seal of the Emperor Frederic's name a work that does not hesitate to denominate him "the champion who will die in contumacy," and that is as pronouncedly anti-Ghibelline as the *Prophecies*, may well give us pause. The *Livre de Sidrach*, which is written in an equal spirit of obedience to the Church, and also boasts imperial approbation, again supplies us to a limited extent with a parallel. Renan and Paris¹, it is true, were inclined to believe that its association with Frederic points to its composition while he was still living, on the ground that there must have been many orthodox Christians among his adherents, who would not have hesitated to claim his patronage for their works during his lifetime, but who after his death would have found the evil reputation that clung to him an insuperable barrier to the same course. In the *Prophecies*, however, it is evident that the author's object is less to gain a hearing for his work by laying stress upon Frederic's interest in it than to emphasize the convincing power of Merlin's words by demonstrating that they commanded the reverence of even so learned a prince as he. His unequalled knowledge of the qualities of precious stones — "li empereor estoit li nonperz home du monde de connoistre la forche des pierrez" — is, for example, dwelt upon in the story of the crown of Orbance², and the favorable light in which he appears there makes his esteem for Merlin's predictions all the more authoritative³. It is by no means

¹ *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 291.

² I, 75, 77. Is there a subtle connection in the writer's mind between the Dragon of Babylon, who was rich in gems, and Frederic? See above, II, 213, note 3, for the evident association of the Dragon with Frederic in the story of the fourth stone in the Dragon's crown.

³ The emperor's part is more to his credit in the story of the *Prophecies* than in a similar *novella* in the *Novellino* (Biagi, *Le novelle antiche*, ii; pp. 4 ff.), in which it is related that Prester John sends an embassy to the Emperor Frederic for the purpose of discovering whether he is wise in word and deed, entrusting to the messengers three jewels, which they are to present to him with the request that he tell Prester John what is the most precious thing in the world. Frederic accepts the stones and praises their beauty, but fails to ask what their

unusual to find the learning of Frederic extolled and his "Epicureanism" and heresy condemned by the same writer. He was "savio di scrittura e di senno naturale, universale di tutte cose," Villani¹ says, and adds in the same passage, "quasi vita epicuria tenne, non facendo conto che mai fosse altra vita, e questa fu l'una principale cagione perchè venne nemico de cherici e di santa chiesa." Dante placed Frederic alone of all the emperors in the Inferno, where he consigned him to a tomb among the heresiarchs², but he did not hesitate to speak with praise of the courts of the "illustres heroes Federicus Caesar et bene genitus eius Manfredus," as the centres of Italian letters; "eorum tempore quicquid excellentes Latinorum enitebantur, primitus in tantorum coronatorum aula prodibat³." Passages such as these explain how Maistre Richart d'Irlande could proclaim the contumacy of Frederic and yet recognize his intellectual capacity as well as his patronage of letters, and especially the vast impetus that he gave to composition in the vulgar tongue.

virtue is, saying merely in reply to the question of Prester John that the best thing in the world is *misura*. The ambassadors report this answer to their lord, who declares that Frederic is wise in word, but not in deed, for he should have inquired about the virtue of the stones. Somewhat later, hearing nothing from the Emperor about the gems, he begins to fear that they may have lost some of their marvellous qualities, and therefore secretly sends his best lapidary to the court of Frederic with instructions to bring them back to him. The lapidary, arrived at the court, displays his own precious stones, makes many gifts, and finally attracts the attention of the Emperor, who summons him and shows him his jewels, among them the gems of Prester John. The lapidary takes them in his hand one by one, declaring that the first is worth the best city in the realm, the second the best province, the third the entire empire. He closes his fist upon them; the virtue of one makes him invisible, and he escapes with his treasure to Prester John.

The tale does not redound to the credit of the Emperor, who not only displays no knowledge of the value of precious stones, but is content with the external beauty of the gems. The story appears in the Gualteruzzi text (i.e., the earlier form) of the *Novellino*, and in any case since many of the tales were current long before the compilation of the collection it might have been known to the author of the *Prophecies* and have suggested to him the idea of composing a contrasting anecdote which should exhibit the Emperor as a more sagacious person. Still there is nothing in the *novella* to show whether the emperor of the story is Frederic I or Frederic II. There are, however, a sufficient number of instances where a legend told of one of these emperors is transferred to the other to allow us to believe that with the story of the *novella* current at the time when the *Prophecies* was composed, even if it were told originally of Frederic I, it might still have suggested a contrasting story of Frederic II. Cf. Häussner, pp. 6 ff. For a discussion of the *novella* see Koehler, *Romania*, V, 76 ff.; Zarncke, *Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, N.F., XVII, 831 ff.

¹ VI, i. ² *Inferno*, X, 118, 119, ³ *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xii.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMPOSITION OF THE *PROPHECIES*

In the preceding chapters we have taken up one by one the various conspicuous elements of the *Prophecies* and have allowed each in turn to contribute its quota toward our better understanding of the composition of the whole. We shall probably clarify our ideas, if before leaving the subject we gather together the scattered results of our observations and seek to formulate, so far as possible, a brief answer to the questions that we put at the beginning of our studies, — what is the date, the provenience, the purpose of the *Prophecies*; is it a composite production, or the work of one hand; what is its connection with those classes of literature to which it is related; what are its contributions to our knowledge of mediaeval thought and expression?

It has repeatedly come to our notice in the course of our investigations that the tenor of the *Prophecies* shows it to have been produced in the early years of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, in Italy and specifically in Venice (or by a Venetian), and with some probability by a Frate Minor. Certain prophecies, which appear in all groups of our manuscripts, prove that it was composed approximately between the years 1272¹, or far more probably 1276, and 1279, namely, after the death of Re Enzo, or even after that of Pope Gregory X, and before Thomas the Tuscan wrote his *Gesta Imperatorum*. A consistent purpose, temper, and method prevail throughout the book. Its aim is to condemn ecclesiastical corruption and especially that of the Roman curia, to set forth that the love of money is the root of all evil, to foretell the tribulations that the coming of the Antichrist will bring to pass, to inculcate devout obedience to the Church in spirit and in acts of faith, and to record with piety that the Venetians are deservedly beyond all peoples the beloved of Heaven, and that Venice is justly the *città dominante* of the Adriatic. That the author chose

¹ Paulin Paris (*MSS. français*, I, 130) concluded that the *Prophecies* was "translated" in 1272, because this date occurs in 98 in Chapter cclxvii; but his argument cannot stand, for it is based merely upon 98, whereas the other texts in this passage read 1260, a date that is equally applicable to the conditions foretold.

to cast his material into prophetic form shows that he lived in a *milieu* where prophecy had authority and was felt to be an effective vehicle for important pronouncements, such an environment in fact, as Italy, and especially the Franciscan order, afforded in the thirteenth century. It was natural that Merlin, known as one of the most renowned of prophets and considered an authentic personage, whose birth and deeds were recorded by serious chroniclers¹, should be selected as the seer to whom the precepts, warnings, and knowledge that were to be conveyed should be accredited, and that when narrative was introduced it should be drawn from the romances of the Arthurian cycle, with which he was essentially connected. To give the vaticinations the greater authority his wisdom, orthodoxy, and marvellous supernatural power are emphasized by anecdote and direct statement copiously scattered among the predictions. To vary the sameness of prophetic expression, not only are Merlin's scribes and intermediaries frequently changed, but Arthurian episodes either, invented from suggestions in existing romances, especially the *Lancelot* and the *Palamedes*, or derived directly from them, are introduced, and are often linked with the main thread of the work by a prediction of Merlin foretelling the events narrated. There is no ground for considering the *Prophecies* a "suite" to any romance or the member of any "cycle" of romances, and no indication that it was written primarily for the sake of completing or prolonging any other work², although it contains the continuation of some situations that are found in both the *Lancelot* and the *Palamedes*³. Its closest relations are with these two romances, but it was clearly attached very soon after its composition to a manuscript of the *Merlin* in spite of the absurdity that this connection entailed, notably in supplementing with the story of Merlin's entombment that of his retention in the tower of mist.

The form of the *Prophecies* prejudices us in favor of a composite

¹ Dandolo (V, iii, 4; col. 73) records for the year 443: — "Merlinus è Spiritu in specie Hominis conceptus, ut Mater coram Rege confessa fuit, hoc tempore in Anglia existit, qui multa obscura revelavit multaque ventura prædixit." See also Jacopo da Acqui, cols. 1529 ff.; Leo Urbevetanus, *Chronicon Pontificorum*, in Lami, *Deliciae Eruditorum*, 1737, III, 92; Jean des Preis d'Outremeuse, *Ly mireur des histours*, ed. Borgnet et Bormans, II, 165, 171, 197; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Venice, 1494, fol. 261a.

² Cf. *Huth Merlin*, I, xxv, note 1; J. L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 7.

³ On the frequent use of this method of composition in mediaeval romance see Bruce, *Romanic Review*, X, 122.

authorship. At a first reading so remote does the episodic material appear from the rest of the work, so superfluous the reduplication of colorless scribes, so frequent the repetition of ideas, that we lay the book aside altogether prepared to believe that its present form is due to a long growth and numerous additions to a nucleus, in its beginnings comparatively small, and that at all events the romantic episodes, varying so widely as they do in the extant sources, are adjuncts to an original book composed strictly of the prophecies of Merlin¹. Such a theory, which I confess to having cherished at one period of my studies, I have been compelled to abandon. The assumption that the authors of the source of Group I, of Group II, and of *A* each invented all of the episodes that he individually recounts leaves so much unexplained that demands explanation, and that, as I have endeavoured to point out, is explainable as the result of an essentially single authorship that it appears to me untenable. Moreover it is highly improbable that a production composed of detached material, like that of the prophecies, created by one hand after another, with the addition here of episodes, there of a collection of prophecies delivered to a new scribe, could manifest the consistency of intention and method that prevails from beginning to end of the work ; for example, the *Book of Blaise*, which we have ground for believing to be a late supplement in *V* and *P*, is distinctly differentiated in its contents in certain respects from the other books. A still more important consideration is that the predominating spirit of the *Prophecies* belongs to a period not only later than the death of Frederic II, but when the repute of Joachim had begun to wane, and this time is so near that to which a comparison of our earliest manuscripts shows us their archetype should be referred, as to exclude the possibility of a slow and gradual development. *R* dated 1303, goes back to *Y*, which was a redaction of *X* ; it is incredible that *X*, which must have been almost contemporary with the events of 1275 or 1276, should itself be the result of a long process of accretion.

The original form was probably in the main that preserved

¹ Of the French sources that are sufficiently complete to come into consideration *R* alone corresponds to this description ; that it could not possibly have been expanded into the form of the other members of its group we have seen in our study of the manuscript. The Italian versions also contain none of the episodic material of the French sources, but, as has been said above, they are too late to be accepted as independent testimony for an early form of the work.

for us in Group I, with however certainly a preceding *Livre de Tholomer*, and possibly a few final chapters of the *Livre de Rubert le Chappelain*. Indubitably in all of our manuscripts this original form has been subjected to other subtractions and additions¹. Few works were more susceptible of alteration, owing to the ease with which an episode might be inserted between the sayings of Merlin, and to the disjointed nature of the individual predictions. It was very truly said by Alexandre², " Nulli libri interpolationibus magis patent aut ad interpolandi libidinem lectores ac libentarios magis incitant, quam prophetici vel prophetici similes, in quibus sui quisque temporis negotia potissimum quaerit, omnia quovis pretio redimi velit." An excellent example of the sort of change that we may conceive of as having been not infrequently effected in the *Prophecies* by scribes or redactors is afforded by a prediction found only in *E* concerning an inundation of an " island called Holland " in 1288. This is a reference to events of which there is a record in the *Notitia Seculi*, an anonymous work composed in 1288, in which the statement is made that in the year 1287, " Dominus suscitavit ventum aquilonis, qui mare Frisie ultra terminos et limites suos eiciens maximam partem Selandie, Hollandie, et Frisie submersit in profundum abissi³." This prediction was certainly neither in *X* nor in *Y*, for both were written before 1279; the prophecy is therefore a supplement added after 1288. It follows that the manuscript from which *E* was copied was written after that date, and we should suppose not long after, while the memory of an event of no wide importance was still fresh. The possibility, in truth the certainty, of such additions as this, and of similar eliminations in the various versions leaves us powerless to reconstruct precisely the original form in which the *Prophecies* was composed.

The reader of the foregoing chapters has doubtless inferred from the *argumentum e silentio* that our collection of predictions is not derived from the Seventh Book of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* or from any of the fictitious *Prophecies de Merlin* mentioned in the Arthurian prose romances, nor does it incorporate the nume-

¹ Since these alterations are evidently in general arbitrary, there seems to be no reason why we should hesitate to infer that Robin Boutemont himself abridged *R* from *Y* for his own purposes. Cf. I, 16.

² *Oracula Sibyllina*, 1841-1869, II, 295.

³ Ed. Von Karajan, *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, II, 104 (fol. 21a).

rous floating prophecies attributed to Merlin that were current in Europe in the thirteenth century and that have made their way into the chronicles. But it was unquestionably influenced by verses such as those attributed to Michael Scot that foretold the fate of sundry cities of Italy, by other established mediaeval predictions, in a measure by the numerous didactic works in dialogue and direct form that were included in the literary inheritance of the period, and, written in part as a record of the past, very largely also by chronicle history, not merely as a source for facts, but by its scope as well, which admitted within its limits multitudinous themes that had no connection with the immediate events recorded. Because we can thus trace the date, origin, and aims of the *Prophecies* and can detect the tendencies that shaped it, we cannot accept Maistre Richart d'Irlande, an alleged scholar attached to an Irish court, and a contemporary of Frederic II, as the veritable author, who we must believe, for reasons that our imagination can easily supply, but for which we have no evidence, preferred to cloak his identity by a pseudonym.

For us today the contribution of the *Prophecies* to our acquaintance with the thirteenth century, though far from sensational, is not negligible. It adds another to our list of Franco-Italian literary compositions, and it probably supplies us with a new name to place among those of the romantic works that emanated from the cloister. It contains an individual development of the legend of Merlin. It throws fresh light upon the relation between chronicle and prophecy as forms of expression. Essentially an Italian production, it illustrates the North Italian receptivity of the French language and of French sources for literary uses, and especially the popularity attained by the *matière de Bretagne* in Venetia and the Marca. So permeated is it with the temper of thirteenth-century Italy that we cannot read it without feeling the strength of the currents that were troubling her outward conditions and animating her inner life ; it manifests the intense civic pride that was the foundation of the bitter rivalry between the Italian mediaeval towns ; it records at every turn the strife between Church and Empire that made Italy so fierce a threshing floor throughout the thirteenth century ; above all it reflects the softer light of the type of mysticism that was born in Calabria with the Abbot Joachim, and that found in his native land a peculiarly congenial atmosphere for development and for expression in prophetic utterance. In the period when the *Prophecies* was being composed Italy

was beyond the other countries of Europe, as Huillard-Bréholles has said, " le théâtre de toutes les grandes questions engagées, le champ clos des opinions et des principes contraires. " The *Prophecies* is both an outcome and a record of the controversies that were profoundly agitating Italian political and spiritual life in the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is inconceivable that it should have originated in any land save Italy or in any community save Venice.

INDEX

The principal variants for the proper names in the *Prophecies* are given from all the manuscripts. In Part II there are occasional departures from the accepted spelling of the proper names where that of the source immediately cited or discussed has been followed; it has not seemed necessary, however, to give such variations a place in the Index beside the form more regularly employed in the text. The entries under words from the French text frequently refer to their English equivalents used in Part II, which in the interests of space do not appear under separate headings.

References to Part I are made without special designation of the Part.

- Aaron, 477.
 Abbe, d'Albernauge, 243; II, 24f.; d'Alemaigne, 174; Othinars, 267. *See* Beneoit, saint; Orcanie.
 Abeesse, d'Albernauge, 243; II, 24f.
 Abel, 148, 160, 454; II, 131. *See* Cain.
 Abiron(s), Aubiron, 125f., 165, 174, 206f., 222, 248; II, 279; le roi d', 162f. *See* Gralisans; Morans; Segurans.
 Abisme, Basme, 337.
 Abraham, 454, 464.
 Acarie, 186.
 Acaron, Aquaron, Karon. *See* Acre.
 Acerge, Acer(s)(t)e, Aterse, Atisne, 134.
 Achaia, II, 98, 101, 102.
 Achalain, Achelain, duc de Clarence, 322, 379, 382, 384, 403.
 Acloas, Aclova(l)(s), (A)(E)sclloas, (A)(E)scolas, 125f.
 Acoberz, Ascoberz, 260.
 Acre, 129; II, 64ff., 87 f., 145. *See* Acaron.
 Acubert, 399.
 Adam, 129, 141, 160, 169, 170, 202, 216, 234, 333, 463, 473.
 Adda, the, II, 129, 131.
 Adelardi, the, II, 137f.
 Adelchis, II, 74.
 Adoptianism, II, 75.
 Adriatic Sea, II, 44, 53, 54, 61, 217.
 Adso, II, 82, 193f., 222; quoted, II, 199, 202, 212.
 Aeneas, II, 37, 68, 105.
 Aeneas Sylvius, II, 84.
 Aerial journeys, II, 318. *See* Pierre Reonde.
 Aglentine, Aiglantine, Englantine, Esglantine, dame d'Avalon, 8, 297ff., 415f.; II, 249.
 Agloval, 231.
 Agoulan(s)(t), Agolant, Agoulain, Angolanz, le roi, III.
 Agravain, 397f.
 Aguisiax, king of Scotland, 413.
 Aigeon, Aigne, Aisne, 327; II, 82.
 Ainceis, Anseis, de Sorelois, 382, 384.
 Alac, *see* Evalac.
 Alain le gros, II, 326.
 Albanesi, II, 24. *See* Albigenes.
 Albanie, II, 30.
 Albano, Cardinal of, II, 26.
 Albanus, *see* Albius.
 Albernauge, Aberenge, Abetange, Albenges, Alberenge (s), Albreange, 242f.; II, 24.
 Albi, II, 24.
 Albigenes, II, 24ff., 208, 221.
 Albine, 232.
 Albius (Albanus), cardinal, prophecy by, II, 23.
 Albrac, castle of, 415.
 Alchendic, 408f.
 Alcuin (Albain), II, 193.
 Aldruda, Contessa di Bertinoro, II, 59.
 Alemai(n)gne, Alemeigne, Alemaigne, Amongne, Mongne, 116, 117, 173, 174, 188, 200, 337; II, 66, 84, 167ff., 171.

- 178 ; crusaders from, 157, 254 ; II, 34, 84, 86ff. ; duchesse d', 190f. ; une grant guerre commenciee par [le pais de Bertous d'—], 102 ; II, 168ff. ; les parties commenciees par, 102 ; II, 68, 169 ; serpentis d', 495.
- Alemans, les, 221, 253.
- Alessandria, II, 338.
- Alexander III, pope, II, 161ff., 217ff.
- Alexander IV, pope, II, 81f., 99, 123, 126f., 134, 188.
- Alexandre, C., quoted, II, 349.
- Alexandre, Alixandre, le roi (Alexander the Great), 124, 247 ; II, 203, 318.
- Alexandres, Alixandres, li apostolles, 58f. ; II, 146, 216ff., 304.
- Alexandria, II, 145, 210.
- Alexis IV, emperor, II, 93, 95f.
- Alexis, Guillaume, quoted, 45.
- Ali(s)(x)andre l'orfein, 375f., 403ff., 413f., 415f., 421 ; II, 251, 258, 259, 264, 268f., 275f.
- Almeris le Normant, 457.
- Alphonso III, king of Aragon, II, 339.
- Alphonso VIII, king of Castile, II, 26.
- Alphonso X, king of Castile, II, 186, 338.
- Altinates, II, 51.
- Altino, II, 38, 39ff., 48ff. ; original name of, II, 51.
- Aluis, Clais, Elias, Conte, 277.
- Amalfi, II, 34, 69ff., 78.
- Ammiana, II, 52f.
- Amon, 378.
- Amphissa, II, 102.
- Amytayn, II, 316.
- An., la marche de, 73.
- Anafesto, Paolo Lucio, doge, II, 55ff.
- Anagni, II, 14, 82, 163 ; Commission of, II, 188, 190.
- Anceris, *see* Anteris.
- Ancertz, Count, 437.
- Anc(h)ie, Ancil, Ant(h)ie, Anthioche, Antie(r)s, Ancyce, Dancie, 238, 315 ; II, 317 ; les dismes d', 317f. ; II, 158 ; le duc d', 8, 23, 238, 290f., 294ff., 302, 311, 313f., 317f. ; II, 317f.
- Ancona, *see* Anconne.
- Anconne(e), Ancone, Angone, Antonne, Anto(u)ne, 143, 246f., 301 ; II, 12, 53, 58ff., 143, 214.
- Andrea, sant', relic of, II, 77.
- Andret, pescheeur d'Anconne, 246f.
- Andret, li traitres, II, 294.
- Andrieus, Andriex, Andri(u)s, apostres, 235.
- Andronicus Paleologus, emperor, II, 338.
- Anduins, Andinus, Andoyne(e)(s), Anduyn, Landinus, Landuins, li rois d'Illande, 82f. ; II, 329, 330.
- Anel, 92f., 126, 180, 322f., 372, 415f. ; II, 319 ; as prelas, 87, 242 ; II, 211.
- Anemis d'enfer (*sing.* panpl., 29ff., 69, 141f., 214, 228, 230, 232, 234f., 243, 244, 249f., 259, 262f., 276, 292f., 297, 303, 304, 309, 320, 325f., 329, 441, 452, 477, 479, 481, 484 ; II, 24, 238, 337 ; font songier les mauves songes, 214, 233 ; in Aurences, 287f. ; in the Isle de Pol et de Cir, 286f. ; II, 146 ; in the Pierre Reonde, 228, 231, 233ff., 236, 238, 294 ; II, 316f., 321, 324 ; in various forms, 141, 146, 249f., 328f., 334, 416, 439, 440f. ; II, 206, 213, 315 ; in various objects, 288f., 441, 493f. ; II, 319, 321 ; kinds of, 232f. ; [petit dyalot] on a woman's train, 276, 277 ; II, 231 ; receives unrighteous souls, 384, 412 ; temptations of, 85f., 233, 270, 273, 304, 326, 477 ; II, 230 ; various acts of, 328f., 416 ; II, 318, 319 ; will possess and serve the Dragon of Babylon (Antichrist), 62, 63, 94, 248f., 325, 337 ; II, 199f., 207, 213f. *See* Angles, de Lucifer ; Merlin.
- Angle, angre (*sing.*), de l'espee de Burtumble, 210 ; II, 90f. ; le saint—, 30ff., 69, 86, 211, 224, 273 ; II, 230 ; Mont du saint—, 394 ; un (saint), 196, 213f., 304, 450.
- (pl.), de Lucifer, 73f., 104 (li diable), 235, 326, 493 ; II, 223.

235. — Les sains —, 224, 235, 293, 294, 303f., 306, 441; II, 238, 337; du palais d'Ancie, 314, 317; emportent les âmes au ciel, 259, 320f.; envoyez a Sodome et Gomorre, 464; font a savoir les bons songes, 213f.; que les Bons Mariniers verront, 306; II, 42; qui feront le serpent antif enmi le vis, 294.
 Anglediz, Engledis, 375f.; II, 269, 270, 276.
 Anglois, Englois (*sing.*), un champion, 470. — (*pl.*), l'estoire des, 146; le prophete des, *see* Merlin.
 Anguille de la mer morte, 191.
 Anibal, II, 119.
 Annales Laurissenses, II, 73.
 Annales S. Justinæ, quoted, II, 116, 117, 118, 121, 141.
 Annales Venetici Breves, II, 89; quoted, II, 88.
 Annales Veronenses, quoted, II, 6.
 Ansedisio dei Guidotti, II, 123.
 Antenor, II, 37, 38, 51, 68, 105, 132.
 Antenori, II, 38, 69.
 Antenorio, Obelerio, doge, II, 51, 57.
 Anteris, Anceris, 70ff., 73; II, 48, 50f.
 Anthoine, le gas (*sic*), 457. *See* also Antoine.
 Antichrist, the, called the Dragon of Babylon, 62, 338; II, 192; in Adso, II, 193f.; in Biblical sources, II, 193; in *Cronaca di Marco*, II, 226; in Honorius d'Autun, II, 194f.; in *Liber de Antichristo*, II, 215f.; in Joachim of Flora, II, 184ff., 188; in *Sidrach*, II, 238f.; in *Tournement de l'Antichrist*, II, 25, 221; his precursors, II, 216; parentage, II, 25, 193; coming, II, 82, 175, 184, 194ff., 209, 223, 346; signs at his birth, II, 198f.; his upbringing, II, 193; aided by demons, II, 193, 199, 214; his learning, II, 207; miracles, II, 194, 195; treasure, II, 199, 200, 213f.; in Jerusalem, II, 82, 194, 195, 200; three kings subdued by, II, 204f.; his slaying of Enoch and Elias, II, 194, 195,

200; his death, II, 194, 195, 200; resurrection, II, 201; servants, II, 124, 201, 212, 215f.; the antagonist of Christ, II, 193, 195, 220, 221, 222; contrasted with Christ, II, 193, 199, 200, 201, 202, 222; personages identified with, II, 124, 186, 195, 196f., 207, 214. *See* Dragon de Babilloinne; Frederic II, emperor.
 Antioc(h)e, Anthioche, 139f., 142, 291; II, 75, 76, 87, 317, 331, 332; le roi d', 139f.; le siege d', 283; II, 165. *See* Flequandins.
 Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, II, 116, 195.
 Antoin(n)e, Anthoine, Anthonne, cleric de Normendie, 474; II, 307; a scribe of Merlin, 10, 44, 205f., 208, 226, 302, 474, 478, 481, 486; II, 304ff., 312, 313; becomes bishop of Gales, 87, 110 (and of Engleterre), 159, 162, 226; II, 305, 306, 310, 313; prophecies of Merlin delivered to, 6f., 27, 38, 40, 46, 48, 49, 219, 254, 265, 297, 303; in a visit of three cardinals to Merlin, 95-99, 103ff., 109f.; his anger with Orderis, 97f.; interview with Galeholt le Brun, 115, 426; receives the Reine de Berquehen, 130ff.; at a papal council, 135, 136, 146, 478f., 481; II, 311; his form taken by a devil, 141, 146; II, 315; receives the *Livre de Blaise*, 198; ponders a prophecy, 441; parts from Merlin, 163, 164, 260; message from Merlin to, 170ff.; learns of the entombment of Merlin, 172, 174f., 176; becomes a hermit, 205; II, 315; appoints his successor as scribe, 213; II, 315; his death and burial, 7, 205f., 213; II, 315; in a dream of the Sage Clerc, 7, 211f.; in the *Demanda del Sancto Grial*, II, 300; in the *Novellino*, II, 219f.; the book of Tholomer and of —, 302; II, 305; *Livre d'*, in the *Prophecies*, 6, 47f.; II, 312; his

- part in the *Prophecies*, II, 315f.
- Antonio, *see* Antoinne.
- Apocalypse, the, II, 184, 193.
- Apostolle de Romme, I', 87, 135, 136, 153, 202, 245, 337, 470, 471; his acts of discipline, 73, 81f., 85, 156, 243, 245, 290, 327, 336, 397, 412, 460; II, 13f., 24, 62, 125f., 177; will send the Bons Mariniers to the Holy Land, 309; II, 93ff.; calls for crusades, 407, 412f., 417, 421; II, 276; consille de, a Romme, 135, 136; II, 177, 311; pour la crestiente redresser, 472; court de, 83, 108; le derrenier, 312 (cf. 114); wrath of the Griffons against, 321; deceived in the Marche Amoureuse, 148; II, 131, 134, 136; his treatment of Mischiere, 327; II, 81; qui sera bons et loiaus, 106, 212f.; II, 148, 175ff.; qui verra avaller ses ennemis, 472; les roetes d'argent de, 148, 321; II, 131, 136; son of the Roi de Norhonberlande, 301; will pacify Tuscany, 222; II, 16, 20ff.; uncle of the Poisson de Pitoe, 149; II, 157; asks succour from Uterpandragon, 330 (cf. 323f.). *See* Alexandres; Clement; Gouverneur; Gringoire; Pape; Pope; Porte.
- Appollinaire, Apolnars, saint, 309; II, 146.
- Apulie, Apolie, Apugez, Apuille, Puille, 155, 187, 330; II, 20, 27f., 74, 78, 88, 112, 114, 144, 216.
- Aquile(e), Acquille (Aquileia), 150, 199, 459; II, 38, 40, 41, 53, 145.
- Aquilon(e), 73.
- Aquinas, St. Thomas, quoted, II, 200, 207, 212.
- Arabbe, Arrabe, Ar(r)abie, 94; le roi d', 89ff.; II, 20ff.
- Arbre, I', de Paradis, 202, 248; Sec, 144, 461; II, 151.
- Archemais, son of Aguisiax, 413; II, 93.
- Archemans, Arc(h)emains, Arche(m)(n)ais, Archemays, Archemains, li rois d'Escoce, 192, 396.
- Archimicidium, the, II, 55, 57.
- Arcy, Henri d', quoted, II, 193.
- Ardan, uncle of Arthur, 383.
- Aresne, Asrene, Astent, 134.
- Argent, la force d', 449f., 460; *see* Roetes d'—.
- Argistre(s), Agistrez, Ariste(r)s, 7, 272f., 278; II, 230, 231.
- Arian heresy, II, 41, 49.
- Arians (Darians ?), la roinne d', 322.
- Arians, Alianz, Ariant, Ariens, Aurianz, li rois, 71.
- Ariens, Arianz, Arion, Orient, la mer, 137.
- Ariet, 186.
- Aristan of Sorelois, 385.
- Armannino Giudice, quoted, II, 30.
- Armant, king of the Isle Delitable, 436.
- Armenie, *see* Harmenie.
- Arnantes, *see* Aurences.
- Arnold of Lübeck, quoted, II, 87.
- Arragon(n)e, Aragonne, Araigone, Eragonne, Ragonne, guerre d', 118f.; le roi d', 118f., 243; II, 24, 26, 339.
- Arras, 213.
- Arthur and Gorlagon, II, 30.
- Arthurian legends in the cloister, II, 227f.
- Artu(s), roi de Logres, 26, 40, 60, 91, 115, 117, 122, 181, 196, 225, 231, 232, 235, 239, 301, 396, 398, 427f., 431, 447, 458f., 461, 462f., 486; II, 249, 300, 337; his election, 458, 462; coronation, 35, 37, 453; II, 283f., 337; allegiance to Merlin, 116; II, 284; protected by Merlin, 23, 115, 427; II, 283; begins *le conte des profecies Merlin*, II, 303; receives prophecies of Merlin from Baudemagus, II, 298; with Merlin at Salebiere, 427; II, 284; knights Lancelot, 197; will be aided by a leopard, 89; II, 242; in a dream of Guinevere, 179; his final war with Lancelot, II, 244; relations with Galeholt, 89, 401, 431, 436, 444; II, 242f., 293.

- 303 ; ruled by the False Guinevere, 235f., 397f., 406 ; II, 252f., 255, 274 ; his indifference to knighthood, 378, 380, 389, 397, 405 ; II, 252 f., 275 ; sentence on Queen Guinevere, II, 253 f. ; his excommunication, 397, 407, 412 ; II, 252 ; reinstates Queen Guinevere, 412 ; II, 253 ; plots of Morgain against, 434f. ; II, 293 ; his relations with Baudemagus, 431, 436, 443 ; rescue by King Meliadus, 158 (li oirs de Loo-nois) ; war with King Meliadus, 189 ; vengeance on Cornouaille, 214 ; victory over the Saracens, 427 ; sends aid to the Holy Land, 407 ; to Carmelide, 428 ; plans war upon Claudas, 16, 301 ; II, 249, 250 ; rescues Mador, 371f. ; receives Aglentine, 298ff. ; the Laid Vallet, 26, 321ff. ; Galahad, II, 32 ; his combat with Savariz, 409f. ; learns the fate of Gohenbert, 420 ; cries a tourney at Camelot, 422 ; holds a tourney at Vincestre, 434, 438f., 440, 441f. ; II, 281 ; his final wound and passing, 179, 222, 299, 416, 458, 461 ; the court of, 177, 193, 195, 197, 198, 199, 206, 228f., 231, 320, 334, 377, 389, 409f., 411f., 419f., 422, 428, 443, 454, 458f., 461, 484f. ; II, 31, 262, 264, 281, 285, 294 ; successors of, 461.
- Arvances, Arvenches, *see* Aurences.
- As, gens des, 73.
- Asembe, Asambris, Asaubue, Asembrie, Senbue, 200.
- Assisi, basilica, II, 211, 224.
- Asti, II, 172, 338.
- Astronomie, l'art de l', 162, 207 ; II, 316.
- Atlantis, II, 52f.
- Attila, Atile (Attila), 312 ; II, 36, 38ff., 49, 51, 52, 54, 123, 312 (le flagel des crestiens). *See* Bons Mariniers.
- Aubert, patriarch of Antioch, II, 331, 332.
- Aubijois, II, 25. *See* Albigenes.
- Auf(f)riquans, Affricans, Aufriquen, Aufrican(s), Aufriquant, les, 20, 116, 127, 200, 256f., 316 ; II, 62, 63, 65, 66f., 69ff.
- Aufrique, l', 127, 134.
- Augustans, d'une ville de Sezille, 285.
- Augustine, St., II, 205.
- Aulee, II, 41. *See* Aquilee.
- Aumosnes, 113, 230, 260f., 272ff., 305, 310, 328f., 465 ; II, 183, 229, 237f.
- Aurences, Arnantes, Arurences, Arvances, Arvantes, Arven-c(h)es, Arventhes, Darnantes, Darvances, Nantes, Vantes, forest de, 158, 162ff., 173, 184, 195, 198, 215, 239, 254, 255, 256, 260, 287ff., 332, 371, 381, 390, 421, 495 ; II, 285 ; castle of, 434 ; la damoisele d', 122 ; la male fame d', 192 (*see* Morgain) ; Merlin entombed in, 164ff., 177, 178, 199, 237, 311, 322 ; II, 296, 297. *See* Helians, l'hermite d'.
- Austria, hostility to Venice, II, 147.
- Automata, 410ff. ; II, 246.
- Autour, 462.
- Au(x)solum castellum, II, 55, 56.
- Aval(l)on, 331, 381, 416 ; Dame d', 415f. *See* Aglentine.
- Aventures del saint Graal, II, 31f., 205f., 244 (quoted), 255, 278, 323.
- Avesnes, Jacques d', II, 98.
- Aylies, la Belle Pelerine, 421 ; II, 259.
- B., 44, 142 ; II, 5, 7, 8.
- Babilloinne [Babel], tour de, 210, 463.
- Babilloinne, Babilone, 76, 89, 286, 337, 455 ; une beste des desers de, 204f. ; birthplace of the Antichrist, II, 192, 193, 195, 202 ; un chaceour de, 204 ; les desers de, 63, 90, 123, 204 ; II, 199 ; un feu espris en, 325 ; le flun de, 148 ; les gens (poiens) de, 63, 113, 221 ; II, 72 ; palace at, II, 210 ; le roi de, 139f. (*see* Segurans) ; le soudant de, 77 ; II, 329. *See* Dragon de —.

- Babylonian (*sing.*), Dragon myth, II, 192. — (*pl.*), II, 319.
- Badoer, Giovanni, II, 134; Marco, II, 123, 125, 135; Pietro, doge, II, 146; Stefano, II, 134.
- Baing noir, 331.
- Balaam, II, 191.
- Baladro del sabio Merlino*, II, 297f., 299.
- Baldric, archbishop of Dol, quoted, II, 83f.
- Baldwin, Count of Flanders, emperor, II, 96, 97.
- Baldwin II, of Jerusalem, II, 85.
- Baldwin IV, of Jerusalem, II, 91.
- Balinac, *see* Valmas.
- Balinachie, *see* Dalmacie.
- Ban, roi de Benonic, 165, 214, 301, 303; II, 241, 249. *See* Lancelot, li fiuz de —.
- Bandinelli, Rolando, cardinal, II, 162.
- Banin de Benoyc, 384f.
- Baptisme, 203, 230, 296, 303, 307, 327, 329, 476, 480, 486; II, 340.
- Barankain, Baracains, Barenkain, Kar(a)(e)nkain, Katankin, les enfans du roi de, 139f.
- Barbagal, lyons de, 145.
- Barbana, II, 54.
- Barbarie, 85, 127, 154, 330, 461; II, 67; lac de, 111; preudhomme de, 186, 187; miracle en, 465.
- Barcelona, Barcelonne, *see* Berselongnie.
- Barge, faite par Merlin, 297ff., 415f.
- Bartoli, A., II, 233f.
- Bartolomeo da Mantua, II, 186f.
- Bartolomeo da Vicenza, II, 180.
- Basile, *see* Blaise.
- Basme, Bame, la mer, 152f. *See* Abisme.
- Bassano, II, 38, 107, 119, 133, 155f.
- Baudac(h), Ba(l)dac, Baudas, Baudic, 153, 193, 257; II, 30; king of, 407, 409, 413; princess of, 382f.
- Baudemagu(z), roi de Gorre, 188, 297, 376, 379, 391, 393, 395, 399, 403, 430f., 436, 443; II, 246, 249, 250, 273f., 293, 298ff.
- Baviere, Bavié, 120.
- Beauregard, II, 103.
- Bedoar, 399.
- Bedoier li Connestable, 398.
- Beers, 494.
- Behâ ed-Din, *see* Bohadin.
- Beit-Nouba, II, 90, 92. *See* Burtumble.
- Bele Garde, 414, 415, 416, 421.
- Belenus, II, 52.
- Belic, Belior, Bellis, Belye, roi de Bellistans, 60.
- Beliehan, *see* Berquehen.
- Belle Pelerine, la, II, 259. *See* Aylies.
- Bellistans, Belistiaus, 60.
- Benedetto di Sant' Andrea, II, 70, 76f. (quoted), 80.
- Ben(e)oit, saint, 266ff., 274; II, 184; 189; abbe de la relegion de, 7, 266ff.; II, 189, 327 (of Northumberland), 339f., 342.
- Benetia, *see* Venetia.
- Benevento, II, 17, 20, 28, 163, 164.
- Benonic, Benit, Benoic, Benouic, Benous, Benuic, Bernoic, 117, 301, 373; II, 266, 279; le chevalier du lignage de, 165 (*see* Galahad). *See* Ban, roi de; Lancelot.
- Berengier, chatelain of Magance, 375.
- Berengier de Gomeret, 388f.; II, 250.
- Berganso, Bergamo, 335; II, 102f.
- Berne, *see* Bernie.
- Bernalz, Bernar(d)(s), Bernos, Bernou(s), li hardis, 308.
- Bernard, St., II, 182, 189.
- Bernard le Tresorier, II, 83.
- Bernart, 267.
- Berne, Stadtbibliothek, manuscript, 19.
- Bernie, Beesme, Berme, Boe(s)me, Bornie, Ybernie, 241, 243f., 252; II, 317; le roi de, 238, 302, 311, 313, 314, 338; II, 317f.
- Berqueh(a)(e)n, Beliehan, Berkehan, Brekeham, Brelihan, Brequeham, Brequehen, Broquhan, Brouquehan, Lu(c)quehan, 323f.; la reine de, 6, 130ff.; le roi de, 131f.

- Berri, 301, 421.
 Berselongnie, Barcelonne, Barcelume, 339; II, 319f., 321, 322.
 Bertelais, a pagan, 429; le Pas —, 429; II, 284, 285, 286.
 Bertelais, Bertelac, Berth(e)(o)-lais, Bertolais, de Camelide, 235, 391, 396, 406; II, 308.
 Berthold von Regensburg (of Ratisbon), II, 168, 175, 178, 208, 223. *See* Bertous d'Alemaigne.
 Bertinoro, Contessa di, II, 59.
 Bertoullars du Chastel du Trespas, II, 286f.
 Bertous, Bartholz, Berthelos, Berthol(os), Bertolus, Berto(u)ls, Bertoux, Biertoul, d'Alemaigne, tireur de cordes, 95-110; II, 167, 168, 178, 208; prophecies addressed to, 102, 104f.; II, 168ff., 222.
 Beste, des desers de Babilloinne, 204f.; la — glatissant, 377, 435; II, 260, 261, 265. *See* Galehad.
 Betenoble, II, 90.
 Bethlehem, 89; II, 202.
 Bethsaida, II, 193.
 Béziers, heretics of, II, 26.
 Bibars, sultan of Egypt, II, 332.
Biblia Pauperum, miniature in, II, 205.
 Bislande, *see* Illande.
 Blachie, Blanchie, 309.
 Blaise, Basile, Bla(y)se, Blese, 10, 24, 25f., 162, 195, 198, 208, 226, 260, 266, 279, 281, 294, 297, 311, 423, 486, 489; II, 302ff., 305, 306, 312, 316, 325, 326, 327; *Book of* —, in the *Prophecies*, 46, 47f.; II, 308f., 337ff.; early life of, II, 343; tests the faith of Merlin, II, 340ff.
 Blanc Roiaume, damoiselle du, 322ff.
 Blanor de Gannes, 379, 391, 443; II, 273, 294.
 Blans, li rois, 322.
 Blarados, Blerados, Karacados, Lierados, le roi de Galvoie, 198-201.
 Blasio, *see* Blaise.
 Bledhericus (Bleheri), II, 302.
 Blioberis, Bl(e)(i)obleris, Blio, de Gannes, 382, 384, 390, 403, 407, 422, 432ff.; II, 256, 257, 273.
 Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, II, 67f.; *Filocolo*, II, 106.
 Boctus, King, II, 233, 235, 237, 331.
 Bohadin (Behâ ed-Din), quoted, II, 92.
 Bohors, roi de Gannes, 303; II, 241.
 Bo(h)ors, Bo(h)ort, le josne, l'escilliet, the cousin of Lance-lot, 20f., 223ff., 297, 303, 373, 410ff., 420, 422, 485; II, 241, 242, 246f., 249, 250, 292, 306.
 Boldù, Bolulo, family of, II, 146.
 Bolinas, *see* Valmas.
 Bologna, II, 6f., 8, 9. *See* Bulongne.
 Bolognese, II, 6f., 9, 122, 140.
 Bolsena, Lago di, II, 157.
 Bonaventura, St., II, 215, 225, 227; quoted, II, 179f.
 Boncompagno, quoted, II, 59f.
 Bondocdar, sultan of Egypt, II, 332.
Boni Marinari, 85; II, 62f., 174, 311. *See* Bons Mariniers.
 Boniface of Montferrat, II, 96, 99.
 Bonifazio, Pisan ammiraglio, II, 80.
 Bonnonia, 142.
 Bons Mariniers, li (*sing.*), qui aura le corps de saint Samuel, 200; II, 145f.; qui aura l'un bras long et l'autre court, 465 (cf. 221); II, 147.
 — — (*pl.*), ceus qui eschaperont de l'occision d'Atille, 79, 306, 465 (le flagel des crestiens); II, 36, 38ff., 54; ceus qui furent Troiens, 127, 204, 306, 309, 465; II, 36ff.; se herbergeront en la grant ille, 114, 204, 288, 306f., 310, 467; II, 34, 43ff.; ameront le livre de Merlin, 312, 467; II, 147; called Mauvais Mariniers, 466; contaminated by the Toscains, 85, 466, 467; II, 62f.; guided by a heavenly voice, 306; II, 42f.; identity of, II, 34f.; qualities of, 67, 114, 116, 127, 306f., 309f., 465ff.; II, 34f.,

- 45ff., 66, 143ff., 174 ; see the ruins of Orbanche, 71 ; various prophecies concerning, 20, 22, 37, 42, 313 ; II, 309.
- Leur mestre cite, 70, 466 ; II, 52, 335 ; coustume, 306f., 309, 312 (des Troiens) ; II, 46, 143 ; mestre eglise, 305 ; II, 43f., 46 ; nes, 149, 221 ; pais, 111 ; II, 150 ; palais, 306, 455 ; II, 43f., 46 ; province, 466 ; roetes d'argent, 148 ; II, 131, 136.
- Chevetainne du lignage de leur premier saaingneur, 330, 467 ; li dus des, 220, 221, 222 ; II, 72, 85f., 96, 97 ; ung evesque des, 467 ; le gouverneur qui istra des, 114, 312 ; hom atret des, 66 ; II, 117, 125 ; un menestre du Dragon en leur cite, 455 ; leur sire qui envelopee aura la teste d'argent, 307, 312, 465 ; II, 47.
- Wars of, with Anconne, 143 ; II, 58ff. ; Apulie et Grece, 155f. ; the Aufricans, 116 (?) , 200 ; II, 63, 65f. ; at Constantinople, 268 ; II, 101, 189 ; with les fuis as pelerins, 309 ; II, 93, 96f., 100f., 311 ; in aid of the gierlies, 80 ; in Greece, 65 ; in the Holy Land, 127, 220f., 309, 466 ; II, 72, 82ff. ; because of the Marche Douleuse, 66 ; II, 120ff. ; in protection of P., 128 ; II, 63ff. ; at T., 221 ; II, 85.
- See *Boni Marinari* ; Troiens ; Venetians.
- Borguignon, knights of, 446.
- Boscardo di Catelogna, II, 338f.
- Bosius dovarensis, II, 129.
- Boucerante, see *Bruterece*.
- Bougia, Bougie, II, 71.
- Boulosgne, Boulo(i)(n)gne, eve chaude de, 217.
- Bourbon, Etienne de, II, 172 ; quoted, II, 25, 231.
- Bourgoi(n)gne, Bergoigne, Bourgongne, 117 ; l'arcevesque de, II, 126.
- Bousset, W., quoted, II, 222.
- Boutemont, Robin, 4f., 16, 51 ; II, 349.
- Bouvet d'or, le, 106.
- Brandi(c)(s), 155.
- Brehu(s), Br(e)us, Breu(s), Berus, sans Pitie, 141, 146, 175f., 177, 185, 278, 373, 388f., 392, 402, 403, 440, 444 ; II, 270, 275, 315.
- Brengain, Brenguine, 446 ; II, 294.
- Brennus, II, 106.
- Brequestant, king and queen of, 391.
- Breri, II, 302.
- Brescia, 336 (Brixia) ; II, 126f., 128, 130, 135, 332 ; Latin prophecy concerning, II, 127, 154. See *Brise*.
- Bretai(n)gne, la grant, 57, 89, 91, 123, 156, 167, 205, 298, 323, 373, 386, 396, 407, 452, 455, 458f., 460, 461 ; II, 242, 244, 245, 250, 330 ; called Ireland, II, 308, 311. — La petite —, 111, 117, 165, 169, 173, 180, 226, 332, 396 ; enchantress of, 372.
- Brie, 117.
- Brigida, Sta., prophecy of, II, 164f.
- Brindisi, II, 77.
- Brisans, Brisaux, 336 ; II, 125ff.
- Brise, 469 ; II, 126, 135. See *Brescia*.
- Brittany, II, 53. See *Bretaigne*, la petite.
- Broceliande, fountain of, II, 221.
- Bruce, J. D., 2, 24 ; II, 245.
- Brugger, E., 19 ; II, 297, 299.
- Brun, le, family of, in the *Palamedes*, II, 285, 287. — Val Brun, 371, 432 ; II, 287 (la valee aux Bruns) ; dix chevaliers du, 8, 291ff. See *Galeholt* — ; Hector — ; *Segurans* —.
- Brunnor, father of *Galehaut*, 444.
- Brunor le noir, le bon chevalier sans paour, II, 255f., 271.
- Brunor le noir, le chevalier a la cotte mal taillee, II, 256.
- Brut, chastel de, II, 256.
- Bruterece, Brucerange, Bruc(e)(o)-rete, Boucerante, 173.
- Buggea, II, 71.
- Buisart, qui metra Moutthen a martire, 44, 142 ; II, 57f. ; qui vouldra voler en Jerusalem, 145 ; II, 86, 88.

- Bulgaria, II, 97.
 Bulongne, 470f. *See* Bologna.
 Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti, II, 169.
 Buono of Malamocco, II, 210.
 Burmah, II, 317.
 Burtumble(s), Bertymurble, Biturnuble, Biturn(i)(u)ble, Burtynurble, Burtinuble, Burtinnoble, Burtinuble, Burtinurble(s), Burturble, Burtymurble, Burtymurblez, Butinurble, Murtinuble, 210, 257, 408, 413; II, 90ff., 93.
 Busiris, II, 119.
 Butee, Bucee, Bugire, 316; II, 71.
 Buvolenta, II, 112.
 Cacciaguida, II, 2, 48.
 Caesarius of Heisterbach, II, 230.
 Cain, Cayn Abiel, Kaymabel, Kayn, 148, 160, 454; II, 131.
 Calabr(i)e, Qualabre (Calabria), 240; II, 70, 183, 350.
 Calfaudin, 395.
 Calo-John, King of the Bulgarians, II, 97.
 Calouvres, Chalouves, Chanlores, Chansloies, 283.
 Calycadnus, the, II, 87.
 Cam, filz Noue, 464.
 Cama(a)lot, Camahalot, Camelot, Chamallot, Kama(a)lot, Kama-laot, Quamolot, 146 175, 176, 180, 206, 232, 235, 292, 301, 323, 371, 396, 420, 422, 433, 434, 462; II, 31, 151, 240, 249, 254, 288, 317.
 Cambenic, 440; le duc de, 378, 385.
 Cambrai, League of, II, 147.
 Campania, II, 208.
Campione di santa chiesa, II, 8, 20.
 Canale dell'Arco, II, 57, 58.
 Canale, Gherardo da, II, 216.
 Canale, Martino da, II, 40f., 57, 65, 66, 95, 129, 130, 145, 149ff., 216, 235; quoted, II, 9, 40f., 45f., 56, 61, 66, 95, 96, 113, 116, 120 f., 122, 123, 126, 133, 135f., 150, 159, 170f.
 Cancre, Cranz, 187.
 Cand(e)irs, Canders, Candus, Cauders, les mons, 71.
 Caorle, 79 (Caurle); *lidi of*, II, 54.
 Capgrave, J., quoted, II, 186.
 Caphe, Japhe(s), 257. *See* Jaffe.
 Carantans, Karantainz, Quarentains, Quarentanz, li fius d'un duc de, 199.
 Carceri, dalle, Carintana, II, 99, 100; Narzotto, II, 99; Ravano, II, 99.
 Cardinals, II, 159ff., 175, 176, 178f., 183, 191, 311, 314. *See* Tholomer; Tireors de cordes.
 Carfanaon, Carphanaon, Carphanaon, Karphanaum, Karpharnaum, 257.
 Carlo, Re di Francia, II, 77ff.
 Carmelide, Camelide, Tar(a)melide, Quarmelyde, 391, 397f., 401, 405, 407, 409f., 423, 428, 429, 430, 433, 457; II, 151; les deux hermites de, 115, 423, 426, 427f. *See* Genievre, la fauce.
 Carmelite prophecy, II, 93.
 Cartage, castelde, 186; la riviere de, 308.
 Cartangles, Car(t)engles, Quatre Englez, 204f.
 Cartura, II, 110, 112.
 Cassano, II, 129.
 Cassiodorus, letter of, II, 35.
 Castellani, the, II, 58.
 Castiglione, II, 64.
 Castiglione delle Stiviere, II, 127.
 Castrum Cigotum, II, 134.
 Catalan Company, II, 339.
 Catalonia, II, 339.
 Catania, II, 336.
 Catelogna, il boscardo di, II, 339f.
 Cathari, the, II, 25, 27, 172.
 Cavriolo, E., II, 127.
 Cayfas, Cayphas, Kaias, Kay-(f)(ph)as, dame de, 149f., 494; II, 321; poisson de, 149f.
 Cayphe (Caiaphas), II, 191.
 Cecco d'Ascoli, 49; II, 310.
 Cecille, Cedille, *see* Sesile.
 Celebiere, *see* Salebieres.
 Celidonie, Celidoine, *see* Lan-celot.
Cento novelle antiche, *see* *Novellino*.
 Cesena, II, 170.

- Champaigne, Campagne (Campania), 62 ; II, 206, 208.
- Champai(n)gne, 117, 132.
- Champion (*sing.*), significance of, in the *Prophecies*, II, 9 ; in various exploits, 65, 120, 143, 461, 465, 466, 469, 472, 473 ; li bons —, 221 ; II, 85f. (Additions and Corrections) ; au chief d'or, 66, 120, 154 (de Gaule), 205, 212, 221, 330, 461 ; II, 16, 20f., 48, 96, 118, 120, 175, 176 ; li fuis du — au chief d'or, 222 ; II, 16, 20 ; d'Engleterre, 120f., 470 ; de Gaule, 120f., 145, 190, 219ff., 468, 470 (de France) ; II, 72f. ; named Pepin, 290 ; qui mourra en contumace, 142, 143, 148, 290 (morra mauvesement), 469 ; II, 5ff., 10, 12f., 81, 131, 136, 344f.
- (*pl.*), de la foi du fils Dieu, II, 236 ; qui mourront en coustumace, 466, 470 ; qui passeront dela la mer, 470.
- Changeurs de maailles, 7, 279ff., 283, 285 ; II, 232.
- Chanou, 461.
- Chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois*, quoted, II, 154f.
- Chantecler de Romaine, 470f.
- Chantilly, Musée Condé, manuscript, 37 ; II, 336.
- Chapelle noire, la, 300.
- Charlemagne, 290 (Charles) ; II, 20, 23, 43, 73-82, 85, 88.
- Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, II, 17, 19, 20ff., 28, 82, 176, 339 ; Latin prophecy concerning, II, 23.
- Charles le Chauve, King of France, II, 79.
- Charles II, King of Naples, II, 339.
- Charles Martel, II, 339 (Additions and Corrections).
- Charlon, Canor, C(h)arnon, le roi de Cornouaille, 192.
- Charrette, knight drawn in, 411f.
- Chartres, cathedral, figure of Ptolemy, II, 315.
- Chastel E., 79 ; II, 54, 56.
- Chaterine, Chataine, Cha(r)tanie, Satanie, 145.
- Chevalerie, l'ordre de, 492.
- Chevalier, a la Beste Glatissant, II, 260 (*see* Palamedes) ; le bon — sans paour, II, 255f. ; au bras trenchie, 332, 334 ; a la cotte mal taillee, II, 256 ; de Saufine, 332ff. ; de la Tour, 382, 387f. *See* Dinadan ; Galehad ; Lancelot ; Segurans.
- Chief, d'argent, bestes au, 89 ; la serpente de Logres au, 89 ; envelope (teste envelopee) d'argent, 307, 312, 465 ; II, 47 ; d'or, *see* Champion.
- Childeris, 400.
- Chrestien de Troyes, II, 3 (quoted), 330.
- Christian, archbishop of Mayence, II, 59f.
- Chronica Parva Ferrariensis*, II, 137.
- Chronicon de rebus in Italia gestis*, quoted, II, 15.
- Chronicon Estense*, quoted, II, 105, 108f., 138.
- Chronicon Fossae Novae*, quoted, II, 27.
- Chronicon Venetum*, *see* *Cronaca Altinate*.
- Chronique de Morée*, II, 22, 95 ; quoted, II, 96, 98.
- Chronique de Terre Sainte*, quoted, II, 155.
- Ciacco, II, 2.
- Cian, V., 49.
- Cir, Cyre, Sir(e), Xist, saint, feste de, 277 ; *see* Ile de saint Pol et de.
- Cistercian, abbot, II, 227f. ; monk, II, 208 ; order, II, 181.
- Cite Fort, la, 390f., 392f. ; II, 280.
- Clais, *see* Aluis.
- Clarance, *see* Eracliane.
- Clarence, 406. *See* Achalain.
- Clarín le noir, 394, 400.
- Cla(u)das, Cladis, de la Deserte, 16, 122 (celui qui aura desirete les orphelins de Gaunes), 167, 205, 223, 224, 226, 301, 303, 373, 410, 420f., 435, 437, 448 ; II, 241, 246, 249f., 294.
- Clement, Clyment, l'apostolle, 226, 328ff., 441, 476, 486 ; II, 305ff., 311, 330.
- Clement III, antipope, II, 162.
- Clement IV, pope, II, 20ff., 176, 177 ; quoted, II, 22.

- Clerc (*sing.*), mauves jugement sus un, 117f., 449ff., 460; de Galles, 146; de la Jaiole, 38of.; of the Tower of the Copper Marvel, 411f. *See* Huric; Sage Clerc.
- (*pl.*), les mauveses euvres des, 101, 109f., 285, 303, 449, 450ff., 462; II, 157ff., 183, 187, 188, 308, 314, 337, 339, 346; les ancestres des, 335; ne tensesront pas a Merlin, 479; de Ruberz le chappellain, 488f., 491, 493, 495.
- Cola Pesce, II, 213.
- Colle di Valdelsa, II, 17ff.
- Combat, between brothers, 190; a Christian and a pagan champion, 129f., 395, 408f., 429; II, 155; father and son, 429f.; uncle and nephew, 432.
- Comme vous avez oi ca en arrieres, II, 283.
- Compiègne, Sudarium, II, 79.
- Compostela, II, 210. *See* Galisce, Saint-Jaque en.
- Concile, de l'apostoille, 472; le general, 120, 470; a Romme, 36, 40, 42, 135, 136, 146, 245, 475-481; II, 177, 191f., 311.
- Concordia, II, 38, 49.
- Conrad II, emperor, II, 119, 172.
- Constance, Constantin, Coustance, la cite, 138.
- Constans, le pere Uterpandragon, 196; II, 330.
- Constantinople, II, 93ff., 101, 102f., 189, 280; emperor of, II, 77; St. Sophia, II, 97, 155. *See* Constance; Constantins, la ville de.
- Constantin(s), Constantin, la ville de, 124, 143, 268, 279ff., 282, 283, 321, 335, 476. *See* Constance; Constantinople.
- Constanzia, II, 53.
- Contarini, Giacomo, doge, II, 61.
- Conte del Brat, II, 297ff.
- Corant de Carmelyde, 405.
- Coras le blanc, 457.
- Coraz, evesque de Faeuberg, 476ff.; II, 177, 192.
- Corazin, II, 193, 195.
- Corban, 371f.
- Corbenic, Corberryc, 390, 422; II, 244.
- Cordes, avoir deux, II, 159. *See* Tirans; *Tirar*; Tireours; Tirer.
- Corenfews, Corenfans, Thoresseus, Torenfens, Torensans, fumee de, 157.
- Corinte, Coranz, Courant, 315; (Corinth) II, 101, 102.
- Corno(u)aille, Corgnoaille, Cournouaille (Cornwall), 117, 190, 214, 245, 313, 403ff., 417, 435, 444, 446; II, 246, 277, 293, 294; lameir de, II, 297.
- Coron, II, 98, 99.
- Corradino, II, 17, 19, 20, 22.
- Corsabrin, 383f.; II, 263.
- Cortenuova, battle of, II, 173ff.
- Couloigne, 188.
- Coulpe (loupe ?), la, 472.
- Council, at Rome, general, of 1241, II, 11f.; Fourth Lateran and Twelfth general, II, 27, 186; of Lyons, II, 6, 95, 181, 191; of Ravenna, II, 181. *See* Concile.
- Couronne de fer, 219; II, 73, 172, 173.
- Cranz, *see* Cancre.
- Crema, II, 164.
- Cremona, II, 108, 109.
- Cremonenses, II, 129.
- Crescentii, the, II, 164.
- Crestiens, les, 68, 72, 155, 156, 221, 260, 307f., 459f., 464f., 468, 471f., 488; la maistresse cite des, 459.
- Crestiente, la, 68, 85 (Christianna), 157, 258, 472.
- Crois, la, power of, 92, 141f., 289f., 408; II, 206, 230, 337; as a standard, 118f., 258, 260.
- Cronaca Altinate, II, 37, 39, 49, 55ff.; quoted, 36, 39f., 42, 45, 55.
- Cronaca di Marco, *see* Marco.
- Crusades, First, II, 83-86, 206; Third, II, 86ff., 90ff., 143; Fourth, II, 66, 93ff., 101, 143, 189, 311; Albigenian, II, 24ff., 154f.; of Archemais, 412f.; II, 93; of Carlo, Re di Francia, II, 77f.; to rescue Carlo, Re di Francia, II, 78f.; of Charlemagne, II, 72ff.; of an Emperor of Rome, II, 311; episodes in Group I (*Prophecies*) relating to, II,

- 276 ; of Ezzelino il Balbo, II, 155 ; against Ezzelino da Romano, II, 123f., 126, 135 ; fabulous, II, 93 ; of Frederic II, II, 14 ; of a King of France, II, 93 ; various romantic, 407ff., 417f., 421. *See* Venetians in the —.
- Cunizza, II, 2.
- Curia, Roman, II, 157ff., 163, 166, 191, 305, 312. *See* Apostoille, court de ; Gouverneur, court de ; Tireors de cordes.
- Curzola, battle of, II, 63.
- Cymphones, Simphones, Si(n)phones, 81.
- Cyril, St., II, 148.
- Daguenet le fou, 378, 389, 396ff., 401, 406 ; II, 253.
- Dalesmanini, Artusio dei, II, 110f.
- Dalmacie, Balinachie, 154 ; II, 30.
- Dame, bien acesmee, 7, 276ff. ; II, 231 ; orgueilleuse, 8, 296. *See* Sage —.
- Dame du Lac, la, 41, 111, 232 ; II, 250 ; various traits, 122, 162, 169f., 185f., 226, 331, 416 (*see* Serpente blanche) ; the guardian of Lancelot, 122 (le pere du bon chevalier qui les merveilles de Logres achevera), 166f., 173, 184, 196f., 223, 303, 372, 373, 410, 485 ; II, 241, 244, 247, 248, 292 ; forbids Lancelot to joust with Segurant, 438f. ; II, 282, 290, 291 ; instructs Lancelot in knighthood, II, 182f., 246 ; the guardian of Lionel and Bohors, 122 (les orphelins de Gaunes), 173, 223, 224f., 303, 373, 395f., 410, 485 ; II, 241 ; her conversations with Bohors, 20f., 223ff., 395f. ; II, 292, 306 ; at the Tower of the Copper Marvel, 410ff. ; II, 250 ; counsels Segurant, 411 ; II, 281, 282 ; protects Urien, 372 ; hostility to Claudas, 167, 223, 373, 448 ; II, 250 ; causes the death of Dorin, 223, 373 ; hostility to Morgain, 166, 167, 171, 192 (celle male fame), 223, 226, 372f., 392, 448, 483 ; II, 250, 292, 319 ; her relations with Merlin, 162, 163, 164ff., 169, 171, 188, 224ff., 255, 260, 381, 417, 482ff. ; II, 299, 319 ; her entombment of Merlin, 6, 37, 40, 166ff., 182, 187f., 207, 217, 223ff., 484, 488 ; II, 241, 292, 296ff. ; at the tomb of Merlin, 169ff., 185, 187f. ; prophecies delivered to, 169ff., 179, 488 ; II, 322 ; visits Antoine, 170f., 172 ; returns to Little Britain, 173 ; befriends Guinevere, 178ff., 382 ; II, 246, 252 ; conducts Meliadus to Merlin, 184f. ; visits Gales, 372f., 448 ; II, 284f. ; lover of, in *Lancelot*, II, 247 (*see* Meliadus, l'ami a la —) ; lac de, 184 ; magic rings of, 180, 372 ; II, 319 ; magic tent of, II, 280 ; shape-shifting of, 373 ; bespelled by a clerk, 381 ; her identification with Niniane, II, 297, 298 ; in the *Prophecies* and the *Lancelot*, II, 250, 298 ; *Livre de*, in the *Prophecies*, 6, 48 ; la mere de, 189 ; II, 248. *See* Damoisele Chaseresse ; Damoisele du Lac.
- Damoisele Chaseresse, II, 298.
- Damoisele du Lac, II, 297.
- Dandolo, Andrea, II, 50, 55, 89, 210f., 218 ; quoted, II, 36, 38, 49, 57, 121f., 217, 347.
- Dandolo, Enrico, doge, II, 80, 96, 97.
- Dandolo, Giovanni, doge, II, 61.
- Danemarche, 147 ; II, 112f.
- Daniel, le prophete, quoted, 90, 119, 336 ; Book of, prophecies relating to the Antichrist, II, 193, 195, 204.
- Dante, his use of prophecy, II, 2f. — Passages cited from, *Inf.*, iv, 142, II, 315 ; x, 118f., II, 345 ; *Purg.*, v, 75, II, 38 ; xi, 109ff., 121ff., II, 16f. ; xiv, 53f., II, 62 ; xiv, 99f., II, 7 ; xvi, 115, II, 104f. ; *Par.*, vi, 99, II, 169 ; viii, 76ff., II, 339 ; xii, 88ff., II, 182 ; xv, 99, II, 48 ; xxxiii, 16ff., II, 229 ; *De Vulg. Eloq.*, i, 12, II, 345.

Darnantes, Darvances, *see* Au-
rences.

Dates in the *Prophecies*, form of,
3, 28, 55; inaccuracies of, II,
12. — List of: 852, 174; 882,
II, 330; 451, 174; 452, 174;
482, II, 310, 330; 498, 134;
500, 115, 116, 205, 251, 315;
II, 69f.; 600, 79, 115, 145,
154, 159, 330; II, 54, 86;
700, 205, 257; 710, 258; 782,
465; 800, 68, 123, 128, 142,
145, 147, 154, 157, 205, 257,
290, 312; II, 69, 85, 113, 161,
163; 810, 128, 312; 880, 145;
883, 145; 882, 465; 900, 123,
147; II, 113; 910, 312; 982,
465; 1000, 152; 1002, 158;
1003, 174; 1011, 158; 1050,
140; 1051, 158; 1057, 473;
1100, 84; 1107, 495; 1125,
143; 1135, 143; II, 58, 60;
1148, 187; 1152, 157; II, 86;
1158, II, 174; 1163, 61; 1164,
61; 1168, 187, 458; 1185,
69; 1186, 243 (Additions and
Corrections); II, 26; 1188,
469f.; 1191, 243; II, 26;
1200, 84, 113, 132, 135, 136,
191, 333; 1201, 137; II, 94;
1202, 61, 84, 132, 339; 1203,
138, 321; 1204, 132; 1205, 65;
1203, 61, 191; 1210, 87, 288,
467; 1211, 240; 1219, 183;
1220, 102, 117; II, 168f.;
1221, 243; II, 26; 1225, 69,
240; 1228, 143, 253; II, 310,
330, 336; 1229, 183; 1230,
102, 240; II, 168; 1235, 240;
1237, 63; II, 115; 1233, 63,
143; II, 10, 12, 114f.; 1240,
142; 1245, 471; 1248, 132, 142,
255; II, 5; 1249, 142; II, 5f., 9;
1250, 134, 495; 1251, 173;
1253, 126; II, 63; 1254, 155,
159; II, 82; 1255, 134; 1253,
67, 73, 229; II, 122f.; 1257,
117, 155, 202, 229, 336; 1258,
147, 155, 336; II, 125, 127,
131; 1260, 61, 157, 244, 256,
293, 302, 305, 324, 325, 326;
II, 200, 222, 346; 1262, 221;
II, 15; 1263, 243, 327; II,
82; 1264, 159, 183; 1267, 73,
494; 1268, 468, 495; 1270,
93, 157, 163, 256, 293, 454;

1272, 255, 256, 302, 460;
II, 346; 1273, 61; 1275, 67,
148, 469; 1276, 149; II, 26;
1277, 61, 73, 93, 117, 163,
164, 290, 449, 451; 1278, 471,
472; 1280, 137; 1281, 127,
151, 243; II, 26, 63; 1282, 65,
153, 163, 290; 1283, 142, 153;
1285, 132; 1286, 129, 149,
315; 1287, 253; 1288, 120,
129, 137, 188, 253, 290;
1289, 137; 1290, 84, 330;
1291, 84, 151, 243; II, 24, 26;
1292, 65; 1295, 199, 330;
II, 28; 1298, 149, 315; 1297,
65, 138, 304, 495; 1298, 129,
132, 315; II, 101f.; 1299,
191, 315; II, 101; 1300,
61, 137, 138, 145, 153, 174,
182, 186; 1301, 467; 1302,
65, 84, 145, 316, 339; 1303,
138, 182; 1304, 174; 1305,
65, 120, 128; 1306, 124;
1310, 465; 1315, 302, 467;
1316, 124; 1351, 173; 1353,
213; 1354, 195, 213; 1357,
80, 136; 1360, 156, 240; 1362,
221; II, 15, 96f.; 1366, 494;
1367, 80, 183; 1368, 80, 135;
1369, 472; 1405, 128; 1410,
128; 1429, 452; 1460, 156;
1467, 84; 1498, 496; 1600, 79,
154.

Daux, C., II, 204.

David, li rois, 90, 119, 144, 237,
250, 325.

Decius, II, 116.

Dei, Andrea, II, 17.

Delphino, Pietro, 47.

Deluge, le, 69, 70, 71; II, 50f.

Demanda del Sancto Grial, II,
297, 299.

Des Preis, Jean, d'Outremeuse,
quoted, II, 315.

Desiderius, II, 74, 104.

Devil, *see* Anemis d'enfer.

Diana, Lago di, II, 30.

Diane, la deesse, 111; II, 299;
lac de, 111, 485; II, 299.

Dieu, Damedieu, envied by Luci-
fer, 73f., 219; His favor,
112f., 328; feared by devils,
141; His mercy, 202; II,
236f.; puissant en toutes choses,
455; vision of, in Paradise, II,
235; His wrath, 95, 119, 123,

- 153, 194, 469. *See* Foi vers — ; Jhesu Crist ; Miracles de — .
- Dinadan, Dynadam, 213, 435, 440 ; II, 289f. ; at the tourney of Sorelois, 376 f., 378, 379f., 383f., 385f., 393 ; II, 251f., 256, 257, 271, 272, 273 ; at Vincestre, 41, 395, 398f. ; at the tourney of Vincestre, 435, 437f., 439 ; jesting of, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 384, 385f., 395, 433, 434, 435, 437, 439 ; II, 242, 252, 257, 271, 273 ; prophecy found by, 7, 13, 261-265, 398 ; the Chevalier aux Dix Gardes, exploits of, 432, 433f. ; II, 291f. (*Additions and Corrections*).
- Dioclitianus, II, 116.
- Dionysius Charax, *Periegesis*, II, 67.
- Dismes, 97, 107, 112f., 317f. ; II, 158, 180ff., 229.
- Dolfino, Giovanni, doge, II, 97.
- Dominic, St., II, 180, 182, 220.
- Dominican order, II, 180ff., 185, 188, 212, 216, 236.
- Donna de lo Lago, 48. *See* Dame du Lac.
- Dorin, 223 ; II, 242.
- Douaires, given by Uterpan-dragon, 225 ; of wards of the Church, 100f., 274 ; II, 167, 175.
- Doulereuse Garde, 194 (le plus orgueilleus chastel) ; II, 245f.
- Doulereuse Tour, 404 ; II, 262, 264 ; Pas de la, 429. *See* Karados de la — .
- Dov(i)(u)re, 378, 389.
- Dragon (*sing.*), antif, 292ff. (*see* Serpent antif) ; de l'air, 89f., 334 ; enchanted, of Vincestre, 439ff. ; II, 280, 282 (*see* Segurans) ; uns merveilleus — , II, 243f. (*see* Galeholt). — (*pl.*), de la tour Vertigier, 244 ; II, 319 ; devils in the form of, 416.
- Dragon de Babilloinne, le grant Dragon, the Antichrist, 62, 338 ; II, 192. ; in the *Prophecies*, II, 192, 198ff., 221f., 346 ; in sculpture at Moissac, II, 204, 213 ; his coming, 62, 298, 455 ; II, 206 ; birth, 58, 62, 123, 334 ; II, 198f. ; upbringing, 62f. ; II, 199, 207 ; in the desert of Babylon, 63 ; II, 199, 204, 207 ; his demonic power, 62f. ; II, 199, 314 ; commencera a preechier, 90, 195 ; II, 201 ; sera coronés en Babilloinne, 191 ; les males euvres et mauves miracles du, 101, 186, 337 ; II, 183, 188, 212, 214, 320 ; le palais du, 241 ; II, 199, 209f. ; les pierres precieuses du, 25, 241f., 246-251 ; II, 209ff., 212ff., 278, 280, 344 ; la renommee du, 242 ; la saignorie du, 89, 248 ; le tresor du, 325, 337 ; tribute refused him, 241f. ; II, 146, 209f. ; fera enchener un serpent, 195 ; visited by three kings, 89ff. ; II, 201ff. ; will slay Enoch and Elias, 241, 328 ; II, 200 ; will slay four maidens, 337 ; II, 212 ; length of his life, 337 ; death of, 93, 216 ; II, 109, 198, 200, 202 ; resurrection of, 202 ; II, 201 ; l'aiole du, 153 ; les menistres du, 58, 78, 79, 94, 173f., 186, 242, 246f., 249, 334, 337 ; II, 212, 214f., 216, 219f., 221, 280, 314, 320 ; la partie du, 102, 202, 455 (la gent avec) ; II, 168, 170, 173 ; contrasted with Christ, 102, 202, 338 ; II, 168, 170, 173, 213 ; type of heresy, II, 208f. ; type of pride, II, 213 ; possible identification of, in *Prophecies*, II, 103, 104, 170, 198, 219, 344. *See* Frederic II, emperor.
- Aincois, ains, avant que — viengne, 64, 67, 72, 85, 87, 101, 102, 107, 119, 124, 134, 155, 191, 219, 252, 256, 281, 283, 450f., 469 ; II, 72, 174f., 198 ; ains, avant que — soit occis, 72, 87, 94, 95, 126, 214 ; II, 104, 137 ; apres la mort du, 111, 138, 144, 173, 202, 211, 335, 458 ; II, 102, 198 ; a celui tens que — sera venue, 469 ; au departir du, 110 ; au tenz du, 240, 308, 335, 337 ; II, 102, 103 ; au tens que — nestra, 308, 309 ; du jour en

- avant que — sera occis, 113 ; le jour du, 94 ; le jour que — sera occis, 216 ; jusques au, 128, 163, 461, 469f. ; jusques au jour dou, 160 ; jusques a la mort du, 113, 229, 256, 303, 325 ; jusques a tant que — sera occis, 132 ; jusques a la venue du, 102, 137, 164 ; II, 168 ; quant — sera occis, 109 ; II, 187 ; quant — vendra, 201.
- Dragon de Vitterbe, 61ff. ; II, 206ff., 220.
- Dragonnel, de Boulongne, 471 ; de la Marche Amoureuse, 94 (Doulereuse), 148, 468 ; II, 106ff., 131, 136.
- Drian(t)(s), 383, 384.
- Drowned, spirits of the, II, 218.
- Dubois, Pierre, quoted, II, 160f.
- Ducha, Piero, 48.
- Durantino, F. L., quoted, II, 45.
- Dyables, 104, 477, 479 ; II, 238. *See* Anemis d'enfer.
- Ebrieu, hebrieu, la langue, 463.
- Ebrie(u)x, les, 252, 463.
- Ecelo dá Onara, II, 119.
- Ecosse, *see* Escoche.
- Egilius Gaulus, II, 55.
- Egite, Egypte, 200, 216 ; II, 67, 145, 174 ; King of, II, 204.
- Eglise, l', pour quoi les crestiens y vont, 464. — La sainte —, 284, 459, 468, 470 ; l'escu et le glaive de, 107 ; II, 180, 182 ; la foi de, 243 ; II, 24 ; et la synagogue, 325 ; II, 200.
- Ehrenfechter, E., II, 8.
- Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, II, 77.
- Elaine, Queen, *see* Helene.
- Elainne, Helainne, Helayne, sainte, roetes d'or de, 279ff.
- Elia, *see* Helians.
- Elia, Frate, Vicar General of the Franciscan order, II, 20, 179, 211f., 224, 225.
- Elias, *see* Aluis.
- Eliphandus, II, 75.
- Elyans, *see* Helians.
- Elyes, Helie, Helye(s), saint, 241, 328 ; II, 184, 191 (Helru), 194, 195, 200.
- Emilia, the, II, 149.
- Empereur, l', 146, 222, 245 ; II, 86f. ; le fiex —, 245 ; de la grant cite de G., 80 ; de Gaulle, le filz de, 132 ; de Romme, 40, 42, 135, 136, 156, 185, 407f., 413, 475f., 481 ; II, 82, 87f., 311.
- Empirement du monde, l', 113, 157f., 159, 163, 164, 194, 202, 229, 302f., 308, 327, 451f., 460 ; II, 196, 222.
- Empopple, *see* Finipopel.
- Encrex, mer d', 80.
- Eneti, II, 37.
- Enfant (*sing.*), alecte du lait aux bestes, 463 ; mis a la mort, 155 ; qui occira un autre, 8, 134, 286 ; qui parleroit hebrieu, 463 ; du vavaseur d'Uterpandragon ; 217. *See* Merlin, as a child.
- (*pl.*), dela duchesse d'Almaigne, 190 ; de Barankain, 139 ; de Babilloinne et de Gaule, 286 ; de Vallon, 316 ; devoured by Gug, 330 ; by the Roi de Perse, 294 ; strangled by the Dragon de Babilloinne, 63.
- Enfer, 74, 141, 274, 441, 450, 452, 458, 473 ; II, 230, 235. *See* Anemis d'—.
- Englantine, Esglantine, *see* Aglentine.
- Englediz, *see* Anglediz.
- Engleterre, Angleterre, 110, 138, 191, 196, 222f., 307, 308 ; II, 174, 309 ; champion d', 120f. ; crusaders from, 127, 409, 413 ; II, 83, 149 ; famine en, 123, 205 ; li rois de Gaule, sire d', 223 ; les roys d', 454.
- Enoch, saint, 241, 328 ; II, 194, 195, 200.
- Enrico da Pisa, II, 227.
- Envalinee, 455.
- Enzio, King of Sardinia, 36 (Additions and Corrections), 142 ; II, 6f., 9f., 12, 13, 24, 346.
- Equilani, in Rivoalto, II, 58.
- Equilo castello, II, 54ff., 146.
- Eracle, celestial letter of, II, 206.
- Eracliane, Eradierne, Raclianne, Racline(t), Rajanne, Clarance (Heraclea), 279 ; II, 43, 46 ; called Città-nuova, II, 57 ; merchant of, 279ff., 283ff. ; II,

- 58, 146, 232 ; war with Equilo, II, 54ff.
 Eragonne, *see* Arragonne.
 Erasmus, St., II, 42.
 Erec, Herec, son of Lac, II, 3, 329, 330.
 Eridanys, II, 67.
 Escallone, Escallo(n)(u)ne, Esqualonne, Scalone, 65.
 Esclabor(t), li mescongneuz, 227, 383.
 Esclavonie, 71.
 Esclavons, les, 481.
 Esclaoas, Escolas, *see* Acloas.
 Escoc(h)e, Escozze, Soche(he), 117, 123 (l'ille d'), 492 ; la mer d', 189 ; le roy d', 189 ; la reine d', 189f., 192, 295 ; II, 248.
 Escorbonax, Escarbonax, Esc(a)-(o)rbonaus, 96.
 Escorc(h)ie, Escorche, 145f.
 Escrois, 124, 256, 315, 328, 335 ; II, 101, 102.
 Escu, de sainte eglise, 107 ; II, 180, 182 ; de l'empereur Lui, 432 ; II, 281 ; de Mordrains, 206, 461 ; II, 31ff. ; du chevalier, II, 182f. *See* Galehad ; Segurans.
 Escuelle, de Joseph d'Arimacie, 307. *See* Saint Graal.
 Espai(n)gne, Espagne, 78, 132, 159, 186 ; la mer d', 157 ; le roi d', 243 ; II, 24, 26. *See* Spain.
 Espee, brisee, 461 ; de Burtumble, 210 ; II, 90f. ; de l'eslection du filz Uterpendragon, 462 ; aus estranges renges, 189, 237, 248, 461 ; II, 278 ; de Galehad, 206 ; II, 31f. *See* Pope.
 Espervier, roy de trois couronnes, 473.
 Estanc, 380f.
 Este, II, 141 ; marchesi d', II, 107, 137 ; Aldrovandino d', II, 138 ; Azzo VII, d', II, 51, 110ff., 129, 133, 135, 138ff., 142f., 170.
 Estoire del saint Graal, II, 33, 278.
 Estoric(h), Estori(c)e, Es(c)(t)oris, Osteriche, Ostorich, Ostorie, damoisele d', 200 ; poisson d', 149f.
 Estrangor(r)e, II, 256 ; king of, 433.
 Ethiopia, king of, II, 204.
 Euboea, II, 98ff., 102.
 Eustachius, bishop of Thessalonica, II, 67.
 Evainne, roine de Gannes, 303.
 Evalac, Ealac, Alac, le roi, 178. *See* Mordrains.
 Evangelium Eternum, II, 184, 187, 215.
 Evangile, l', cited, 272, 274, 292, 325, 335, 449, 475.
 Eve, eave, l', desouz le ciel, 233, 452 ; grant, de Meschine, 239 ; l'homme qui ne pourra vivre s'en — non, 183 ; II, 213 ; merveilleuse, 145, 214, 215, 216f., 222, 465 ; II, 279. *See* Fontainne.
 Eve (*nom.* and *acc.*), 141, 160, 169, 170, 202, 216, 248, 473.
 Evesque, l', d'Ancie, 317f. ; des Bons Mariniers, 467 ; de Norhonberlande, 266ff., 272f., 275f., 280ff., 289f., 293f. ; guerre commenciee par la mort d'un, 132.
 Expositio magni prophete Joachim, II, 148.
 Expositio Onerum Isaiae, II, 160.
 Expurgatoire, 74 ; II, 230, 235.
 Exulo, II, 54, 55, 56.
 Ezzelino da Romano, il Balbo, crusade of, II, 155.
 Ezzelino da Romano, il Monaco, II, 107, 156.
 Ezzelino III, da Romano, son of Il Monaco, II, 107 ; grandson of Il Balbo, II, 155, 156 ; conquests and ill-rule of, II, 51, 104-128, 130, 133ff., 138, 140f. ; death of, II, 115, 127, 129ff., 135, 141 ; called the Antichrist, II, 196f. ; le mauves dragonnel, II, 106f., 136 ; le roi de Poenie (Patanie), II, 113, 129f., 156.
 F., 73, 461 ; II, 137ff.
 Fabri, Felix, quoted, II, 84.
 Fabriciacio, Zuane, Maestro dei Cavalieri, II, 57.
 Faeuberg, 477 ; II, 177 (Faenberg ; cf. Naenberg, variants).
 Falo(a)nce, Faloans, Falo(e)nce,

- Faloenche, Faolenche, II, 311 ; la dame de, 80f.
- Fame, une, l'ennemis de son mari, 491 ; II, 321 ; la saignorie d', 80f. ; II, 232 ; veut le baston, 170 ; II, 232.
- (*pl.*), achetees, 120 ; auront la maladie de saint Lazaron, 319 ; couleurs des, 320 ; engins des, 163, 164, 169, 170, 171, 188, 226f., 297, 319, 331, 482, 485 ; II, 300, 319 ; font ce qu'elles beent a faire, 227 ; guerres commenciees pour, 118, 128, 173, 182, 200, 302 ; luxurieuses, 195, 303, 324, 469 ; mauvaises, 303 ; orgueilleuses, 255 ; peintes, 69, 120, 255f., 319f. ; II, 232 ; la porteure des, 492 ; qui auront destruitee Armenie, 454f. ; ressemblent les anguilles, 188 ; le roiaume des, 137 ; trains des, 69 (les anemis d'enfer derrere eus), 276 ; II, 231, 232 ; ce que Salemon dit des, 170, 171, 227.
- D'Anconne, II, 60 ; de Gaiete, 124 ; de Gaunes, 324 ; de Longres, 195 ; de Melan, 315 ; de Pamfille, 251f.
- Famines, 68, 81, 119, 123, 124, 133, 142, 143, 205, 283, 471 ; II, 59f., 69, 82, 121f., 142, 216.
- Fauconnel, un, 44, 142, 145 ; II, 5, 7f., 86.
- Faunus, II, 299.
- Fazio degli Uberti, *Ditta Mundi*, II, 315.
- Fedelic, Feudri(s), Ferris, li empereres, 57, 75ff. (li emperieres qui ces prophcies fera translater), 117 (un empereur). *See* Frederic II, emperor.
- Felix, bishop of La Seo de Urgal, II, 75.
- Felonie, Folonie, Samuels de, 200 ; II, 145.
- Femenie, roiaume de, 137 ; II, 238.
- Fer., Fert., Ferrarie, 73 ; *See* Ferrara.
- Fergus, nephew of the Roi des Cent Chevaliers, II, 257.
- Ferguz, companion of Tristan, 376.
- Ferrara, II, 121ff., 123, 137ff., 140, 143, 170.
- Ferris, *see* Fedelic.
- Fetonia, II, 145.
- Feu (*sing.*), alume par l'apostolle, 327 ; II, 13f. ; du ciel, 73f., 183, 209, 210, 294, 309 ; II, 170 ; le ciel tout de, 232, 233 ; desous la terre, 153f., 240 ; d'un flun de Bernie, 241 ; de Mongibel, 144f. ; des roetes d'or, 285, 325 ; du roi d'Il ande, 58f. ; de Samarie, 325 ; merveilleux, 196, 416, 439.
- (*pl.*), deus, desus le Pau, 72f. ; II, 137ff.
- Feudris, *see* Fedelic.
- Fiamma, Galvaneo della, II, 172, 174.
- Fiesole, legendary origin of, II, 36.
- Filiati, G., II, 52, 53.
- Filippo, archbishop of Ravenna, II, 123, 126, 128.
- Fillerne, Oterlerne, Syierne, guerre de, 192f.
- Filoine, Filonie, guerre de, 157.
- Finer du monde, le, 61, 132, 144, 183, 241, 256, 305, 326, 492 ; II, 186, 190f. *See* Jour du juise.
- Finipopel, Empopple, Filipople, Fin(i)pople, Phinipopel, Sinipopel, Sinipopiat, Sinopople, 151f.
- Fius, a la bele joiande, *see* Galeholt, joiande ; a la roine as grans doulours, *see* Lancelot ; a la roinne qui mourut en tristrece, *see* Tristan ; de roi, *see* Lancelot.
- Flagellants, the, II, 185.
- Flamens, 41.
- Flaŋceis, Flandres, 134.
- Flequandin(s), Feltandis, Flecantins, Flekandins, Flekantin(s), Flenquandins, Fochendins, Fokedins, Folchedyn, Folkendins, Follrendins, Reudins, li rois d'Antioche. 139f.
- Flor de lis, 388f.
- Floremol, Folquemol, Folremol, 330.
- Florence, II, 16, 17, 18, 64, 169 ; Biblioteca Magliabechiana, 67.
- Florentines, the, II, 11, 16ff., 64, 65.

- Foi, vers Dieu et vers Jhesu Christ, 194, 201ff., 221, 229, 327; II, 229, 236f.
- Fole, 396.
- Fontaine (sing.), au lion, II, 269; d'Hongrie, 240; du pin, 462; merveilleuse, 196, 215, 216, 453; II, 200, 221. See Eve, eave. — (pl.), la ville fete desus les, 148; II, 132 (Additions and Corrections).
- Foragus, oisel, 204.
- Forest, la gaste, II, 245. — Perilleuse, 447; II, 298, 299.
- Fort Pas, 394.
- Fossalta, battle of, II, 6, 9.
- Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, II, 181.
- Foy, sainte, personified, II, 25f.
- France, Franche, II, 147, 163, 330, 334, 343; Champion de, 470; King of, II, 20, 93, 147. See Gaule.
- Francis, St., II, 21, 185, 211, 220, 224, 227.
- Franciscan, convent on S. Francesco del Deserto, II, 226; order, II, 20, 178, 180, 181, 185, 187, 188, 190, 209, 211f., 216, 223ff., 227, 236; possible — authorship of the *Prophecies*, II, 223ff., 346f.; prophecies, II, 223.
- Franco-Italian works, II, 149ff., 350.
- Francois, les, 134f., 220, 221; II, 34, 72.
- Frankish, attack on the lagoons, II, 43, 54; occupation of the Morea, II, 98, 101, 102f.; crusaders, II, 77, 97 (li pelearins).
- Franks, King of the, II, 82, 204.
- Fratres de poenitentia B. Dominici*, II, 180.
- Fratres Gaudentes*, II, 180.
- Fratra, II, 139.
- Frederic I, Barbarossa, emperor, II, 59, 72f., 86ff., 162, 163, 169, 172, 173, 174, 217, 218, 219, 344, 345; prophecy of his death, II, 88.
- Frederic II, emperor, II, 6ff., 11-15, 24, 51, 62, 88, 104f., 108, 109f., 114, 120f., 127, 132f., 141, 152, 153, 164, 169f., 171, 172, 173, 175, 190f., 211f., 213, 216, 328f., 335; his excommunications, II, 6, 11, 13f.; war with Gregory IX, II, 11f., 13ff., 162; introduces Saracens into Italy, II, 81, 121; his learning and patronage of learning, II, 314f., 331f., 344f.; association with *Sidrach*, II, 331, 344; knowledge of gems, 75, 77; II, 344f.; receives inscribed stones from Lac, II, 330; his interest in prophecy and romance, II, 333; death, 7, 9, 13, 33, 186f., 348; identification with the Antichrist (Dragon of Babylon), II, 103, 104, 170, 186f., 192, 196f., 211f., 213, 222, 344. See *Federic*; *Champion qui mourra en contumace*; *Prophecies de Merlin*.
- Frederic II, King of Sicily, II, 339.
- Frigida, Sainte-Marie-en, 241; II, 209f.
- Frise, la dame de, 257ff.; le roi de, 258ff.; les mauvais crestiens en, 459.
- Frisons, les, 258, 260.
- Friuli, II, 74.
- Fucci, Vanni, II, 2.
- Fumees, 111f., 134, 157, 306, 330, 427; II, 27f., 30, 51, 150, 151, 200, 314.
- G., la grant cite de, 80. — Une mellee entre P. et, 143; II, 10ff.
- G. G. G. G. G. G. G., 283; II, 165.
- Gaaing, bon, 244, 283; mauves, 66, 67f., 84f., 97, 153, 240, 244, 256, 269, 277, 316, 337, 459f., 469; II, 117, 157, 158, 231, 313.
- Gaheriet, 382, 384, 385, 393, 397, 401, 405f.; II, 252.
- Gaiete (Gaeta), 124; II, 78.
- Galeha(d)(s), Gala(h)ad, Galaas, Galead, li tres bons chevaliers, li rois de Saras, 7, 143, 206, 226, 248f.; II, 31ff., 244f., 278, 280, 289f., 319, 337. — Le bon chevalier, 237; II,

- 323 ; qui les merveilles de Logres achevera, 122 ; qui istra du langage de Benonic, 165 ; II, 279 (Additions and Corrections). — Le tres bon chevalier qui sera mis en lieu de Joseph, 237 ; le chevalier qui mettra a fin ce que les autres chevaliers ne pourront veoir, 453 ; le hero of the Grail, 434 ; une beste merveillose, II, 245 ; un lion, 178, 193 ; II, 244f. ; l'escu et l'espee de, 206 ; II, 31ff.
- Galehas, Gala(h)ad, le fort roi de Galles (Horelice), 196, 461 ; II, 278.
- Galeholdin, 385.
- Galeholt, Galehaut, Galehors, Galeho(u)t, fuis a la bele joiande, li haus princes, sires des Loingtains Illes, 89, 179, 235, 261, 264, 377, 401, 405f., 434, 436, 438, 444 ; II, 250, 254, 255 ; his friendship with Lancelot, 13f., 179, 264, 373, 378, 398f. ; II, 242f., 293 ; plans against Arthur, 89, 436 ; II, 242f., 293 ; palace of, 159, 436 ; II, 293 ; dream of, II, 243f., 303 ; his aid of Arthur at the Roche aus Saisnes, 444f. ; II, 251, 293 ; gives domicile to Guinevere, II, 253, 255, 256 ; at the tourney of Sorelois, 41f., 376-380, 382-386 ; II, 251f., 256, 257f., 259, 261f., 264, 265ff., 272f. ; in the Saxon invasion, 378f., 391, 393, 395, 398, 399, 400, 403, 405, 407 ; II, 250f., 252, 253, 272, 275 ; his relations with Baudemagus, 391f., 393, 395, 430f., 443 ; II, 293 ; hated by Meleagant, 378, 391f., 395, 443 ; meeting with Tristan, 444 ; II, 294 ; uns merveilleus dragons, II, 243f. ; le filz Hector le Brun (*sic*), 188.
- Galeho(l)t, Gaheloth, Galehors, Galeho(u)t, Galhot, le Brun, brother of Hector le Brun, 20, 115, 116, 122 (*see* Segurans), 293(?) , 301(?) , 423ff., 427, 428 ; II, 281, 284, 288 ; la femme de (l'hermite de Carmelide), 423, 426, 427, 428.
- Galeho(l)t, Gale(a)(o)z, Galehout, le Brun, son of Hector le Brun and uncle of Segurant le Brun, 188 (*sic* ; *see* Galeholt, fuis a la bele joiande), 293(?) , 301(?) , 426, 428, 429f., 431f., 433, 434 ; II, 286ff. ; le pas —, 427, 429 (de la Doulereuse Tour).
- Gali(s)ce, bishop of, 407f. ; Saint-Jaque-en, 59, 92f., 241 ; II, 202, 209f.
- Gal(l)es, 87, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 110, 115, 116, 119, 125, 146, 172, 175, 177, 181, 185, 192, 193, 198, 199, 206, 209 (Gaulles), 218, 239, 246, 294, 300, 302, 313, 314, 372, 397, 398, 406, 413, 426, 428, 438, 449, 451, 455, 456, 462, 474, 481, 483, 484, 485, 487 ; II, 167, 278, 330, 335, 336 ; ceus (les gens) de, 88, 110, 141, 146, 159 ; les .xxii. chanoynes de, 457f. ; la clergie de, 95, 110 ; clers (or chevaliers) de, 146 ; damoiseles de, 12f., 20, 57, 60f., 101, 105, 427 ; la grant cite de, 80 ; king of, 130, 428, 436 ; vallet du roi de, 130f. *See* Antoine, bishop of — ; Sage Clerc de —.
- Galois (*sing.*), *see* Perceval. — (*pl.*), 99.
- Galois, Gasois, Hazois (des Gazois), le roi de, 182f.
- Galvoie, le roi de, 198-201 ; II, 329.
- Ganieda, II, 301.
- Gannes, Gaunes, 117, 224, 301 ; II, 249 ; les dames de, 324 ; les dous orphelins de, 122.
- Gardenes, Garaines, Gardane(z), 111.
- Gardisen, Gardisan(s), Gardisant, Lac, 111.
- Gargano, II, 29. — Monte —, II, 28ff. ; serpent of (Mont de Gargans), II, 30, 319.
- Gaule, Gaulles, Geulle, 116, 117, 172, 209 (*sic* ; *see* Galles), 213, 423 ; II, 66 ; apellee France, 121, 129, 461, 468 ; ceus de, 127, 157, 159, 196, 244, 268, 286, 472 ; II, 101, 174, 189 ;

- champion de, *see* Champion; dames de, 324; la grant cite de, 80; un clerc de, 62; le filz au bon empereur de, 132; le rois de, 213, 223, 243, 259, 454, 461; II, 20, 24.
- Gauv(a)(e)in, Gavain, *see* Gawain.
- Gawain, 26f., 40, 292f., 322, 383, 389, 391, 395, 401, 405f., 407, 410, 412, 420, 439, 444; II, 32, 241, 246, 253, 255, 271, 274, 291, 293, 297.
- Gaymer, count, 377.
- Geboardus, comes (Gebhard von Arnstein), II, 110f.
- Geminis, 187.
- Genievre, la fauce, 235 (la damoisele de Camelide), 397f., 401, 406, 409; II, 242, 252ff., 255, 264, 271, 274, 308; li contes de la, 236, 239, 406; II, 241, 254, 275.
- Genievre, Gagnievre, Genavre, Gene(v)(u)re, Guen(i)evre, G(u)enoivre, Jenyevre, Yen-evre, la reine de Logres, 11, 15, 197, 198, 239, 297, 301, 372, 412, 419f., 421, 434, 436, 437, 484f.; II, 242, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250, 293, 308; la serpente de Logres, 89, 178; II, 244; quest for Merlin, 49, 175ff.; dream of, 178ff.; II, 246; at Sorelois, 41, 376, 379, 382, 385, 386, 393, 397, 401, 405f.; II, 251f., 253f., 255f., 257, 258, 266, 271, 272, 274.
- Genoa, II, 10, '34, 63ff., 67ff., 142, 143, 152, 175.
- Genoesc, II, 10f., 34, 63ff., 66, 70, 78, 84 (Ienuani), 99; li Auffriquens, II, 63, 65ff., 69, 71.
- Gens resuscites, les, 149.
- Genuinus, II, 67ff.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Book vii, 1; II, 7, 31, 349.
- Gerardo di Borgo S. Donnino, II, 187, 189, 190.
- Gerardo, Pietro, II, 112; quoted, II, 105, 124f.
- Gerardus, of Hohenbach, II, 318.
- Gerhoch von Reichersberg, II, 204.
- Germany, *see* Alemaingne.
- Gherardo di Camposampiero, bishop, II, 115.
- Gherardo da Cremona, II, 333.
- Ghibelline (*sing.*), li gibyan (?), II, 216; — prophetic verses, II, 12f. — (*pl.*), II, 6, 11, 12f., 14, 16ff., 19, 21, 169, 172f.; la partie du Dragon, la mauvaise partie, 170f., 172, 173.
- Giant (*sing.*), combat of pagan — with a Christian champion, II, 155; of the Forest Perilleuse, 447; Saracen, 129, 408f.; II, 155f.; Saxon, 264, 391, 398f. — (*pl.*), of the Royaume Sauvage, 432; II, 288.
- Giber de Alimencier, 405f.
- Giezili, II, 178.
- Giglio, island of, II, 10.
- Gileries, gierlies, li (for the variants *see l. c.*), 79, 80; II, 216.
- Giovanni Diacono, II, 44 (quoted), 54.
- Giovanni da Parma, II, 187.
- Giovanni da Schio, II, 182.
- Giquis, II, 216.
- Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, II, 4f., 333.
- Girart l'orgueilleux, 457.
- Gi(s)tee, Gitre, Sairre, Saite, Sytre, 94.
- Giustiniani, A., II, 65, 68 (quoted).
- Glisière, La, II, 102.
- Globe, imperial golden, II, 203.
- Gluttony, ecclesiastical, 7; II, 157; *see* Gueule, mauvaise.
- Godefors, Godeffroi, Godefroy, Gondefors, Gondreforz, roi d'Inde, palais de (que saint Thomas fist), 78, 238, 300; II, 219f., 231.
- Godfrey of Bouillon, II, 83, 84, 86.
- Gog and Magog, II, 30f.
- Gohenber(t)(z), count, 419f.; II, 250.
- Gohors, II, 260.
- Golistan(t), Golystans, le fort, 374f., 418f.; II, 281, 289f., 291.
- Golistant du Puy Perdu, 444.
- Gom(e)(o)ret, 388f., 405.
- Gomorre, 464.
- Gorgaranz, king of Albania, II, 30.
- Gorlagon, II, 30.
- Gorre, 395, 430f., 448.

- Goths, the, II, 53.
 Goulias, Geulias, Goliath (Goliath of Gath), 250; II, 115, 213.
 Gouvernail, II, 276.
 Gouverneur, le, 467, 469; de cele chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de Jherusalem, 114, 120, 212, 335, 470; II, 175, 176, 218; de saint eglise, 65, 241, 459f.; de Romme, 68f.; II, 161ff.; his treatment of his wards (un homme au siege de Romme), 101; II, 175; la court du, 118, 210, 212, 449ff., 460; II, 160. *See* Apostoille; Pape; Pope; Porte du.
 Gozais, 377, 378; brother of, 378.
 Gradonico, Paulo, II, 99.
 Graf, A., II, 161.
 Graliers, count, 443.
 Gralisan(s)(t), Grasillanz, Gaulifant, le roi d'Abiron, 126.
Gran Conquista de Ultramar, II, 153.
 Grece, Gres(s)(c)e, 65, 105, 138, 144, 247, 320, 465, 466, 476f.; II, 168; la grant (mestre) cite de, 79, 321; II, 194; escrois en, 315; II, 102f.; la mer de, 80, 138f.
 Grecz, les (cil de Grece), 116, 143, 155, 463; II, 66, 94ff., 174; King of the Greeks, II, 204. *See* Griffons.
 Gregory VII, pope, II, 161, 165.
 Gregory VIII, pope, 283; II, 165, 211 (quoted).
 Gregory IX, pope, 283; II, 11, 13ff., 81, 133, 162, 165, 172, 175 (the Pope), 181, 182, 211; quoted, II, 20, 133, 180.
 Gregory X, pope, II, 61, 95 (Gregorio Placentino), 175ff., 311, 346; prophetic verses concerning, II, 177f.
 Griffons, les, 65, 242, 315, 320f., 327, 463, 477, 481; II, 94, 101, 102; l'ille as, 143, 199, 247; II, 279f.; les villes des, 335; II, 102f. *See* Grecz.
 Gringoire, Gregoire, Grigo(i)re, Grogoire, tireor de cordes, 95-110; II, 167, 175, 178; prophecy addressed to, 101f., 106; II, 175ff.
 Gruins, Gruira, 322ff.
 Guascogna, II, 30.
 Guelphs, the, II, 6, 16ff., 20, 21, 22, 23, 169, 170, 173. *See* *Prophecies de Merlin*.
 Guerin le Gros, 414.
 Gueule, mauvese, 268ff., 286. *See* Gluttony.
 Gug, 330; II, 27ff.
 Guglielmo of Apulia, II, 144.
 Guglielmo da Foligno, bishop, II, 175.
 Guglielmo da Verona, II, 99.
 Guglielmo VII, marchese di Monferrato, II, 338.
 Gui de la Cite Fort, 391.
 Guibert de Val Brun, 371.
 Guido Bolognese, frescoes at Bassano by, II, 156.
 Guido da Crema (Antipope Pascal III), II, 164.
 Guido da Montefeltro, II, 8, 170.
 Guillaume du Pas Fort, 373.
 Guillaume de Puy-Laurens, quoted, II, 26.
 Guillaume de Tyr, II, 83.
 Guiron, 428; II, 274; le courtois, II, 286.
Guiron le Courtois, II, 285 f.; various manuscripts of, II, 255, 260-276, 286ff., 289f.; Turin prologue of, 423; II, 287ff. *See* *Palamedes*.
 Guiscard, Robert, II, 144, 162.
 Gurt de Carmelyde, 405.
 Guth, Gurh, les, 138.
 Guy of Lusignan, II, 91, 93.
 Gwrgi Garwlwyd, II, 30.
 Hadrian I, pope, II, 74.
 Hadrian IV, pope, 162, 164.
 Haleaz, *see* Hélie de Borron.
 Hanglier(s), Anglers, Hanglech, Ha(n)gleher, le saint homme de, 334f.
 Harmenie, Armenie, Hermenie, 105, 454.
 Hebrieu, *see* Ebrieu.
 Hecate, II, 132.
 Hector le Brun, brother of Galeholt le Brun, 423ff., 427f.; II, 281, 284, 288; la femme de (l'hermite de Carmelyde), 423, 426, 427, 428.
 Hector, Hettor, le Brun, son of Galeholt le Brun and father of Segurant le Brun, 143, 177.

- 199, 247, 419, 426f., 428, 433 ; II, 279f., 282.
- Hector de(s) Mares, 382, 384, 392, 402, 422, 444 ; II, 256, 257, 279, 293.
- Helayne, II, 244, 246 ; *see* Serpente blanche.
- Helene, la royne de Benoyc, 303 ; II, 242 ; la roinne as grans douleurs, 263f. ; II, 242.
- Helia(n)s, Elyans, Helyas, de Norhonberlande, l'hermite d'Arvencez, mentioned by name, 272, 279, 287, 294, 296, 301 ; name, II, 324 ; suspected by a jealous knight, 270 ; II, 323f. ; entrusted with the *Livre de Merlin*, 266, 268, 270f. ; II, 323 ; discourses of Merlin to Perceval, 266-294, 296f., 301f. ; II, 277 ; sees Merlin in a dream, 279 ; receives the Duc d'Ancie, 291 ; his association with Meliadus, 265 ; illness of, 271, 278f., 286f., 291, 294, 296 ; his death, 302 ; II, 277, 324 ; part in the *Prophecies*, II, 324 ; *See* Perceval ; *Prophecies de Merlin, Livre de —*.
- Helie, Helye(s), *see* Elyes.
- Hélie de Borron, 189 (messere Haleaz) ; II, 287, 298 (maistre Helies), 324, 335.
- Heliodorus, St., II, 49f.
- Helis, 383.
- Helyant de Gomoret, 405.
- Helye, le roi de Bellistans, 60.
- Helyes de Toulouse, II, 243, 245, 303f., 324.
- Helysabel, Elysabel, Helizabeth, Helyabel, 192 ; II, 278 ; la roinne qui mourra en grant destrece (tristece), 262f.
- Henri le courtois, 407.
- Henri le marchis, 378, 399.
- Henri, Henry, roi d'Engleterre, 195f.
- Henry, cardinal of Albano, II, 26.
- Henry, emperor of Constantinople, II, 99.
- Henry IV, emperor, II, 161.
- Henry VII, of Luxemburg, emperor, II, 2 (l'alto Arrigo).
- Henry III, king of England, II, 335.
- Hera, Hau, Ra, 79 ; II, 54, 56.
- Heraclea, *see* Eracliane.
- Heraciani, in Rivoalto, II, 58, 146.
- Hercules, in Bassano, II, 38.
- Heresy, in Lombardy, II, 27, 171, 172f., 174, 208, 342 ; of Mohammedanism, II, 207 ; personified, II, 25, 26, 221 ; tested at Paris, II, 209 ; variously typified, II, 183, 207f.
- Heretics, II, 26, 172f., 183 ; of Béziers, II, 26 ; of Languedoc, II, 172.
- Herlan de Benoyc, 384f.
- Hermes, St., II, 42.
- Hermite, visited by Dinadan, 263f. ; l'— d'Arvencez, *see* Helians ; l'— du val, 271, 287, 291, 296, 302.
- Hernaus, Hernalz, roi d'Engleterre, 257 ; II, 93.
- Hernolt, uncle of Blaise, II, 343.
- Herode, Erode, 63 ; II, 115, 116, 119.
- Hierusalem, *see* Jherusalem.
- Historia di Merlino*, 49f. *See* *Prophecies de Merlin*, Italian manuscripts and editions, V.
- Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, quoted, II, 60, 218.
- Hoel, roi de Bretagne, 396, 437, 443 ; II, 294.
- Holder-Egger, O., II, 13.
- Hollande, inundation of, II ; II, 349.
- Holy Land, *see* Jherusalem, les parties de.
- Hongrie, Hong(a)(e)rie, Honguerie, Hungherie, 240 ; II, 41 ; le roi de, 152.
- Honorius d'Autun, II, 230 ; quoted, II, 52, 165, 194f.
- Honorius I, pope, inscription of, quoted, II, 166.
- Horderiz, 430 ; II, 290.
- Horelice, II, 278.
- Horn, enchanted, 447.
- Hound, faithful, 490f. ; II, 321.
- Hu, 149.
- Hugo, presbiter of Sta. Sabina, II, 188.
- Hugon, Ugon, roi (probably for Uter Pandragon), cymetiere au, 333.
- Hugues de Digne, II, 160, 190ff.

Hui(s)cestre, Hinscestre, Huincestre, Huiscestre, *see* Vincestre.
 Huns, the, 38f., 49, 50.
 Huric, Hantins, Henri(c), Henriz, Henry, Heuric, de Cayfas, 149f.
 Huriens, *see* Uriens.
 Hyères, II, 190.
Hymnus Moissiacensis, II, 204.
 Hyslande, Hyrlande, *see* Illande.
 Hysmael, Hysmonel, *see* Ismael.
 Iduglez, poisson, 204.
 Iesi, II, 88.
 Iesolo, II, 54.
 Illande, Bislande, Horlande, Hyrlande, Hyslande, Irlande, Islande, Yllande, Yrlande(s), 58, 60, 117, 126, 191, 226, 261, 264, 328, 407, 438, 441, 443, 447, 455, 456, 467, 468, 486; II, 216, 217, 294, 305, 306, 330, 335, 336; crusaders from, 413; name for Britain, II, 308, 311; prouvoire d', 81ff.; la roinne d', 60, 301; li rois d', 58f., 60, 156, 407, 408f., 412, 436, 437, 439, 442, 443, 447, 456, 457; II, 216f., 294. *See* Anduins; Lac; Morhout; Richart d'.
 Inde(s), Ynde(s) (*sing.* and *pl.*), 78, 137, 138, 153f., 252f., 298ff., 415, 452, 464, 488; II, 320; cil d', 154, 216; homme d', qui aura grant vertu, 186; one-eyed inhabitants of, 186; palace in, 415. — Le roi d', la cote du, 237f., 291, 295f.; II, 317f.; frere du, 216; lettre du, 299f. — La grant — et la petite, 241; la mineur des, 455. *See* Godefors; Thomas, saint.
 Innocent III, pope, II, 26, 93 (l'apostolle de Rome), 95, 186, 220.
 Innocent IV, pope, II, 6, 191.
 Inquisition, the, II, 26, 181f.
Interpretatio in Hieremian Prophetam, II, 185.
 Iolanda da Monferrato, II, 338.
 Ipato, Orso, doge, II, 55f.
 Ireland, *see* Illande.
 Irenaeus, St., II, 202.
 Irminsal, II, 73.
 Iron Crown, 219; II, 73, 172, 173.

Isaac, filz Abraham, 454.
 Isabella of England, II, 335.
 Isidore of Seville, quoted, II, 2.
 Isle, ille (*sing.*), Aspre, 422; Delitable, 436; des damoiseles de Panfille, 251f.; Estrange, II, 249; la grant (mestre) — de mer, 114, 288, 306, 310, 335, 467; as Griffons, *see* Griffons; Non Sachant, 143, 424ff., 428, 433, 442; II, 279, 281, 288, 290, 291; knights of — Non Sachant, 435, 436, 437, 442, 445f., 447; nouvellement veue, 58; II, 216f.; de saint Pol et de saint Cir, 288, 335, 492; II, 30, 44, 146, 218, 321. — (*pl.*), de la mer, 112, 113f., 117; Mescongneues, II, 287f.
 Ismael, Hysmael, Hysmonel, Ysmael, li fius (*sing.* and *pl.*), 134, 240f., 309, 464.
 Isola Negra, II, 343.
 Isra(h)el, li fius (*sing.* and *pl.*), 134, 203, 327.
 Istre, Ystre, 71, 302.
 Italie, Ytaile, Ytalie, 64f., 66, 221, 290, 337, 468, 470, 472, 473; II, 5, 20, 23, 27, 33, 41, 104, 350, 351; metrical prophecies concerning cities of, II, 153f., 350.
Itinerarium Regis Ricardi, quoted, II, 90.
 Jacob, 325.
 Jacobus de Vitriaco, II, 34 (quoted), 231.
 Jacobus de Voragine, II, 68, 203; quoted, II, 197, 198, 199.
 Jacopo da Acqui, II, 227; quoted, II, 75, 104f., 169, 173.
 Jacopo d'Oria, quoted, II, 63.
 Jacopo da Viterbo, II, 209.
 Jaffe, Jaffe(s)(t), Japhe(s), Japhech, Yaphet (Jafia), 145, 407f., 413; II, 83, 91. *See* Caphe, Thafe.
 James II, king of Aragon, II, 339.
 Janus, founder of Genoa, II, 68.
 Japhet, II, 233.
 Jaques, Jakemes, apostres, 235. *See* Galisce.
 Javes, Jene, Veve, la belle damoiselle de, 145.

Jean Pierre de Lyon, II, 233, 331, 334.

Jehan, saint, l'evangeliste, 235, 292f., 325, 449, 496.

Jehan(s) Baptiste(s), saint, 216, 230f., 474, 475.

Jehan de Meung, II, 187.

Jelous (*sing.*), chevalier, 7, 270 ; II, 323. — (*pl.*), les, 270.

J(h)erusalem, Hierusalem, 130, 148, 186, 210, 475 ; la sainte cite, 158, 470 ; angelic warning to, 210 ; II, 90, 91 ; the Antichrist in, II, 82, 194, 195, 200, 284 (le Dragon de Babiloine) ; crusades to, 120, 145, 407, 412f., 421, 470 ; II, 14, 86f., 276 ; destroyed and rebuilt, 253f. ; l'empereur et li dus des Bons Mariniers anfois en, 222 ; II, 96, 97 ; es mains des poiens, 318, 327, 470 ; II, 13, 83, 88, 89, 90ff., 308, 320 ; gilded stone on column of, 130 ; II, 155 ; miracle at the gate of, 409 ; ostee des mains des poiens, 126f., 140, 158, 301 ; II, 78, 83ff. ; palace of the Dragon of Babylon, 241 ; II, 199, 209f. ; patriarch of, II, 76, 77 ; li rois de, 210 ; II, 91 ; Sainte-Marie-en-Frigida, 241 ; II, 209f. ; St.-Simeon-in-Golgotha, II, 206 ; son of the king of, 409.

Les parties de (la terre sainte, the Holy Land), 62, 126, 134, 149, 157f., 199, 227, 237, 295, 464 ; II, 14, 77, 81, 151 ; crusades to, 129f., 143, 156, 157, 185, 220f., 254, 301, 407, 412f., 417, 466, 475f., 481 ; II, 72, 75ff., 82f., 85ff., 90f., 93, 95.

La chose qui jadis nasqui es parties de, 183, 201, 202f. (la foi), 209, 244, 325, 333, 492, 495 ; li gouverneur de, 120, 212, 335 ; II, 175, 176, 218. — In dates : aincois que, ains que, atant que, au (ou) tens que, en (a) icelui tens que, lorsque, quant —, 61, 65, 67, 68, 73, 79, 80, 87, 113, 115, 120, 127, 129, 137, 138, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 149,

151, 152, 153, 154f., 157, 158, 159, 174, 183, 186, 187, 199, 205, 221, 240, 244, 251, 257, 258, 290, 293, 302, 312, 315, 316, 321, 326, 327, 330, 333, 336, 339, 449, 465, 467, 469, 471, 472, 494, 495 ; apres ce que, puis que —, 117, 123, 124, 128, 132, 134, 154, 156, 194, 213, 255, 256, 257, 288, 454, 458 ; (des lors en) avant que —, 69, 102, 135, 136, 147, 148, 155, 157, 159, 163, 164, 173, 182, 191, 202, 241, 243, 305, 315, 324, 325, 451f., 468, 469, 471, 472, 495.

J(h)esu Crist, Nostre Sire, Nostre Saingneur, 74, 75, 115, 117, 198, 202, 210, 229, 237, 266, 276, 306, 307, 310, 333, 338, 458f., 463, 476, 495 ; II, 39, 75 ; li Fius Marie, 90, 234ff., 237 ; Dieu, Damedieu, 259, 266, 310, 481 ; li Tout Puisant, 305, 312, 323, 397, 457 ; le Sauveur du monde, 325, 488 ; li Sires de tout le monde (toutes choses), 70, 333 ; de qui toutes graces descendent, 456.

His advent, 312, 336 ; nativity, 100, 158, 338, 474, 492 ; II, 199, 201, 202 ; Adoration of, 89 ; II, 201 ; His baptism, 216 ; temptation, 477 ; and the tribute money, II, 213 ; His betrayal and death, 106, 203, 225, 258, 336, 474, 475 ; II, 125, 200 ; harrowing of Hell, 141, 225, 473 ; second coming, 241 ; II, 197f. ; beatific vision of, 74, 307, 452 ; le cors [et le sanc] de, 136, 203, 266, 271, 303, 465, 481 ; II, 339ff. ; l'erbe en lieu du cors de, 190 ; II, 152f.

Armes de, 266 (Damedieu), 401 ; II, 228, 341 ; belief and faith in, 202f., 229, 258f., 327, 337, 397, 460 ; II, 174 ; commends alms-giving and payment of tithes, 112f., 273, 276, 310, 336 ; l'evangiele de, 272, 274, 335, 464 (les paroles de), 476 ; indifference of man to, 137, 326 ; joise de, 224,

- 255, 488 ; la loi de, 62, 82, 200, 307, 469, 494 ; His love and mercy, 59, 163, 202f., 211, 225, 234, 265, 305, 310, 325, 335, 336, 488 ; II, 229 ; miracles de, 93, 216, 222, 251, 258, 323f., 337, 409, 472 ; nous gouverne envers Paradis, 86, 325 ; prayer to, 297, 305, 333, 464 ; His wrath, 65ff., 68, 69, 70, 75, 94, 135f., 183, 212, 219, 224, 229f., 306, 310, 314, 315, 320f., 326, 328, 329, 336, 450, 451, 454 ; II, 175. *See* Antichrist ; Dragon de Babilloinne ; *Militia*.
- Joachim of Flora, II, 147, 148, 183-191, 196, 208, 215, 223, 348, 350. — Pseudo —, II, 154, 160, 185, 223.
- Joachism, II, 186f., 188, 190f., 196f., 208, 209, 215f., 223ff., 226 ; in the *Prophecies*, II, 188ff., 197, 223f., 226, 334, 350.
- Johan de Breue, roy, II, 155.
- Johannis Asen II, *see* Calo-John.
- John of Hildesheim, *Historia Trium Regum*, II, 203.
- Joiande, la bele, 444 ; li fuis a, 89, 159, 235, 264, 398f. ; II, 242f. *See* Galeholt.
- Joieuse Garde, 403 ; II, 276.
- Jonas, les profecies de, 208.
- Joseph de Barymac(h)ie, Arimac(i)e, Arimathie, Armatie, Berimatie, Darimachie, 198, 288, 307, 461 ; II, 32.
- Joseph, l'evesque de Saras, 198 (li filz de Joseph de Barymachie), 206, 237, 288, 307 ; II, 31.
- Jour (*sing.*), li boins et li mauvais pointz du, II, 237 ; du juisse, 114, 117, 210f., 216, 220, 222, 224, 235, 255, 288, 330, 335, 488 ; II, 72, 82, 194, 196ff., 200, 222, 226. — (*pl.*), de la lune, 160ff. ; signification in prophecy, II, 18, 339.
- Jo(u)rdain, le fluv, 124, 204, 249f. ; II, 213.
- Jublier, le mauves, 14, 320, 334, 422, 484 ; II, 283.
- Juge (*sing.*), de Norhonblende, 279ff., 283ff., 287ff. ; II, 232 ; — et la mere de Merlin, 266, 279, 477, 486, 489 ; II, 241, 339 ; terrien, 478ff. — (*pl.*), mauves, 70, 229, 261ff., 449.
- Jugement (*sing.*), par bataille et par martyr, 87 ; selonc justice, 306 ; terrien, 214. — (*pl.*), faus, 70, 149, 151, 155, 212, 257, 326 ; II, 176, 191.
- Jugrepon, 335 ; II, 102.
- Juif (*sing.*), 80, 137, 138, 463, 492. — (*pl.*), 113, 153, 194, 202, 203, 258, 325, 334, 336, 463, 476, 492 ; II, 125, 200.
- Julius Caesar, II, 321.
- Justice, la, des Bons Mariniers, 306 ; II, 46f. ; ecclesiastical, II, 158 ; terrienne (*sing.* and *pl.*), 136, 174, 262, 285 ; II, 146, 236. *See* Venetian.
- Justinian, emperor, II, 36, 169, 210.
- Justinople, 302.
- Kaiphaz, *see* Cayfas.
- Kama(a)lot, Kamalaot, *see* Cama(a)lot.
- Kampers, F., II, 148.
- Karados de la Douleuse Tour, 271, 380, 394, 400, 404, 438, 439 ; II, 262ff., 265, 270, 275f.
- Karahan, 410f.
- Karankin, *see* Barankain.
- Karon, *see* Acaron.
- Kayn, Kaymabel, *see* Cain.
- Keus, Ke(u)x, 197, 397f., 438, 462f. (Treux) ; II, 271, 291.
- Kex, Keu, Keus, 253, 254 (Additions and Corrections).
- Kiechadan, 443.
- King of the North, II, 195, 204.
- Lac, roi d'Illande, 82 ; II, 329f.
- Lacedonia, II, 74.
- Lago di Garda, 111 ; II, 150, 151.
- Laid Vallet, le, 8, 321ff.
- Laide Semblance, la, II, 304.
- Laiteroine, 82.
- Lamballe, li rois de, 301 ; conte de, 385.
- Lambert de Vincestre, 393.
- Lamorat de Galles, 41, 374, 379, 382, 383, 384, 399, 402, 437, 447 ; II, 256, 257, 272, 274.

Lancelot, II, 242ff., 245ff., 252, 253, 274, 278, 297, 303, 324; quoted, II, 182f., 243, 245, 246f.; *Les deux Gue-nièvres*, II, 241 (see *Genievre*, la fauce, li contes de la —); *Bibl. Nat.*, fr. 112, II, 255ff. (quoted), 261, 263, 268; mentioned in the *Prophecies* (li contez de la vie, l'histoire, le livre de *Lancelot*), 197, 445, 448; II, 241, 248, 293; influence of, in the *Prophecies*, II, 240ff., 271, 275, 278, 292f., 294f., 298, 316, 347.

Lancelot du Lac, le Blanc Chevalier, 436, 438; le chevalier qui mettra a fin les adventures de la grant Bretaigne, 453; un chevalier du lignage de Celi-donie, 178; un chevalier qui molt sera redoubtez, 179; II, 242f.; fuis le roi Ban de Beno-nic, 173, 214; Fuis de roi, 184, 193f., 196f., 201; II, 244, 245; fuis a la roine as grans dou-lours, 263f.; le liepart qui aura surnom du lac, 89; II, 242f.; un — de Benoic, 178, 180f.; II, 244; un — merueilleus, II, 243f.; un petit —, 264; le pere du bon chevalier, 122; le vallet que la Dame du Lac avoit norri, 184.

Biaute de, 226; luxure de, 193; II, 244f.; protected by the Dame du Lac, 122, 166, 167, 173, 184, 196f., 303, 372, 373, 410, 439, 485; II, 241, 246, 247, 248, 282, 292, 294, 319; his ignorance of his name, 193; II, 245; instructed in chivalry, II, 182f., 246; knighting of, 11, 15, 184, 193, 196; II, 242, 245; his love for Guinevere, 178ff., 197, 236, 297; II, 244, 248, 249, 250, 254, 293, 308; enmity with Claudas, 167, 223, 226, 303, 373, 410, 420f.; II, 241f., 250; with Melea-gant, 297, 378, 391f., 395f., 448; II, 246, 249, 293; hostility of Morgain to, 223, 226, 402, 410, 419, 434f.; II, 248, 249, 250, 292, 293; his friendship with Galeholt, 179, 263f., 373,

378, 444; II, 242, 243, 245, 293, 294; rescue of Galeholt from a pagan giant, 13f., 264, 399, 401; meeting with Helayne, 178 (une serpente blanche); II, 244, 246; the father of Galehad, 122, 178, 434; II, 244, 245.

At the Roche aus Saisnes, 372; II, 247, 251; at the tour-ney of Sorelois, 376f., 379, 382, 383f., 385f., 393; II, 251f., 256, 257, 266, 271, 272, 274; in the Saxon invasion, 399, 401; II, 251, 275; will devas-tate Cornwall, 214; II, 277; wounds Bohors, 297; II, 249; his rescue from shame by Bohors, 223, 395f., 411; II, 242; his fray with Gohenbert and his followers, 420; II, 250; his combat with Pala-medes, II, 255, 271; dread-ed by Palamedes, 377; II, 266, 271, 274f.; at the tour-ney of Vincestre, 438ff.; II, 282; his combat with Gawain, 444; II, 293; forbidden to joust with Segurant, II, 282, 290, 291; unhorsed by Segu-rant, II, 289; his madness, 372; II, 247; destroys the Val Sans Retour, 388; II, 242; in the Ille Estrange (une isle de mer), 419; II, 248, 249; in various exploits and relations, 235, 391, 407, 440, 442; II, 32, 244, 245f., 249, 254, 337; compared to Tris-tan, 193, 376; II, 278; magic tent of, II, 280; his importance in the *Prophecies*, II, 294f.; li contez (l'histoire) de sa vie, le livre de, *see Lancelot*.

Landinus, Landuins, *see* Anduins.

Langlois, Ch.-V., II, 233ff., 332ff.

Langton, Stephen, archbishop, II, 14.

Languedoc, heretics of, II, 172. *Lanzelet*, II, 280.

Laon, II, 151.

Larrons, les deux, 203.

Latini, Brunetto, II, 11, 149 (quoted), 280.

Laughter, mysterious, II, 231.

See Merlin.

- Lay communion, symbolical, II, 152f.
- Lazaron, Lacaron, Lazarum, saint, la maladie de, 319; moustier —, 374.
- Lechlavar, speaking stone of, II, 318.
- Le Clerc, V., II, 215.
- Lein, province of, II, 333.
- Lemaire de Belges, Jean, II, 147.
- Leo IV, pope, II, 78.
- Leodegan, Leudegan, roi de Carmelide, 235f., 428.
- Leonois, Loenais, Loenois, Loo-nois, 117, 415, 417; la damoisele de, 121; le seneschal de, 232, 245.
- Lerici, II, 64.
- Lerin, 188.
- Letters, celestial, 93; II, 206.
- Levrier, l'amy de Naymars, 490f.; II, 321.
- Liber Merlini*, of Telesforo, II, 148f.
- Liber Pontificalis*, quoted, II, 78f., 162.
- Liber Regiminum Padue*, quoted, II, 107f.
- Libya, King of, II, 204.
- Liepart, le, *see* Lancelot.
- Liguria, II, 67.
- Listenois, crusaders from, 413.
- Liore d'Artus*, II, 244, 304, 324, 326.
- Livy, legend of Antenor, II, 37.
- Lloeth, E., II, 245, 255, 258, 261, 269, 288.
- Logre(s), Longres, royaume de, 89, 178, 189, 193, 194, 195, 197, 225, 235, 330, 373, 376, 404, 410, 415, 423, 436, 443, 444, 458; II, 256, 287, 291, 293, 298; les aventures de, 461; chevaliers de, 195, 424; la coutume de, 238, 387, 403 (Reaume aventureus), 404; damoiselles de, 195; l'ille de, 123; li juges de, 261f.; les merveilles de, 122; la serpente de, *see* Serpente.
- Lointain(gn)es Illes, 89, 235, 373; II, 242f.
- Lombard, campaigns of Charlemagne, II, 73f., 76; influence in the *Prophecies*, II, 336, 342f.; invasions of Italy, II, 39, 41, 44, 49; kingdom, fall of, II, 73f.; resistance to emperors, II, 108, 128f., 130, 153, 174; league against Ezzelino, II, 126; origin of Richard d'Irlande, II, 334, 336ff., 343; towns allied with Frederic I, II, 174.
- Lombarde de Nerbonne, la, les fuis de, 133.
- Lombardie, 64, 102, 128, 133, 215, 220, 243, 277, 283; II, 24, 27, 72ff., 105, 112, 121, 127, 149, 169, 171, 172, 174, 330, 336, 343.
- Lombar(s)(t), li, (ceus de Lombardie), 128f., 133, 201, 221, 283; II, 60, 72, 77, 130.
- Londres, 139, 397f., 428, 434, 453, 455, 457, 474; British Museum, manuscripts of, 10, 18; Maggs Brothers, manuscript of, 9.
- Longinus, exarch, II, 35.
- Lonigo, II, 141.
- Lot, F., II, 241, 242, 278.
- Loth, nephew of Abraham, 464.
- Loth, roy d'Orcanie, 453.
- Lothaire, emperor of Italy and Lorraine, II, 78.
- Lothaire of Saxony, emperor, II, 171.
- Louis VIII, king of France, II, 21.
- Louis IX, king of France, II, 20.
- Loup, de Barbagal, 145; de Macedoine, 151f. — Loupe (?), la, *see* Coulpe.
- Louvain, II, 51.
- Louvezep, tourney of, II, 276.
- Lr., roy de Gaule, 461; II, 20.
- Luc, saint, le jour de, 458.
- Luca, archbishop of Cosenza, II, 208.
- Lucan li Boutillier, 398.
- Lucca, II, 16, 63ff.
- Lucera, II, 81. *See* Nocera.
- Lucerne, Luisserne, Lusiernne, 309.
- Luce(s), Lucas, de Champagne, 62; II, 206, 208.
- Luce(s), Luches, roi de Logres, 156, 487.
- Luch(es) de Gant, le livre de, 435, 443, 446; II, 293, 294.
- Lucifer, 10, 73f., 219, 234f., 326, 439, 493; II, 170f., 223, 230, 235.

- Lu(c)quehan, *see* Berquehan.
Ludus de adventu et interitu Antichristi, II, 204.
 Lui, emperor of Rome, shield of, 432 ; II, 281. *See* Segurans, shield of.
 Lune, la cours de, 160ff. ; II, 230 ; — trainee sus terre, 69.
 Lus(c)ente, Lusence, 162.
 Luxure, la, 131f., 193, 195, 212, 229, 256, 324, 470, 479, 481 ; II, 157, 158, 160, 192, 244f. *See* Fames ; Merlin.
 Lyon, II, 150f., 331 ; Council of, II, 6, 95, 181, 191 ; Saint-Jean de, II, 150f.
 Lyon (*sing.*), de Barbagal, 145 ; de la fontaine du roi Constans, 196 ; de Toustane, 472 ; le soleil en, 187. — (*pl.*), deux — volans, II, 147.
 Lyoncel, d'Albernauge, 243 ; II, 24ff., 208.
 Lyonel, Lionnel, Lyoniaus, Lyonniaul, son of Bohort of Gannes, 223, 224, 303, 373, 395, 445, 485 ; II, 241, 242, 293 ; un cousin de Lancelot, 167, 173 ; un orphelin de Gaunes, 122.
 M., 93f. ; II, 106 (*see* Marmour), 174 (*see* Melan).
 Mabile, damoisele de Genievre, 175ff.
 Macedo(i)ne, Machidoine, Mece-doine, 151f., 247.
 Macon, G., II, 336.
 Mador de la Porte, 183, 371f., 382, 398, 438 ; II, 256, 279, 284.
 Magance, 375f., 403 ; traitor, 376, 414f.
 Maggiorbo, II, 52.
 Magi, the, 89 ; II, 201ff., 205.
 Magog, *see* Gog.
 Mahommet, Mahoumet, 155, 468 ; II, 207f., 220.
 Maiol(i)ce, Majole, Maljolge, 147 ; II, 112ff.
 Maladie, en Aquilee et en Cayfas, 150 ; de Gug, 330 ; II, 28ff. ; de saint Lazaron, 319 ; en Toustane, 472 ; en Turquie, 473.
 Malamocco, II, 43f., 45, 46, 53, 55, 57f.
 Malangne, *see* Melan.
 Malaspina, Saba, quoted, II, 21, 23.
 Malatesta da Rimini, II, 170.
 Malavolti, O., II, 16f. ; quoted, II, 17, 18.
 Male Mor(s)(t), la, 249f.
 Malespina, Charocerus de, II, 173.
 Malespini, Ricordano, II, 17 ; quoted, II, 16, 169.
 Malespino, G., II, 11.
 Malfete, 142, 315f. ; II, 69ff.
 Malfi, II, 69.
 Malfitani, II, 69.
 Malgrin le felon, 413.
 Malohaut, Dame de, 435.
 Malory, Sir Thomas, II, 254f., 258, 268.
 Malvenda, T., *De Antichristo*, II, 192.
 Malzaran, 427.
 Mana(c)(s)es, Mauvaises, Mauvasses, 323f.
 Manfred, king of Sicily, II, 17, 20, 28, 81, 345.
 Manfredonia, II, 28f.
 Manichaeism, II, 172.
 Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne, quoted, II, 316.
 Mantua, II, 108, 126 (Mantoe), 128.
 Mantuans, the, II, 128, 130, 133, 140.
 Manuel Comnenus, emperor (Emmanuele), II, 59.
 Manuscripts, Arthurian in the Vatican Library, 24 ; of Charles V and Charles VI, 2 ; of the Connétable de Lesdiguières, 22 ; Italian copies of French, II, 149.
 Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 90, II, 252 (quoted), 254f., 258, 259, 263, 268, 276 ; fr. 103, II, 325 ; fr. 112, II, 255ff., 261, 263, 268, 271, 272 ; rubrics quoted, 256 ; fr. 212, II, 319 ; fr. 350 (*Palamedes*), II, 246 (quoted), 248 ; fr. 358, II, 286ff. ; fr. 362, II, 255, 260-271, 273f., 276 ; quoted, II, 260, 261, 262, 264, 265ff., 269, 270 ; fr. 363, II, 255, 260, 268, 271ff. ; quoted, 272, 273, 274 ; fr. 12599, quoted, II, 289ff. ; fr. 24395, II, 234, 235ff. (quoted).

- Tours, Bibliothèque, Libri —, 22f. ; Turin, Bibl. Naz., L. 1.7-9, 423 ; II, 287ff.
See Prophecies de Merlin, manuscripts.
 Map, Gautier, livre de, 435, 443f. ; II, 293.
 Marangone, B., II, 11 (quoted), 65.
 Marc, roi de Cornouaille, 21, 191f., 205, 232, 245, 301, 313, 375f., 396, 404, 414f., 417f., 422, 435, 437, 443, 444, 446f. ; II, 248, 269f., 276, 277, 294, 295.
Marca amorosa, *see* Marche Amoureuse.
Marca (Trevisana), *see* Trevisan Mark.
 Marche, la, *see* Trevisan Mark.
 — Amoureuse, 42, 95, 277, 312, 459, 468, 469 ; II, 104ff., 114, 117ff., 131, 231, 313 ; la ville departie de, 147f. ; II, 131ff. ; *see* Dragonnel de. — Douleureuse, 63f., 66f., 93f., 130 (cele marche qui est pres de Patanie), 149f. ; II, 104ff. ; la grant (mestre) cite de, 63, 67 ; II, 115, 122ff. (*see* Pataine) ; une dame de, 149f., 494 ; un pseudomme de, 64f. ; le felon seigneur de, 63f., 67 ; II, 114ff. (*see* Ezzelino III, da Romano). — Ploureuse, 459, 468, 469 ; II, 313. *See* Trevisan Mark.
 Marcheandises, fausseurs de, 135ff., 262f., 312, 333 ; II, 146.
 Marcheant (*sing.*), *see* Eracliane. — (*pl.*), mauves, 84f., 219 ; II, 62 (*mali mercanti*).
 Marchesella, Guglielmo di, II, 59, 137.
 Marco, *Cronaca*, II, 37, 40 (quoted), 226.
 Marco, San, II, 42f., 145, 210f., 318.
 Marco Lombardo, II, 104.
 Marco Polo, II, 70, 152.
 Marduk, II, 192.
 Margondan, 372.
 Margos de l'ille Aspre, 422.
 Marie, sainte, la Virge, Nostre Dame, la beneuree Dame, la bone Dame euree, 62, 141f., 187, 201, 303, 304, 337, 452, 472, 477 ; II, 158, 206, 212, 230, 280 ; eglises de, 92, 216, 241, 290 ; la Jude, 90 ; la mere Dieu, 90, 100, 187, 234f., 237, 492 ; in a mosaic, Torcello, II, 229f. ; les proieres de, 211, 224, 305, 320 ; II, 222, 229. *See* *Milites*.
 Marmorina, II, 106.
 Marmo(u)r, Armor, Mamor, Marinor, 130, 148 ; II, 106f., 131, 155f. *See* Verona.
 Mars, le premier jor de, 62 ; II, 199.
 Marsile de Ponmecainne, 379 ; II, 274.
 Marsille, seneschal de Gringoire, 108.
 Martial, II, 48.
 Martin IV, pope, II, 157.
 Mathieu, Matheu(s), apostres, 235.
 Matteo d'Acquasparta, cardinal, II, 179.
 Mattheo di Giovenazzo, quoted, II, 28.
 Maurisio, G., II, 115, 155 (quoted).
 Mauro, visions of, II, 42.
 Maucrois, 290 ; II, 81.
 Maximianus, emperor, II, 116.
 Mazzorbo, II, 52.
 Medina, 142.
 Melan, Malangne, Meilan, Melen, Meleum, Mellan, Mielan, Mil(l)an, 96, 102, 315 ; II, 41, 128f., 140, 151, 171ff., 330, 336 ; heresy in, 135, 494 ; II, 27, 171, 172f., 174, 208, 342 ; variants for, in *chansons de geste*, II, 151.
 Meleagant of Gorre, 41, 297, 375, 376, 378, 389, 391, 395f., 438, 448 ; II, 246, 248, 249, 250, 257, 282, 291, 293 ; sister of, 448 ; II, 293.
 Meliadus, II, 285. *See* *Palamedes*.
 Meliadus, fiex du roi Meliadus, l'ami a la Dame du Lac, 28, 181 (le roi, *sic*), 188, 196f., 218f., 226, 265, 313, 331, 332f. ; parentage of, 189f. (cf. 49), 295 ; II, 247f. ; reared by the Dame du Lac, II, 248 ; his visits to the Dame du Lac, 41, 338, 485f. ;

II, 319, 320, 321f. ; le frere de Tristan, 190, 192, 295 ; his quest for Tristan, 217, 313, 334 ; II, 248 ; his visits to the tomb of Merlin, 11f., 14f., 23, 27, 183ff., 189ff., 193, 196, 208, 213, 217f., 227f., 239, 245, 311, 313, 314, 331ff., 334, 338, 372 ; II, 277, 296, 299, 316f., 322, 327 ; receives Merlin's farewell, 338 ; delivers prophecies to Antoine, 192, 201, 265, 297, 303 ; his visits to the Sage Clerc, 231, 245f., 295, 302, 313, 317, 319 (Additions and Corrections). 338, 484 ; II, 316f. ; at court, 338, 484f. ; his rôle in the *Prophecies*, II, 247f. ; *Livres de*, in the *Prophecies*, 7f., 48 ; prophecies to, 7f., 41, 42, 48.

Meliadus, roi de Leonois, 121, 158 (li oirs de Leonois ; cf. Löseth, *Tristan*, p. 443), 192, 295 ; II, 248, 278.

Meliaz li gais, 197 ; II, 242.

Meloria, battles of, II, 10f. ; II, 63.

Mendicant orders, II, 183, 184f., 187f., 189, 190.

Ménestrel de Reims, II, 88, 91 (quoted).

Menso, 255.

Mer, la, entre Escoche et Logres, 123 ; gelee, 215 ; Sainte-Marie de la — gelee, 92 ; morte, 71, 144, 191 ; II, 328 ; salee, 111, 123 ; seiche, 465 ; qui croistra desus les rives, 450ff. ; II 308.

Mercurius, monceaux de, 256.

Merlin, grandfather of the prophet Merlin, 225.

Merlin (Merlins, *nom.* and occasionally *acc.*), Mellin, Merllin, Merlyn, Mierlin, le prophete des Anglois, 58, 141, 329 ; II, 335 ; his birth, 10, 46, 101, 104, 234f., 237, 272, 296, 307, 467, 480, 486 ; II, 188, 317 ; name, 225 ; mother, 208, 225, 228, 260, 266, 279, 281, 283, 296, 324, 477, 480, 486, 491 ; II, 241, 339f., 342 ; father (anemi d'enfer), 225, 228, 232, 233, 234f., 238, 294, 447,

476, 480, 482 ; II, 167, 226, 241, 316f., 340 ; aunt, 8, 296f. ; II, 241 ; as a child, 46, 266ff., 273, 275f., 486, 489ff.

Aumosnes de, 329 ; his demonic inheritance, 208, 224, 331, 476, 483ff. ; II, 241 ; divinely inspired, 89, 104, 207f., 211, 224, 225, 465, 480f. ; II, 226, 241, 333, 337, 340 ; his ignorance of his end, 453 ; au jour de jugement, 235, 488 ; loyalty to Christ, 110, 397 ; mission on earth, 101 ; II, 183, 188, 192 ; orthodoxy, 95f., 100f., 110, 266, 300, 455, 478, 480f., 492 ; II, 167, 183, 190, 312, 339ff. ; sagesse et soutilete de, 75, 110, 185, 224, 225, 237, 273, 286, 452, 465, 474, 482 ; II, 317, 340 ; saved from the power of the devil, 225, 234f., 296, 303, 307, 329, 488, 494 ; voir disant, 84, 87, 95f., 163, 164, 190, 265, 288f., 321, 441, 453, 455, 465, 474 ; II, 167, 190f., 226.

Luxure de, 121f., 188, 225, 226f., 234f., 478f., 480f., 484 ; II, 317, 325, 337 ; his relations with the Dame Noire, 331 ; the Damoisele d'Abiron, 125f. ; Damoisele d'Arvences, 122 ; une damoisele de Loenois, 121 ; a maiden of Morgain, 483 ; the Damoisele de la Roche aus Sonnes, 122 ; Morgain, 166, 226 ; the Roinne de Berquehen, 130ff.

Beloved by Uterpandragon, 225 ; by Arthur, 116 ; gives the treasure of Bertolais to Arthur, 396 ; protects Arthur, 23, 115, 117 ; II, 283f. ; visits Antoine with Arthur, 427f. ; with Arthur at Salibere, 427.

Becomes invisible, 99, 131, 476ff. ; bespells the squires of three cardinals, 103f., 105ff. ; deceives Breus, 141, 146 ; II, 315 ; imprisons a clerk in a cage, 381 ; a devil in a copper image, 493f. ; II, 321 ; in a stone, 238 ; II, 317, 319 ; knows the spell of the Laide Semblance, II, 304 ; magic

rings of, 126; II, 319; makes a magic bath, 331; a magic boat, 297ff., 415f.; a magic smoke, 427; the Perilous Seat, II, 325; the Perron de l'Epee, 206; II, 31; the Round Table, 415, 446; II, 325; his power over devils, 126, 141, 289f.; shape-shifting of, 97, 103, 104, 105ff., 108f., 224, 455, 483; II, 167; transports the Giants' Dance, 126, 261, 467; II, 335.

Attempts on his life, 274f., 491; in captivity to Julius Caesar, II, 321; conducts Galeholt le Brun and Hector le Brun to Carmelide, 428; directs the Damoisele du Blanc Royaume to court, 321f.; the Sage Clerc to the Pierre Reonde, 228f.; II, 316; en Escocce, 492; his intercourse with Pope Clyment, 328f., 486; laughs, 60, 179, 261, 272, 274, 276, 280, 296, 322, 490; II, 231; a Londres, 455, 474; meets Helyes le Toulousan, II, 304; at the Papal Council, 40, 42, 135, 136, 146, 476-481; II, 177, 191f., 311; prophecies to Helyabel, II, 278; prophecies a triple death, 273, 275; II, 231, 302; his protection of Perceval, II, 325f.; restores Meliadus to his people, 192; II, 278; sought by Aglentine, 297ff.; visited by three cardinals, 95-100; II, 166ff., 183, 188, 190, 191, 305; visits Blaise, 282f.; II, 302, 337, 340; weeps, 78, 296.

In the *Livre de Helias*, II, 190, 230ff.; convicts Argistres, 272ff.; dishonest money-changers, 280f.; II, 232; an extortionate physician, 268f.; II, 230; a licentious priest, 282ff.; the mother of a judge, 208; Ramberge, 489ff.; II, 320f.; humiliates a proud lady, 296; his intercourse with a Benedictine abbot, 266ff.; II, 189, 327, 339ff., 342; a bishop of Northumberland, 266, 268ff., 272f., 275f., 280ff., 289ff.,

293f.; a judge of Northumberland, 279ff., 283ff., 287f.; reproves an extravagant woman, 276ff.; II, 231; a jealous knight, 270; II, 323, 324.

The instructor of women in magic, 57, 121f., 416, 417; deceived by women, 121, 188, 226, 234; the instructor of the Dame du Lac in magic, 169, 171, 188, 224, 417, 483; deceived by the Dame du Lac, 167, 169 (*la blanche serpent*), 171, 185f., 188, 226, 482f., 485; II, 300, 319; with the Dame du Lac in Aurences, 162ff., 322, 381, 483; II, 299; unspelled by the Dame du Lac from enchantment, 381; his entombment by the Dame du Lac, 37, 40, 167ff., 177, 178, 182, 185, 187, 192, 207, 217, 224ff., 234, 237, 265, 484, 485, 488; II, 241, 292, 296ff., 347; his imprisonment by Niniane, 26f., 40; II, 297, 298; the tomb of, 164ff., 184, 189, 233, 311; II, 296, 299; *li daerrains brais de*, II, 298; quests for, 20, 23, 26f., 122, 162f., 171f., 174ff., 178f., 195, 198, 199, 200, 238, 291, 293, 417, 434, 445f.; II, 279, 281, 298, 299, 300, 323; his rescue by Perceval, II, 326; seen in dreams, 231, 279.

Livre de, in *Prophecies*, 8, 41; destined for Perceval, 266, 268, 270f., 286f., 294, 303f., 311, 318ff., 324ff., 338f., 468, 489; II, 30, 319, 320f., 323f. (Additions and Corrections).

Prophecies attributed to, II, 9, 148 (*Merlin Ambrosius*), 153ff., 350; prophecies of, in *Armannino Giudice*, II, 30; Arthurian prose romances, 1; II, 349; *Aventures del saint Graal*, II, 244; *Etienne de Bourbon*, II, 231; *Demanda del Sancto Grial*, II, 298, 300; Geoffrey of Monmouth, II, 7, 31, 349; *Huth Merlin*, II, 244, 275, 303; *Lancelot*, II, 243f., 245; *Livre d'Artus*, II, 244, 304; *Merlin*, II, 241, 297, 303;

- Palamedes*, II, 246 ; prophecies (and sayings) of, quoted in episodes of the *Prophecies*, 386f., 397, 398, 439, 441 ; by Hugues de Digne, II, 190 ; by Thomas the Tuscan, II, 7ff. ; sought by Frederic II, II, 315, 330 ; by Giraldus Cambrensis, II, 333 ; by Telesforo, II, 148f., 333 ; suppressed by Giraldus Cambrensis, II, 4f., 333 ; written on stones, 198ff., 206, 209, 217, 219, 260f., 262f., 290f., 316f., 323, 332f., 387, 398f., 492, 495 ; II, 329f.
- Authority of, II, 190f., 347 ; compared with Joachim of Flora, II, 188ff., 223 ; his renown in India, 488.
- Scribes of, in the prose romances, II, 301ff. ; in the *Vita Merlini*, 301f. ; their part in the *Prophecies*, II, 322, 327, 347, 348. See Abbe d'Orcanie ; Antoine ; Blaise ; Meliadus ; Rubers ; Sage Clerc ; Tholomer.
- Merlin*, roman de, 10, 17f., 24, 25ff., 35, 37, 39, 40 ; II, 244, 297, 302, 335, 337, 339, 342, 343 ; Italian versions of, 47ff. ; II, 308, 310 ; its relation to the *Prophecies*, II, 240f., 347. — *Huth* —, II, 275, 297f., 299, 302f., 326.
- Merveilles, see Miracles.
- Méry, Huon de, *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist*, II, 25, 26f. (quoted), 221, 280.
- Meschine(s), Messine(s), Mezine, Miessines, Misine, 75, 87, 239f. See Messina.
- Mesopotamie, Mesopot(h)aimie, Mesopothanie, Molopamyie, 244 ; lac de, 111.
- Messina, II, 328 ; Faro of, II, 213. See Meschines.
- Messyas, 247, 455.
- Mestre cite du monde, la, 88 ; II, 164.
- Methodius, II, 82, 191. — Pseudo —, *Revelations*, II, 193.
- Meyer, P., II, 155.
- Miaus, 373.
- Mich(a)el, Michiel, Michies, Mikiex, li sains angles, 93, 162 ; II, 29, 194, 202, 206, 221.
- Michael Paleologus, emperor, II, 95, 100, 101.
- Michel Scot, verses attributed to, II, 3, 12f. (quoted), 153f., 350.
- Michele I, emperor of Constantinople, II, 76.
- Michiel, Domenico, doge, II, 80, 85f., 143.
- Michiel, Jacopo, II, 226.
- Milan, see Melan.
- Milioli, Alberto, II, 153.
- Militia Sancte Marie*, II, 180.
- Militia Jesu Christi*, II, 180.
- Minglez, poisson, 204f. See Idugles.
- Miracles (merveilles), 144, 196, 220, 252f., 292, 458, 478, 488 ; II, 73 ; d'un apostoille, 114, 213 ; II, 176 ; du ciel, 123, 158, 183, 454, 465 ; de Dieu (Jhesu Crist), 59, 66, 93, 130, 190, 200, 216, 222, 251, 258f., 323f., 327, 337, 409, 464, 468, 472, 473, 495 ; des menistres du Dragon, 94, 246f., 248, 249 ; II, 214f., 314 ; de Nostre Dame, 337, 472 ; de Samuel de Felonie, 200. See Antichrist ; Dragon de Babilloinne.
- Mire, le mauvais gaing d'un, 7, 268f. ; II, 230.
- Mistere, Mechiere, Michene, Mischiere, Nochiere, Nuch(i)ere, 290, 327f. ; II, 81.
- Modena, II, 6f., 9. See Mouthen.
- Modoëtia, II, 75.
- Modolani, 102.
- Moissac, Saint-Pierre de, II, 204, 213.
- Molfetta, II, 69, 71.
- Monacis, Lorenzo de, quoted, II, 42, 50, 81, 99, 107f., 145.
- Monastic orders, abuses of, II, 25ff., 179-183 ; new, of Joachim of Flora, II, 184ff., 188f. ; mediaeval fiction in, II, 228.
- Monciaus de la mer, les, 306, 310f. ; II, 36, 39, 41 (de tere), 42.
- Mondeville, Henri de, *La Chirurgie*, 51.
- Monemvasia, II, 98, 100, 101.
- Monferrato, house of, II, 338.
- Mongibel, Moncibel, Mons Gibel, Mont Gybel, 144f.

- Monk of St. Gall, quoted, II, 20.
 Monlaon, II, 151.
 Monlion, II, 150ff.
 Mons Leonis, II, 152.
 Monselice, II, 110f., 113f.
 Mont, de l'Angres (des Anglez), du saint Ang(r)e, 304; dou Lyon, 111; II, 151; Saint-Helye(s), - Helyan, 315; II, 101, 102.
 Montagnana, II, 141.
 Montagnone, II, 111f.
 Montaigne, en la grant mer, 215f.; qui debatoit, 7, 11, 28, 184, 185, 195, 198, 208, 213, 218f., 233, 311, 332; II, 284, 296, 300. — (*pl.*), qui ont pertuis, 215.
 Montaperti, battle of, II, 16, 17, 18.
 Montclars, Montecler, 335f.; II, 125, 127.
 Monte Conero, II, 53.
 Monte de' Conigli di S. Lorenzo, II, 52.
 Monte Cristo, island, II, 10.
 Monte Gargano (Monte Sant' Angelo), II, 28f., 30.
 Monte dell' Oro, II, 44, 52.
 Montecchi, the, II, 107f.
 Montechiari, II, 127.
 Montefeltro, II, 8, 170.
 Montefiascone, II, 15.
 Monteleone, II, 152.
 Montepertuso, II, 18.
 Montepulciano, II, 16.
 Monticello, II, 164.
 Monza, II, 73, 172. *See* Mothe.
 Morans, Moraz, li rois d'Abiron, 190f.
 Mordrains, Mordram, le roi, 206, 461; II, 31ff. *See* Evalac.
 Mordret, 179 (*i.* serpent), 389, 397f.
 Moree, Monree, la, 315; II, 93, 98, 100f.
 Morg(a)(e)in, Morgane, Morguain, Morg(u)e, la fee, 146, 205, 278, 388f., 392, 396, 402, 415ff., 446, 447, 482; II, 250, 275; bespells Segurant, 439ff.; II, 282; burning castle of, 196, 483; compared with the Dame du Lac, 122; her designs upon Alisandre l'orphelin, 405, 413f., 415f.; II, 270; against Arthur and Guinevere, 180f., 434f.; II, 293; against Lancelot, 223, 410, 419, 434f.; II, 248, 250, 292, 293; her friendship with Breus, 141, 373, 389, 392, 402, 446; II, 275; with Claudas, 226, 373, 435; relations with the Dame du Lac, 166, 169, 171, 184f., 192 (la male fame d'Aurences), 197, 372f., 392, 448, 483; II, 250, 292, 319; with Merlin, 166, 175f., 177, 226.
 Morguenete, 392.
 Morho(l)(u)t, d'Yrlande, 374, 419, 443; II, 289, 294.
 Morigia, Bonincontro, quoted, II, 73.
 Morosini, Alberto, II, 63.
 Morosini, Andrea, quoted, II, 64, 83f.
Mort Artus, II, 242, 255.
 Mortaria, II, 104.
 Moscardinus de Pedemonte, II, 134.
 Mothe, Meithe, 219; II, 72, 73. *See* Monza.
 Mounlion, Monloon, mon Lion, Mont dou Lyon,, 111; II, 150ff.
 Mt. Hagios Elias, II, 101, 102.
 Mt. Killaraus, II, 335.
 Mt. of Olives, II, 82, 194, 195.
 Mt. Soracte, II, 76f., 80.
 Mous, Pons, 244f.
 Mouthen, Medene, Mo(n)chen, Montel, Mont(h)en, Mothena, 44, 142; II, 5. *See* Modena.
 Moys, l'aventure de, 461.
 Moyses, Moise, la loy de, 106, 477.
 Muese, 188.
 Nabon le noir, II, 255, 256.
 Naenberg, Vacuberg, Vaemberc, Vaenberg, Vahebert, Vahenberg, 150f.
 Nantes, *see* Vantes.
 Naples, II, 19, 78, 101, 213, 339; King of, II, 213.
 Narentine pirates, II, 78.
 Nascien, II, 32f.
 Nauplia, II, 98, 101, 102.
 Navagiero, Andrea, II, 77ff.
 Navarre, tireor de cordes de, 69; II, 161, 164.

- Naymars, 490f. ; II, 320f.
 Nebuchadnezzar, dream of, II, 20.
 Negroponte, II, 98 ; forms of name, II, 102f.
 Nehaut, Nohaut, la dame de, 107 ; II, 242.
 Nepotism, II, 157.
 Neptanabu, 124.
 Nerbon(n)e, Narbonne, Nerboune, 128f., 133.
 Nero, emperor, II, 115, 116, 119, 125, 214.
 Nestor de Gannes, 433.
 Niccolò, *see* Cola Pesce.
 Nœ, II, 11. *See* also Vi(c)tre.
 Nicholas the Apostate, II, 207.
 Nicolaitans, the, II, 207.
 Nicolotti, the, 58.
 Niles, 140.
 Nimrod, II, 68.
 Ninfa, II, 162f.
 Niniane, 26 ; II, 297, 298, 302.
 Nitre, *see* Victre.
 Nocera, II, 81f. *See* Mistere.
 Nochierez, 290 ; II, 81. *See* Mistere.
 Noe(l), Noue, 463f. ; lignage de, 210.
 Noel, Nouel, le jour de, 458, 462.
 Nomper du monde, li, 151 ; II, 283.
 Nonnain, une, de Finipopel, 151 ; de Galles, 159.
 Norgal(l)es, 115, 388f., 402, 415 ; II, 283 ; count of, II, 343 ; la reine de, 278, 307, 392, 402, 415ff. ; le roi de, 376, 385 ; II, 256, 257, 273.
 Norho(n)(m)berlande, Noberlande, Nohonbellande, Norhonbeellande, Nor(hon)bellande, Norhonblande, Northobellande, Hornbelande, Hornonberlande, 198, 226, 287, 291, 486, 493 ; II, 306, 337, 343 ; abbé of, II, 327 (*see* Beneoit, saint, abbe de la reigion de) ; le roi de, 8, 287ff., 301f., 473. *See* Evesque ; Juge.
 Norhout, tourney of, 444, 446f.
 Normans, the, II, 70.
 Normant, Almeris, 457.
 Norm(e)(a)ndie, 146, 257, 474.
 Notitia Seculi, quoted, II, 349.
 Novara, II, 164.
 Novellino (*Cento novelle antiche*), II, 129, 219, 231, 344f.
 Nuceria, 327 ; II, 81. *See* Mistere.
 Nuchere, Nuchiere, 327 ; II, 81. *See* Mistere.
 Numana, II, 53.
 Obizzo II, d'Este, II, 142.
 Octavian, cardinal of Sta. Cecilia (Pope Victor IV), II, 162ff.
 Odo, bishop of Tusculum, II, 188.
 Oferlerne, *see* Filerne.
 Oisel (*sing.*), Foragus, 204. — (*pl.*), d'une mer de Bernie, 253.
 On, *see* Ou.
 Onara, II, 119.
 Oracula Sibyllina, II, 8.
 Or(a)e(n)ge, 133.
 Orban(c)(t)e, 46, 70f. ; II, 48, 51ff., 328 ; the crown of, 71, 75ff. ; II, 328f., 330, 344 ; crowns of emperor and kings of, 70 ; II, 48.
 Orberice, 409.
 Orcanie, Orchanie, Orcoine, Ortanie, 293, 406 ; l'abbe d', 226, 309f., 486 ; II, 306, 326 ; le serpent d', 179.
 Ord(e)ris, Hendri(s), Hoderiz, Hondri(s), Horderis, 97f.
 Oresme, Nicolas, II, 215.
 Orian, la mer, *see* Ariens.
 Orient, the, importance in the *Prophecies*, II, 146.
 Orphine, 41.
 Osteriche, Ostorich, Ostorie, *see* Estorich.
 Ostia, II, 78.
 Othinars, l'abbe, 267.
 Otranz, la mer, 137.
 Ottone, Duca di Borgogna, II, 89.
 Ou, On, 117.
 Ovid, prophecy of, II, 116.
 Oxford, first school at, II, 303.
 P., aupres de R., 473 ; una cita in Lombardia, 128 ; les gens de, 149 ; une mellee entre — et G., 143 ; II, 10f. ; la vengeance de, 128 ; II, 63.
 Pacifico, Fra, II, 21, 223f.
 Padova, 130, 147. *See* Padua ; Pataine.

- Padua, 147 (Padue); II, 38, 46, 105, 109, 110ff., 114, 115f., 117f., 119, 120-125, 126, 128ff., 140, 143, 156, 321; called Patanie, II, 113, 130; Donzella di tre visi, II, 132; king of, II, 130; popular etymology of the name, II, 132; Trojan origin of, II, 37, 132. *See* Padova, Pataine.
- Paduans, called Antenori, II, 37, 38, 69; their claims to river rights, II, 61; imprisoned in Verona, II, 123f.; their ingratitude to Venice, II, 121f., 142; relations with Alberico da Romano, II, 133, 135.
- Paenie, paiemine, paienime, poenie, poienime, 67, 76, 146, 174, 221, 226, 257; II, 72, 85, 86; le roi de, 147; II, 112, 113f., 156; variant for Patanie, II, 113, 124, 130.
- Paiens, poiens, li, 63, 68, 128f., 132, 133, 155, 158, 160, 210, 220f., 258f., 290, 464, 470, 471f., 484, 488; II, 72, 130, 174 (pagani). *See* Combat.
- Paintings, chivalric, on walls, 427, 434f.; II, 293.
- Palag(r)e, 163, 164; II, 278.
- Palamedes, II, 246, 248, 255f., 333; its relation to the *Prophécies*, II, 263, 265, 270f., 274ff., 285ff., 295, 333, 347. *See* Guiron le courtois; *Meliadus*.
- Palamedes le mesconnu, le filz Esclabor, 227; defeated by Lancelot, II, 255, 271; his dread of Lancelot, 377; II, 266, 271, 274; sent *en prison* to Galeholt, II, 255; his love for Ysent, 377, 383, 384; II, 255, 266 (la roine), 275; pursues the Beste Glatissant, 377, 435, 442; II, 257, 258, 260, 261, 265; and a maiden of Sorelois, 376f., 378, 379, 382, 385, 394; II, 257, 258, 260f., 262, 263, 264, 265f., 268, 271, 274; defeats Gozais, 377; at Sorelois, 41, 376, 377ff., 380, 382ff.; II, 251, 254, 256, 258f., 260ff., 270f., 272ff.; jousts with 265ff., 272f.; kills the brother of Gozais, 378; jousts with Lamorat, 379, 383; II, 272, 274; his interview with Saphar at Sorelois, 380; baptism *merged* upon, 380, 384; II, 262; defeats Corsabrin, 383f.; II, 263; his war with Karados, 380, 394, 400; II, 262ff., 265, 270, 275; wounded by Karados, 400, 404; meets Ali-sandre l'orfelin, 404; is unhorsed by Segurant, II, 289, 291; his exploits in Cornwall, 435; II, 293; meets Dinadan, 435; at Vincestre, 435, 436; madness of, 437; quest for, 442; brought to court by Lancelot, 442; his combat with Guerees, 442; defends an abused lady, 443, 445; various episodes concerning, in *A*, II, 294.
- Paleologus, *see* Andronicus —; Michael —.
- Palermo, folk-tale of, II, 213.
- Pallavicino, Oberto, II, 127.
- Pallefroi, mauves, 92; II, 202.
- Pandragon, Pendragon, uncle of Arthur, 262ff., 397; II, 302f., 337, 340; cimetiere de, 7, 13, 261f.
- Panfile, Pa(m)(n)phile, Panfile, Pauphile, Penfile, 251f.
- Pannonia, gulf of, II, 48.
- Panonie, Pai(n)one, Palone, Panom(i)e, Panonnie, Pavenie, Pavonie, Pavoine, 70, 173f.
- Paolo da Perugia, II, 67f.
- Pape, le, 475ff., 494, 495; II, 177, 311. *See* Apostoille; Gouverneur; Pope.
- Paradis, 74, 86, 106, 122, 194, 213, 235, 259, 266f., 284f., 304, 305, 325, 441, 450, 452, 472; II, 230, 235. — ou furent mis Adam et Eve, 216; l'arbre de, 202, 248.
- Paris, 39, 45, 62, 496; II, 187, 209, 318; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, manuscript of, 28; Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscripts of, 9, 22, 25 (*see* Manuscripts); Treaty of, II, 27.
- Paris, G., II, 76, 233, 239, 344.
- Paris, M., II, 14 (quoted), 81.
- Paris, P., II, 241, 346.

- Parisio da Cereta, II, 109 (quoted), 123.
 Parma, II, 180.
 Particiaco, Angelo, doge, II, 43, 57.
 Partie, une mauvese, 102; II, 168ff.; en ceste — dit li contes, II, 284. — (*pl.*), .ii. — commeneies en Alemaigne, 102; II, 168ff.
 Partition of the Eastern Empire, II, 96.
 Pascal III, antipope, II, 164.
Passio S. Thomae Apostoli, II, 219f.
 Pataine, Pames, Parcalie, Partanie, Patanie, Patavie, Pavie, Potanie, Tapavie, 67, 130, 133; II, 113, 115, 122f., 129f.; li poien de, 133; II, 130; li rois de, 133; II, 113, 129f.; its variant, paienie, II, 113, 124, 130.
 Patarini, II, 172, 208.
 Pau, le, 72; II, 137.
 Paulice, Paulicius, *see* Anafesto, Paolo Lucio.
 Paulus, bishop of Altino, II, 39.
 Pauphilet, A., II, 228.
 Pavie (Pavia), 128f., 146, 221, 494; II, 7, 171.
 Pavie, *see* Pataine.
 Pavilion, fairy, II, 280.
 Pelagonia, battle of, II, 100, 101.
 Pelerins, dela la mer, 146, 187, 309; II, 93, 97; li fuis as, 309; II, 93, 97, 100.
 Pelles, King, 434. *See* Roi Pescheor.
 Pel(l)inor, le roi de Littenois, 229, 237, 270, 287, 379, 443; II, 323, 326.
 Penitance, 86, 203, 229, 293, 304, 305, 307, 315, 318, 484; II, 229, 237.
 Pentapolis, II, 40.
 Pepin, li fuis de, 290; II, 81. *See* Charlemagne.
 Perce, Perse, la fame au roi de, 191; un homme debonnaire de, 187; le roi de, 191, 294; le serpent de, 292ff.
Perceval, Didot and Modena versions, II, 325.
 Perceval, Parceval, Percevaus, Percheval, le Galois, 21, 116, 237, 239, 245, 380, 381, 382, 387f., 390; II, 32, 33, 205f.; fuis du roi Pellinor, 229, 237, 270, 287; II, 326; his virginity, 237; II, 278, 323, 324; his quest for the Graal, 237; II, 323, 325, 326; will go to the Holy Land, 237; II, 278, 323; intercourse with the Sage Clerc, 23, 228f., 231f., 236ff., 311, 313; II, 277, 316ff., 323, 324; his quest for Merlin, 23, 238, 265; II, 285, 323; protected by Merlin, II, 325f.; as the rescuer of Merlin, II, 326; finds a prophecy of Merlin, 7, 13, 260f., 387; at the hermitage of Helias, 11, 13, 20, 23, 265f., 268, 270ff., 278f., 286f., 291, 294, 380; II, 277, 323f.; and the *Livre de Merlin*, 14, 266, 268, 271, 278, 286f., 294, 303; II, 324; sends the Duc d'Anchie to the Sage Clerc, 294, 295; II, 318; receives the book of Blaise, II, 325; his release of Tristan, 313, 417; II, 276f., 289; in the *Didot-Perceval*, II, 325f.; his part in the *Prophecies*, 13f.; II, 276, 323ff.; Meliadus substituted for, 27, 265; the sister of, 237; II, 278, 323.
 Percor(a)(e)ntin, 401, 406.
Perlesvaux, II, 30.
 Perneham, II, 269.
 Perone, Perose, Prosse, 327; II, 13, 330. *See* Perugia.
 Perron de l'epee, de Galahad, 206; II, 31f.; d'Artu, 462.
 Perugia, II, 14, 162.
 Peter the Hermit, II, 206.
 Peter Lombard, II, 186.
 Petroine, maistre, II, 303f., 316.
 Petrus Comestor, quoted, II, 220f.
 Petrus de Fulconibus, II, 177.
 Phaeton, son of Sol, II, 67f.
 Pharaon, 327; II, 115, 116, 119.
 Phelepe, Filipes, Phelippes, li rois de Finpople, 152.
 Phelepe de Macedone, 247; II, 279.
 Phelippe, a knight, 383.
 Phellis, Fel(l)is, Felix, de Meleum, 95-110; II, 167, 171; prophecy to, 102, 105f.; II, 171ff.

- Philip II, Augustus, II, 26, 87, 89.
 Philippe de Novare, II, 164.
 Physician, extortionate, *see* Mire.
 Piacenza, II, 176, 178.
 Pierini, Paolo, 46, 47.
 Piero della Vigna, quoted, II, 182.
 Pierre (*sing.*), de Marinor, 130 ;
 II, 155f. ; imprisoning a devil,
 228, 231ff., 238, 239, 309 ;
 II, 316, 317, 319f., 321, 324 ;
 imprisoning a serpent, II, 30,
 319 ; inscribed by the Dame
 du Lac, 381. — Reonde (Flying
 Stone), 7, 23, 24, 228f., 232ff.,
 238, 239, 291 ; II, 254, 316ff.,
 323, 324. — (*pl.*), getees par une
 mer, 488 ; inscribed with pro-
 phecies of Merlin, *see* Merlin ;
 merveilleuses, 41, 166, 180,
 186, 322f., 483 ; II, 318, 319,
 320 ; precieuses, 71, 75ff.,
 241, 246f., 248f., 250 ; II,
 155, 213, 214, 278, 280, 328, 330,
 344f. ; —, de l'Isle as Griffons,
 143f., 199, 247f., 435, 436 ;
 II, 279f., 282, 283. *See* Dra-
 gon de Babilloinne ; Frederic II,
 emperor.
 Pierre le courtois, 457.
 Pier(r)e, Pere, Pieron, saint, 200,
 235, 304, 305, 460, 474 ; le
 chief de, 327 ; II, 13, 15 (reli-
 quie Beati Petri) ; la cort de,
 285 ; II, 160 ; l'ordre de, 492 ;
 la porte de, 283, 475 ; II, 165 ;
 le siege de, 283 ; II, 165, 187 ;
 " Tu es pierre, " 475. *See*
 Romme.
 Pierre des Vaux-Sarnay, quo-
 ted, II, 25f.
 Pietro da Eboli, quoted, II, 88.
 Pii, 149.
 Pineto (Piave), II, 54ff., 58.
 Pisa, II, 10f., 17, 19, 34, 63ff.,
 70, 143.
 Pisans, II, 10f., 34, 62, 67, 70, 78,
 80, 84, 89.
 Pitee, *see* Putersu.
 Pitoe, Peitau, Piroe, Pistoire,
 Pitee, Pytoe, 149, 245.
 Placide et Timeo, II, 301, 319.
 Planche, conte de la, 380.
 Plesance, Plais(a)ence, Plai-
 xance, Pleisance, 128.
 Pluie, une, 119, 205, 220, 252 ;
 II, 72f. ; le monde sans, 252.
 Po, the, II, 137, 145. *See* Pau.
 Poggibonsi, II, 18, 24.
 Poisson, le soleil en, 186.
 Poissons (*sing.*), un — anemi,
 249f. ; II, 213 ; de l'apostolle,
 148f., 151, 476, 477, 479,
 480 ; II, 131f., 160 ; Mingles,
 204f. ; II, 44 ; treasure found
 in, II, 213 ; marvellous, 186,
 222, 253, 298f. — (*pl.*), le
 peuple en guise de, II, 236.
 Pol, saint, 200, 235, 304, 305 ;
 le chief de, 327 ; II, 13, 15
 (relique Beati Pauli). *See* Isle
 de — et de saint Cir.
 Polidori, F. L., II, 150.
 Pomenglois, Pamenglois, la
 damoisele de, enchantments of,
 374f., 438, 446, 448 ; II, 280,
 282, 283, 285, 291f. ; hermit of,
 396.
 Pommecainne, 379.
 Pon(s), *see* Mons.
 Pope, " angelic, " II, 148, 176f. ;
 simoniacal, II, 187 ; swords
 of the —, II, 182. *See* Apos-
 toille ; Gouverneur ; Pape.
 Port Estroit, 142.
 Port Trouvez, 426.
 Porte, de l'apostolle, 106 ; II,
 175 ; de fer (et de passe fer),
 68, 333, 449, 451, 460 ; II,
 161, 165f. ; du gouverneur,
 212, 449, 451 ; II, 160, 314 ;
 de Saint Pierre, 283, 285 ; II,
 165f.
 Portuguese rivalry with Vene-
 tians, II, 147.
 Poulaine, Polonie, quatre pucelles
 de, 337 ; II, 212.
 Prelatz, 449, 481.
 Prester John, II, 344f.
 Profetie di Merlino, 49. *See*
 Prophecies de Merlin, Italian
 manuscripts, Pal. 949.
 Proieres, de vrai cuer, 305, 335,
 464 ; II, 229.
 Prophecies, various, 237, 253 ;
 II, 12f., 19, 23, 82, 88, 93,
 116, 127, 147ff., 153f., 161,
 164f., 176, 177, 184f., 223,
 231, 234.
 Prophecies de Merlin, French
 prose romance. — French
 manuscripts and editions, 1ff.,
 39f., 50f. — Archetypes, X,

18, 22, 29, 37, 55; II, 4, 6, 10, 86, 101, 177, 191, 254, 258, 259, 272, 277, 283-292, 294f., 296, 311, 314, 320, 322, 328, 348, 349; Y, 17f., 21f., 29; II, 101, 254, 258, 259, 277, 282f., 290, 296, 311, 312, 320, 322, 348, 349; Z, 18, 21f., 27, 29; II, 296, 311, 312. — Group I, 3-19, 21f., 27, 28f., 37, 51; II, 240, 254, 276ff., 282ff., 292, 294, 295, 348; summaries of episodes in, 371-422; Group II, 17, 19-27, 28f., 37; II, 295f., 348; prefatory paragraph of, 25f.; II, 24, 328; Group III, 28f.; Groups I, II, III, illustrative passage from, 29ff.; Group IV, 35ff. — A, 28f., 37, 55; II, 102, 113, 240, 248, 283ff., 288-296, 348; summaries of episodes in, 423-448; passages from, 33f., 77, 83, 136, 164f., 176f., 226f., 423ff., 441. — Add., 10ff., 22, 29, 54f., 340-370. — B, 17, 19ff., 27, 29, 31f., 55; II, 295f. — C, 28, 37ff., 41, 48, 55; II, 4, 147, 166, 304, 306ff., 309, 313, 314, 329ff., 334, 336f., 343f.; passages from, 426f.; II, 306, 329f. — E, 9, 10ff., 16, 19, 50f., 371-422; II, 101, 265, 276f., 279, 319f., 349. — H, 11, 15, 16, 18f., 371f., 373-383, 388f., 394, 422; II, 166, 328. — M, 35ff., 41, 43ff., 55; II, 6, 12, 29, 81, 152, 328. — R, 11f., 20ff., 41, 42, 47, 49, 50ff.; II, 101, 148f., 240, 283, 284, 319f., 328, 348, 349; contents, 6ff.; date, 4f.; description, 3ff.; morphology, 51f.; prefatory paragraph, 6, 10, 17f., 20; II, 24, 328; text, 57-339. — Reg., 17, 24f., 55; II, 81, 231, 283, 328. — T, 19. — 98, 17, 25ff., 32f., 55; II, 283. — 850, 9ff., 22, 29, 54f., 340-368; II, 240, 260, 265ff., 269f., 273. — 1498, 2, 37, 39ff., 48, 52f., 55; II, 12, 86, 147, 148f., 159, 191f., 304, 306ff., 309, 313f., 319, 320ff., 328; passages from, 44, 449-496; II, 29f., 281.

— 15211, 17, 22f., 55; II, 283.

Italian manuscripts and editions, 2, 41, 46ff., 55; II, 12, 151f., 191. — P, 48f., 52; II, 34, 149, 174, 304, 306, 308ff., 312f., 314, 321f., 337ff., 348. — Pal. 949, 49f., 52; II, 4, 248, 310f., 314; passages from, 451; II, 310. — S, 46f.; II, 149, 189. — V, 18, 47f., 49f., 52; II, 62, 63, 66, 115, 136, 148f., 159, 304, 306, 308ff., 312f., 314, 321f., 337ff., 348; passages from, 84f., 128, 190, 281, 320, 338; II, 44, 94, 117, 131, 170, 174, 338f., 340f.

Livres de Blaise, 47; II, 337ff., 348; *Helias*, 7f., 9, 46, 48 (Elia); II, 190, 230ff., 321, 323f., 339, 342; *Meliadus*, 7, 8, 9, 48; *Merlin*, 8, 9; II, 314; *Rubert*, 41, 44, 46; II, 349; *Tholomer*, 47, 49; II, 308, 310-314, 322, 330, 332, 334f., 336, 349.

Animal symbolism in, II, 7; Arthurian narratives in, I, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21, 28, 371-448; II, 1, 227f., 240-300, 347, 348; authorship of, 16; II, 4, 156, 192, 222ff., 328ff., 334ff., 343, 346, 348, 350; characteristic predictions from, II, 5-33; characteristics of, II, 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 23f., 27, 31, 33, 82; comments on, 1f.; II, 161; composition of, II, 275ff., 278f., 294f., 296, 298ff., 301, 322f., 327, 346ff.; connection with Frederick II, 17, 20; II, 4f., 9f., 15, 24, 315, 328ff., 344, 350; date of, II, 4, 9f., 13, 24, 33, 156, 178, 235, 334f., 346, 348; dates in, 3, 55; II, 12, 33 (see Dates); its dialogue form, 2f.; II, 301; didactic elements, II, 228ff.; Guelph partisanship, II, 13, 14, 15, 28, 33, 161, 171, 173, 183, 334, 344.

Influence upon, of the Anti-christ tradition, II, 192, 197-222, 346; current didactic literature, II, 229, 350; the Franciscans, II, 223ff., 346f.;

- Joachism, II, 183f., 188ff., 223f., 226, 334, 348; Latin metrical prophecies, II, 153f., 178, 350; Venetian history and tradition, *see* Venetian.
- Italian character of, 5; II, 153f., 350; methods of its author, II, 31, 33, 206, 218, 248, 275, 346; its original form, II, 319ff., 348f. (see above, X); original language, II, 148ff.; orthodoxy, II, 190, 226, 229, 233 (see Merlin, his orthodoxy); popularity in Venice, 315 (les Troiens l'aimeront), 467; II, 41, 147; prophetic form, II, 153ff., 223, 225f., 347; purpose, II, 153, 183, 223, 226, 332f., 339f., 344, 346; quoted by Thomas the Tuscan, II, 7.
- Relation of, to *Aventures del saint Graal*, II, 32f., 244, 278, 323; Da Canale, *Chronique*, II, 149ff.; *Conte del Brail*, II, 298ff.; *Demanda del Sancto Grial*, II, 300; *Didot-Perceval*, II, 325, 326f.; historical chronicles, II, 4, 35, 225f., 350; *Estoire del saint Graal*, II, 33, 278; *Lancelot*, II, 240-260, 268, 271, 275, 278, 292ff., 298, 316, 347; *Merlin*, 10, 17f., 24, 25, 35, 37, 40, 47, 49; II, 240f., 347; *Novellino*, II, 219, 231, 345; *Palamedes*, II, 275, 285ff. (*Guiron le courtois*), 289, 290, 295, 347; *Sidrach*, II, 233ff., 331ff.; *Telesforo, De magnis tribulationibus*, II, 148f.; *Tristan*, II, 277f., 289f.
- Sibylline character of, II, 8, 9, 10, 33; translated from Latin, 57, 71, 75ff.; II, 148f., 328ff.; translated into Saracen, 77; II, 329.
- Prophecies (de) Merlin*, other works so-called, 1; II, 304, 325, 349.
- Prophecy, animal, II, 7f.; currency in Italy, II, 154, 347; mediaeval historical, II, 1ff.; *see* Sibylline.
- Prophetes, faus, 272, 308, 476; II, 194, 198, 216, 235.
- Prophetie de Merlino*, II, 147.
- Prouvoires, 7, 81f., 282ff., 317f.; II, 157f., 165.
- Provenzano Salvani, II, 16ff.; prediction of his death, II, 19, 88.
- Province, la grant, 80.
- Prudenza, goddess, II, 132.
- Ptolemy, II, 314f.; *Almagest*, II, 314, 333.
- Ptolomeo, *see* Tholomer.
- Pu, Pie, Pij, Pou, 117.
- Pueur, de Baudach, 153; d'un lac, 134, 157.
- Pugil*, II, 7, 9; — *ecclesiae*, II, 7, 8, 22. — *Fidei*, II, 8, 21.
- Puglia, *see* Apulie.
- Puille, *see* Apulie.
- Pullus, Richard, II, 303.
- Purgatory, *see* Expurgatoire.
- Putersu, 334; for the variants *see* l. c.
- Puy Perdu, 444.
- Quains, Quens, Quins, li princes des, 253f. For the variants *see* l. c. and Additions and Corrections.
- Quaking Mountain, *see* Montaigne qui debatoit.
- Qualabre, *see* Calabre.
- Quamalot, *see* Camaalot.
- Quarmelyde, *see* Carmelide.
- Queste del saint Graal*, II, 228.
- Quirino, Marco, II, 123.
- R., miracle en, 473.
- R., Ra, *see* Hera.
- Rabanus Maurus, II, 193.
- Racliane, II, 58; *see* Eracliane.
- Ragonne, *see* Arragonne.
- Raimond of Capua, II, 180.
- Raimond of Tripoli, Count, II, 91.
- Rainaldo d'Este, II, 133.
- Rajanne, *see* Eracliane.
- Rajna, P., II, 277, 287f.
- Ramberge, Rambarge, Rambarge, 41, 489ff.; II, 320.
- Ramusio, II, 70.
- Rancer (Ranciers) le Peterin, 421.
- Ranier de Miranceis, King, 375.
- Raphael, li angles, 305.
- Rat de Gormoret, 405.
- Ravane, Ravenne, 309; II, 40, 122, 146; Council of, II, 181.
- Raymon, clerc de Galles, 487; II, 316. *See* Sage Clerc.

- Reaume aventureus, 403 ; II, 243.
 Reaut, *see* Rivoalto.
Redonde d'oro, II, 146, 451 (*e d'argento*).
 Reggio, II, 158, 177.
Reine Sibile, La, episode from, II, 321.
Relaxati, the, II, 185, 224.
 Religieus (*sing.*), d'Escallonne, 65. — (*pl.*), nouviaux, 260.
 Religion (*sing.*), de saint Benoit, 266ff., 274 ; II, 184, 189 ; " l'escu de sainte eglise, " 107 ; II, 180 ; qui commencerà povrement, 106f. ; II, 179 ; de moines qui iroint preechant, 242 ; II, 209, 211f. — (*pl.*), au parfiner du monde, 110 ; II, 187 ; .ii. grans, II, 236 ; en povre habit, 268 ; II, 189 ; nouveles, 260 ; II, 183, 185. *See* Monastic orders.
 Renan, E., II, 233, 239, 344.
 Rennes, Bibliothèque, manuscript, 3ff.
 Rhone valley, Saracen invasion of, II, 151.
 Rialt, Rialto, 466. *See* Rivoalto.
 Ribaut, herbergie en un ostel, 85f.
 Ricardus, cardinalis, II, 177.
 Riccardo, *camerarius* of Frederic II, II, 335f.
 Richard, Cœur de lion, II, 87, 89, 90ff.
 Richard, Earl of Gloucester, II, 338.
 Richard, Richars, roy de Jerusalem, 407ff.
 Richart, Richier(s), vallet a l'evesque Phellis, 108.
 Richart, Richars, d'Irlande, 11, 15, 20, 46 (Maestro Ricardo), 76ff. ; II, 4, 310, 313, 328ff., 334ff., 344ff., 350.
 Richart le petit, 457.
 Riches homs, 336.
 Richier de la Cite Fort, 393.
 Richier, count of Gales, 438.
 Richiers, Richers, le roi de Nonberlande, 289.
 Rings, *see* Anel.
 Rio Auriolo, II, 52.
 Ripafratra, II, 64.
 Ristoro d Arezzo, II, 227.
 Rivoalto, Rialt(o), 48, 466 ; II, 36, 37, 42, 43ff., 50, 54, 55, 56 (Reaut), 58, 145, 146, 217, 335.
 Robatta, II, 189.
 Robert de Borron, 189, 437 ; II, 167, 335.
 Robert of Calabria, king of Naples, II, 339.
 Robert, Comte, four sons of, 380, 394.
 Robert Curthose, II, 155.
 Robert le dentu, 457.
 Robert d'Irlande, 458.
 Robert of Normandy, II, 83.
 Robert of Oxford, II, 209.
 Robert de Sorbon, II, 209.
 Roche aus Sonnes, Saisnes, Senez, Sesnes, 371, 372, 386, 406, 427, 428, 444 ; II, 151, 250f., 293 ; la damoisele de la, 122.
 Roche Maur, Roche Major, Rochemadour, 216.
 Rodgaud, Duke of Friuli, II, 74.
 Roetes d'argent, 66, 68, 93, 118, 120, 121, 147, 148, 149, 212, 229, 243, 244, 262, 285, 321, 325, 495 ; II, 24, 118f., 120, 131, 136, 160, 161 ; d'or, 66, 75, 121, 151f., 279ff., 283, 285, 325, 407, 495 ; II, 118f., 120, 146, 160.
 Roger of Palermo, II, 331, 334.
 Rogiers, Riger, Roger, Rugiers, du Val Brun, le Brun, 292f., 445 ; II, 278.
 Roi des Cent Chevaliers, le, 376, 382, 384 ; II, 256, 257.
 Roi mehengie, II, 245.
 Roi Pescheo(u)r, son of, 396, 410 ; II, 246, 248. — Le Riche —, 422 ; *see* Pelles.
 Roine as grans douleurs, la, 263f. ; II, 242. *See* Helene.
 Roine qui mourra en grant destrece, la, 262ff. ; *see* Helysabel.
 Rolandino, II, 105, 115, 123, 135, 139 ; quoted, II, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112f., 114, 115, 116, 118, 123, 124, 126f., 128, 129, 132, 134, 138f., 140, 144.
 Romagna, II, 7, 129, 174.
 Romagnoli, 142.
 Romaine, Romanie, 470.
 Romania, II, 40, 96.
 Romano, da, family of, II, 107f.,

- 119, 132, 156. — Adelaita, II, 133. — Alberico, II, 51, 108, 113, 117, 119, 120, 122, 129, 133ff., 140, 141. — Ecelo, II, 119. *See* Ezzelino.
- Romanos, Remagnol, Romagnol(l)(s), Romagnos, 36 (Additions and Corrections), 44, 142; II, 5, 7.
- Romenie, 277.
- Romains, Roismans, Romain, Roumainz (*sing.*), 96. — (*pl.*), 68f., 154, 281, 495; II, 161, 163, 232.
- Rom(m)e, Roume, Regne, 102, 105, 154, 221, 226, 282, 283, 292, 304, 327, 328, 408, 421, 495; II, 12, 76, 81, 105, 106, 151, 165, 169, 171, 174, 178, 216, 288, 306; attacked by Saracens, 154; II, 70, 78, 161; by Frederic II, II, 15; Castel Sant'Angelo, II, 162; un chastei .xv. lieues de, 69; II, 161, 163f.; end of, II, 82, 161, 194; li essample de, 281; II, 232; fountain of the Nativity, II, 201; les guerres de, 68, 88; II, 161ff., 164; Lateran, II, 220; Latin prophecies concerning, II, 161, 164f.; origin of, II, 36f., 53, 68, 105; la partie de, 468; Saint-Pierre de, 59, 241, 475; II, 20f., 78, 161f., 166, 209f.; le siege de, 101; Vatican Library, manuscripts in, 24, 49. *See* Apostoille; Concile; Council; Empereur; Gouverneur; Mestre cite.
- Roncioni, R., II, 80.
- Rooms of dwelling, symbolism of, II, 220f.
- Roset, 155, 156.
- Rosie, 471.
- Rotta di Ficarolo, II, 137.
- Rousee, la, 211, 233.
- Royaume Sauvage, 429, 432; II, 287.
- Rubers le Chappellain, scribe of Merlin, 41, 44, 46, 487ff., 492ff.; II, 320ff., 349.
- Ruberz, Robers, cleric de Paris, 62; II, 206, 208f.
- Ruggieri di Loria, II, 339.
- Rusticiano da Pisa, II, 152, 286, 290f.
- Rustico of Torcello, II, 210.
- S., 495.
- Saba(n)dans, *see* Salbadans.
- Sab(b)a, Sabbe, Salbe, Sarbe, le roi de, 89ff.; II, 201ff., 205.
- Sacremens de sainte eglise, les, 203, 220, 462; II, 229.
- Sadaine, Sardaine, Sardaigne, l'ille de, 205; II, 315. *See* Sardinia.
- Sadoc, 376, 414f.; II, 276.
- Safeme, Saferne, 134.
- Sage Clerc de Gales, le, a scribe of Merlin, 7f., 27, 206, 207ff., 213, 217f., 228, 245, 300, 321, 331, 486; II, 315f.; called Raymon, 487; II, 316; his desire to speak to Merlin, 208, 211, 227ff.; II, 316f.; les songes du, 211f., 213f., 231; his adventure on the Pierre Reonde, 228f., 231-238, 239, 291; II, 254, 316ff., 323; with the coat of the Roi d'Inde, 238, 294f.; II, 317, 318; association with Perceval, 13, 23, 228f., 231f., 236ff., 302f., 311, 313; II, 323f.; with Meliadus, 23, 227, 231, 239, 245f., 253, 295, 302, 311, 313, 314, 317, 319, 331f., 338, 484; II, 316f.; with the Duc d'Ancie and the Roi de Bernie, 294f., 302, 314, 317f.; II, 318; appoints his successor, 487; II, 320; his death and burial, 486f.; II, 320; at the conclusion of R, II, 319f.; in 1498, 41; II, 320ff.; his part in the *Prophecies*, II, 316ff., 323f.; *Prophecies* delivered to and read by, 7, 8, 41.
- Sage dame (*sing.*), d'Abiron, 6, 125; de Millan, 494; d'Orange, 133; noire, 8, 331. — (*pl.*), filles d'Agoulans, 111.
- Sages clerks, as scribes, II, 303.
- Sagremor, Saigremor(e), Segremorz, le desree, 377, 389, 396; II, 253, 260, 264.
- Saint-Amour, Guillaume de, II, 188, 215f.
- Saint Esperit, le, 69, 89, 207, 211, 288, 329, 334, 452, 465, 474, 480.
- Saint Etienne, eglise de, 298.

- Saint Graal, Greal, 91, 227, 237, 249, 288, 311, 316, 323, 422, 434, 442, 461, 489; II, 31f., 201, 205, 244, 245, 280, 282, 290, 291, 325f.
- Sainte, cite, terre, *see* Jherusalem.
- Sairre, Saite, Sytre, *see* Gistee.
- Salati(e)x, Salatin, li soudans, 334, 484; (Saladin) II, 88, 89, 90ff.
- Salbadans, Saba(n)dans, Sabatiens, Sabedanz, les, 72.
- Salebiere(s), Saliberes, Salibier(e)(s), Celebiere, la cimetiere de, 126; II, 335; li tournoiemens de, 20f., 115ff., 299, 424, 426f., 454; II, 284, 285.
- Salemon, Salmon(t), Salomon, le sage, 64, 158, 227, 461; II, 47, 205; devils imprisoned by, 441; II, 319; la fame de, 237; II, 278; la nef de, 189, 248, 249; II, 278; pierre de sa couronne, 248, 249; II, 278; quoted, 170, 171, 284.
- Saleph, the, II, 87.
- Salimbene, II, 3, 9, 153, 158, 180f., 185, 186f., 213, 216, 224f.; quoted, II, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 26, 27, 28, 116, 144f., 160, 169, 175, 176, 177f., 187, 190f., 227.
- Salinguerra, II, 51, 107, 108, 133, 137ff., 143, 170.
- Salomon et Marcoul, II, 301.
- Salona, II, 102.
- Salonis, 335; II, 102.
- Salvani, the, II, 18. *See* Provenzano.
- Samarie, Samere, feus de, 325; les Juis de, 334.
- Sami(n)de, Seminde, 180f.
- Samuels de Felonie, 200; II, 145f., 206.
- San Bonifazio, Rizado, Conte di, II, 107f., 133, 140.
- San Francesco del Deserto, II, 226.
- San Zeno, castle of, II, 135.
- Sanesi, I., 1f., 46f.; II, 189, 207, 208, 209, 336.
- Sanpaigne, 122.
- Sanses de Soreloys, 376.
- Sanson, Senses, fortin (le fort), 64, 151, 186.
- Sansovino, F., quoted, II, 144.
- Sanudo, Marino, quoted, II, 38, 45, 57, 85, 89.
- Sanudo Torsello, Marino, quoted, II, 34, 51, 95, 100.
- Saon(n)e, Saune, Savoune, 316; II, 71.
- Saphar, 380, 382, 384f., 394, 400, 404; II, 253, 260ff., 275.
- Saraide, II, 242.
- Sardinia, II, 6, 64. *See* Sadaine.
- Sar(r)agoce, Sarragoz, 75, 94 (l'ille), 240; II, 328, 336.
- Sar(r)as, Arras, Sarrainz, 248, 249, 408f., 464; II, 278, 280, 282. *See* Galehad, li rois de; Joseph, l'evesque de.
- Sarrass, li rois des, 139.
- Sarraste, 72.
- Sarrazin (*sing.*), 80. — (*pl.*), 60, 129, 133, 159, 194, 201, 243, 290, 464, 473; II, 24, 66, 67, 70f., 75, 76, 78ff., 81f., 130, 151, 161, 172; king of, II, 210.
- Sassoyne, *see* Sesongnie.
- Satanie, *see* Chaterine.
- Sathanas, 477.
- Saufine, Serine, 334.
- Savariz of Carmelyde, 409f.
- Sava(s)t, uns homs de, 186.
- Savona, II, 71. *See* Saonne.
- Saxon, campaigns of Charlemagne, II, 73, 74; invasion of Britain, 378f., 386f., 389, 391, 393, 395, 396ff., 400f., 403, 405ff.; II, 250f., 252, 253, 254, 257, 259, 272, 275f., 293; naval battle with Baudemagus and Galehaut, 431; defeat at the Roche aus Saisnes, 386; II, 250f.
- Scardeone, quoted, II, 117f.
- Scotland, King of, 413. *See* Escoche.
- Sebile l'enchanteresse, 180f., 278, 307, 375, 388f., 392, 402, 415ff., 439, 440; II, 250.
- Seville, la mer de, 137.
- Seville, la royne, prophecies de 339; *La Reine Sibile*, II, 321.
- Secundus, dialogues of, II, 301.
- Securad, wife of, II, 294.
- Seguran(s)(t), Seguran, Seguraz, Sergurans, le Brun, filz Hector le Brun 177, 183, 198,

201, 419, 428, 433 ; grandson of Galeholt le Brun, 428 ; le Chevalier au Dragon, 381 ; II, 281, 290, 291 ; le roi d'Abiron, 126, 165, 172 (de Babilloinne et —), 206f., 222, 247 ; II, 279, 282.

His appetite, 391, 393, 401, 411, 419 ; II, 286 ; la chevalerie de, 144, 165, 199, 207 ; II, 279, 281 ; pierres precieuses de, 143f., 199, 247f., 435, 436 ; II, 279f., 282, 283 ; shield of, 432, 433, 434, 439 ; II, 281.

In the Isle Non Sachant, 428, 433 ; II, 281, 290 ; knighting of, 428 ; II, 281 ; combat with his father, 429 ; in Carmelide, 429f., 433 ; sets out for the Pas de la Doulereuse Tour, 429 ; at the Pas Bertelais, 429 ; II, 284, 285, 286 ; at the Passage du Trespas, II, 286f. ; aids Horderiz, 430 ; II, 290 ; combat with Galeholt le Brun, 429f., 431f. ; II, 286, 290 ; in the Roiaume Sauvage, 432 ; II, 288 ; his challenge to the knights of Arthur, 434 ; at the tourney of Vincestre, 437, 438ff., 447 ; II, 279f., 281f., 290, 291 ; enchantment of, 207, 439, 440, 441 ; II, 282, 287, 290 ; his pursuit of the dragon, 206, 253, 375, 390, 392f., 401f., 412, 419, 439, 441, 442, 446, 447 ; II, 279f., 281, 282, 286, 287 ; disenchantment of, 411, 442 ; II, 281, 282, 290, 291 ; quests for, 440, 442, 445f. ; II, 291 ; combat with a giant, 447 ; lodges with a widow, 21, 253 ; breaks the spell of Pomenglois, 374, 375, 448 ; II, 280, 282, 283, 285, 292 ; of Sebile, 375 ; his adventure at the Cite Fort, 390f., 392f. ; II, 280 ; at a hermitage, 401f. ; II, 286f. ; at the Tower of the Copper Marvel, 411f. ; II, 281, 292 ; counselled by the Dame du Lac, II, 282 ; tilts with various knights, II, 289, 291 (Segurades) ; his adventures with Golistan, 374f., 418f. ; II, 281,

289f., 291 ; crusade to the Holy Land, 428 ; II, 280, 282, 290, 291 ; his quest for Merlin's tomb, 122 (i. chevalier du lignage Galeholt le Brun), 165, 171f., 199 ; II, 279, 281, 296, 299, 300.

Adventures of, in *Palamedes* (*Guiron le courtois*), II, 285ff., 289f. ; in Rustician of Pisa, 290f. ; importance of, in the *Prophecies*, II, 279-285, 291, 294f.

Selden, *History of Tithes*, quoted, II, 181.

Seleucia, II, 87.

Senbue, *see* Asemble.

Sene, Saine, Sone, 222 ; II, 16ff. ; le roi de, 222 ; II, 16, 18, 19.

Senes, Seves, *see* Suses.

Sercambi, II, 209.

Serpent, le (*sing.*), antif, 292ff., 318 ; II, 192, 221 ; grant —, 228, 231, 294f. ; d'Orcanie, 179 ; desus une tor, 195 ; en une pierre, II, 30, 44, 319 ; que les Bons Mariniers occiront, 466. — (*pl.*), du siecle, 495.

Serpente, la, blanche, la Dame du Lac, 121, 169, 171, 482 ; blanche, mere d'un lion, 178 ; II, 244 ; de Bulongne, 470f. ; de Logres, 89, 178 ; II, 242, 243 (au chief d'or), 244.

Serpentis, le (*sing.*), d'Almaigne, 495. — (*pl.*), qui auront envie des Bons Mariniers, 466.

Sers, les, descendus de Cam, 463f. ; de Lombardie, 283.

Sesile, Ce(c)(d)ille, Secire, Sezille, 123, 285 ; un buisart de, 145 ; II, 86, 88. *See* Sicily.

Sesongnie, Sassoynne, Seso(i)(n)gne, Sesso(i)ngne, Soiso(i)ngne, 158, 386, 391, 400, 403 ; King of, 386, 391, 393, 395, 399, 406f.

Sex dena decem, II, 301f.

Sheba, Queen of, II, 205. *See* Saba.

Sibylline prophecy, II, 8, 10, 33, 154, 191. *See* Sebille, la roynne.

Sicily, II, 88, 331, 332, 339. *See* Sesile.

Sidrach, Le Livre de, II, 233ff., 301, 331ff., 336, 344 ; quoted, II, 233ff. ; prophecies in, II, 234.

- Siege perileus, 292f., 445 ; II, 32, 244, 245, 290.
 Siena, *see* Sene.
 Silla (Sulla), II, 119.
 Simon de Montfort, II, 154.
 Simony, II, 25, 157, 160, 164f., 167, 177, 191, 192, 340.
 Sinay, Mont de, 477.
 Sion, 148.
 Sipont, Sypon(t), 330 ; II, 27ff.
 Sir, *see* Cir, saint.
 Sodome, 464.
 Sol, king of Egypt, II, 67, 69.
 Sole, La, II, 103.
 Songes, 178ff., 211, 213f., 231, 233, 279.
 Sorbon, Robert de, II, 209.
 Sorelois, 405, 443f. ; II, 293, 294, 297 ; damsel of, 376ff., 379, 382, 385, 394 ; II, 253, 257, 258, 260f., 262, 263, 264, 265ff., 271, 274 ; maison de, 159, 436 ; II, 242 ; tournament of, 41f., 376ff., 379f., 382ff. ; II, 251-262, 264, 265ff., 270-276.
 Sorestan, queen of, II, 250.
 Spain, II, 219, 220 ; king of, II, 331 ; prophecies concerning, II, 300, 308. *See* Espaigne.
 Stefano, bishop of Praeneste, II, 188.
 Stella, G., II, 68f.
 Stephen, St., II, 145.
Storia di Merlino, 46. *See* *Prophecies de Merlin*, Italian manuscripts and editions, S.
 Stromencourt, de, family of, II, 103.
 Submerged lands, II, 48, 52ff., 349.
 Suevia, II, 88 ; Duke of, II, 87.
 Sulie, Sorie, Surie, 140. *See* Syria.
 Sunbleres, Reine de, 398.
 Sur, la mer devant, 145 ; II, 86, 87. *See* Tyre.
 Suses, Senes, Seves, les, 154f.
 Sybilla, wife of Guy of Lusignan, II, 91.
 Sydres, 290.
 Sylerne, *see* Fillerne.
 Symeon, aventure de, 461.
 Symon Magus, 304 ; II, 214.
 Synagogue, la, 325 ; II, 200.
 Synambaus, physician, 398.
 Synaublans, Sinebaux, Sinembals, Synnebaux, chevalier, 196.
 Syria, II, 87, 332. *See* Sulie.
 T., la grant paienie, 221 ; II, 85 ; la mer de, 472. *See* Tyre.
 Table reonde, la, 193, 299, 308, 415, 445f., 473, 487 ; II, 303, 325 ; les compaignons (chevaliers) de, 198, 235, 308, 371f., 380, 405f., 407, 420, 422 ; II, 253, 256, 272.
 Tagliacozzo, battle of, II, 19, 20, 22.
 Tagliamento, the, II, 145.
 Tarans, 183.
 Taras, 429.
 Tarsie, Tar(c)(s)e, Tercie, Tharcie, Thars(i)e, la roinne de, 91ff. ; II, 201, 205f. ; li rois de, 89ff. ; II, 201ff.
 Tarsins, Charsis, Estars, Tharsis, les, 72.
 Tarsus, II, 87ff.
 Taurus, 187.
 Taylor, R., 1.
 Tegaliano, Marcello, doge, II, 56.
 Tegernsee, II, 204.
 Telesforo da Cosenza, prophecies collected by, II, 148f., 333.
 Terior, Frio(u)r, Teriour, Traours, 283.
 Terquine, *see* Turquie.
 Terracina, II, 163.
 Terre (de) forainne, la, mestre cite de, 84.
 Tertullian, II, 202.
 Teutons, King of the, II, 204.
 Thafe, Jaffe, Japhe, 254. *See* Jaffe.
 Theodore, astrologer, II, 332.
 Theodosius I, emperor of Constantinople, II, 49.
 Tneophilus, emperor of Constantinople, II, 78.
 II Thessalonians, ii, 3-12, II, 193f., 195, 214f.
 Thessaly, II, 97.
 Thobie, 305 ; II, 229.
 Tholomer(s), Tholhomer, Tolomer, de Perose, II, 330 ; clerc de l'apostolle Clyment, 328, 441, 486 ; II, 305, 306f., 311, 330 ; scribe of Merlin, 44, 47, 49, 60, 185, 208, 226, 302, 309, 330, 486 ; II, 304-310, 311, 313, 314, 316, 337 ; made bishop of Galles, 453.

- 456, 486; II, 307, 311, 330; appoints canons, 457f.; II, 307; learns of the death of Uterpendragon, 462; his discord with Orderis, 97; in Galles, 449; II, 307, 308; in Ireland, 455ff., 468; II, 305, 307, 308; goes to Galles, 457; II, 307; with Merlin in a church, 467f.; sought by penitent women, 468; goes to London, 474; II, 307, 308; made cardinal (tireor de cordes), 6, 87f., 486; II, 305, 306f., 309f., 311; makes Antoine his successor as bishop and scribe, 87, 474; II, 307, 313; testifies to Merlin's power, 96, 104, 108; II, 305; visited by Merlin in Rome, 478f.; at a Papal Council, 477ff.; II, 311; his death, 185; II, 87, 305; his name, II, 314f.; prophecies delivered to, 38, 40, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 88, 302, 303, 330, 441, 449-455, 457-467, 468, 474; II, 164f., 306, 307, 329; history of, in the *Prophecies*, 304-310; *Livre de*, 47, 49; II, 147, 305, 308, 310-314, 320, 322, 327, 330, 332, 334f., 336, 349.
- Thomas, comte de Miaus, 373.
- Thomas, Thome, Thoumas, Thumaz, saint, as architect, II, 219; en Ynde, 191, 216; II, 206, 318; palais en Ynde fet par, 78, 238, 300; II, 219f., 317.
- Thomas the Tuscan (of Pavia), II, 7ff., 33, 223, 346; quoted, II, 7.
- Thoreseus, *see* Corenfeus.
- Tiamat, II, 192.
- Tiberias, battle of, II, 91.
- Tiblans(?), II, 330.
- Tiepolo, Jacopo, doge, II, 66, 120f., 140, 142, 173, 175.
- Tiepolo, Lorenzo, doge, II, 64, 65, 121.
- Tiepolo, Pietro, II, 173, 175.
- Tintaio(u)l, Tyntaol, 214, 417 (Tintagel), 446.
- Tirans des cordez, 449ff.; II, 314.
- Tirar diverse corde*, II, 159.
- Tireors de (des) cordes, 68, 87, 88, 116, 156, 212, 283, 285, 486; II, 66, 161, 163, 164, 175; visit Merlin, 95-110; II, 166ff., 183, 188, 190, 191, 305; meaning, II, 159f.
- Tirer, a une corde, 471; la cordelle, 466.
- Tithes, *see* Dismes.
- Todre of Antioch, II, 331, 332.
- Toledo, II, 220, 331.
- Tolomaida, *see* Acre.
- Tolomei, Cavolino de', II, 17f.
- Torcello, II, 39ff., 52, 230.
- Torelli (Taurelli), II, 137f.
- Tortona, II, 173.
- Toscane, Toscain, Tosquane, Touscane, Toustane, la, 85 (Toscana), 222, 277, 337, 469, 472; II, 16, 18, 20ff., 62, 174; la maitresse cite de, 469.
- Tosquan(s), Toscain, Toscan(s), Tostans, li, 127f., 200, 245, 337; II, 62f.
- Toulouse, II, 154, 243.
- Tour de la Cauchie, Chauce, 394, 400; II, 262f.
- Toussains, 112.
- Tower of the Copper Marvel, 410ff.; II, 246, 281, 292.
- Tradonico, Giovanni, II, 78.
- Tradonico, Pietro, doge, II, 77, 78f.
- Trahans, II, 242.
- Translations from Latin into French, 57, 236, 435, 444; II, 148f., 248, 254, 277, 293, 328ff.
- Traus, Ratrans, Treves, 253f.
- Traversus*, the, II, 77.
- Tresor, 71, 138f., 152, 199, 240f., 253f., 275f., 330, 396; II, 213; du Dragon de Babilloinne (Antichrist), 325, 337; II, 199, 200, 213f.; found in the sea, 71, 75, 246, 249; II, 146.
- Trespas, Chastel du, II, 286; Passage du, II, 286f.
- Treux, 462f. *See* Keus.
- Trèves, 19.
- Trevisan Mark (la Marche, la Marca), 243; II, 24, 27, 36, 104ff., 113, 117ff., 120, 121, 124f., 126, 129, 143, 156, 174, 350; prophecies concerning, II, 104-125, 129-136. *See* Marche Amoureuse, etc.

Treviso, II, 110, 120, 121f., 123, 131-136, 156.
 Trinite, la, 220, 243, 276, 321 ; II, 24, 72 ; le Pere et le Fil et le Saint Esperit, 100, 142, 266, 303, 480 ; II, 340f. ; doctrine of, II, 26, 94f., 185f.
 Tristan, Tristant, Tristram, Tristan(s), II, 15, 49, 190ff., 214, 217, 223, 226, 232, 245, 262f. (fius a la roinne qui mourra en destrece, tristrece), 278, 295, 313, 334, 376, 377, 404, 414f., 417, 419, 437, 443, 444, 446f. ; II, 246 (i. autre), 248, 255, 266, 276, 277f., 289, 291, 295, 298 ; l'histoire de, 435 ; II, 293 ; le livre de sa vie, II, 294.
Tristian, prose romance, II, 245, 277, 294, 325f., 330 ; its influence on the *Prophecies*, II, 277f., 292ff. ; various manuscripts of, II, 254, 255, 258, 259, 263, 268, 276, 289, 342.
 Troien(s), Troizans, Troy(a)(e)ns, li, 127, 204, 306, 311f., 465 ; II, 36ff., 39, 40f., 69.
 Troie(s), Troye, 95, 173, 309, 311, 312, 454, 468 ; II, 36f., 39, 41, 104.
 Trojan towns in Italy, II, 36f., 38, 49, 53, 68, 80, 106, 132.
 Trou, hermitage de, 495.
 Tulierno, II, 74.
 Tunis, emir of, II, 331.
 Turc, li, 318 ; II, 85, 87.
 Turin, 423 ; II, 172, 287ff.
 Turnus, II, 53.
 Turquie, Terquine, Torquene, Torquie, 134 ; une flambe en, 473.
 Turs, 221. *See* Tyre.
 Tyre, II, 65, 85f., 87f., 89. *See* Sur.
 Ubertino da Casale, quoted, II, 230.
 Ulban de Sorelois, 384, 385.
 Ulfal, 409.
 Ulm, II, 84.
 Ulrich, J., 48.
 Umana, II, 53.
 Urban II, pope, II, 80.
 Uriens, Huriens, li rois de Galles, 99, 372, 438, 474.

Usury, II, 231.
 Uter, II, 339, 340. *See* Uterpandragon, roy.
 Uterpandragon, Uterpan, Uter Pandragon, Uterpandragon, Utherpandragon, roy de Logres, 196, 217, 225, 261, 262, 263, 293, 298ff., 308, 330, 445, 453, 458, 462 ; II, 314, 319, 330, 335, 337, 340 ; cimetiere de, 263f., 398f., 462 ; II, 283.
 Uterpandragon, nephew of Arthur, 321.
 V., *li Boni Marinari di*, II, 174 (*see* Venice). — cil de, 149. — la doulereuse, 93f. ; II, 106 (*see* Verona).
 V. V. V., les gens de, 149 ; II, 132.
 Vacuberg, Vaemberc, and variants, *see* Naenberg, Faeuberg.
 Val Brun, *see* Brun, le.
 Val Sans Retour, 388 ; II, 242.
 Val de Servage, II, 255.
 Vallee de Josapha(s)(t), 235.
 Vallon, Valogn, 316.
 Valmas, Balinac, Bolinas, Valmac, 158.
 Vals de Sorelois, 382.
 Vantes, Arnantes, Nantes, forest de, 158.
Vendeta de la morte de miser Tristano, II, 277.
 Veneti, II, 34, 37.
 Venetia, II, 34, 50, 76 (Benetia), 77, 149, 350.
 Venetian, *consuetudo*, II, 46 ; influence in the *Prophecies*, II, 35f., 42, 50, 60, 62, 65, 66, 69, 80f., 84, 89, 101, 104, 125, 143ff., 149ff., 156, 157, 175, 210, 218, 223, 226, 230, 232, 312, 318, 335, 346, 351 ; justice, II, 46f., 50, 143, 146 ; podestà, II, 46, 63, 123 ; pro-verb, II, 38.
 Venetians, called Bons Mariniers, II, 34f. ; characteristics of, II, 34, 35f., 42f., 46f., 50, 54, 143ff. ; charge their enemies with pride, II, 61, 66 ; corrupted by evil examples, 466 ; II, 159 ; in the Crusades, II, 35, 76f., 78ff., 83f., 85f., 93f., 143, 149, 189, 311 ; discussion

- of prophecies concerning, II, 34-66, 72, 76-81, 83f., 85f., 93-102, 120ff., 123f., 314; early —, II, 34f., 39; in Merlinesque prophecies, II, 147, 148f. *See Boni Marinari*; Bons Mariniers; Troiens.
- Venice, la mestre ville des Vene-
ciens, II, 56; V., II, 174; her
acquisition of the body of
St. Mark, II, 210f.; connection
with the East, II, 146, 334;
famine in, II, 121f., 142, 216;
her maritime power, II, 35f.,
144, 147; origins and early
history, II, 36ff., 41, 43, 48, 51
(Vinegia); under Pietro Tra-
donico, II, 78; popularity
of prophecies of Merlin in,
47f.; II, 147; her quests for
relics, II, 80, 145; sojourn of
Alexander III in, II, 163, 217f.
- Her wars with Ancona, II,
59ff.; Ezzelino da Romano,
120ff., 123ff., 126, 133; Freder-
ic I, II, 217; Frederic II, II,
175; Genoa, II, 34, 63, 64ff., 69,
175; hostilities with the Greeks,
II, 59, 60; claims on Euboea, II,
98f.; occupation of the Morea,
II, 93-103; part in the parti-
tion of the Eastern Empire, II,
96; truce with Michael Paleo-
logus, II, 101; war with Guil-
laume de Villehardouin, II,
98ff.; feud with Padua, II,
61, 125; aids Padua against
Ezzelino, II, 115, 123, 125,
126; Paduan traitors ordered
to, II, 110; charges the
Paduans with ingratitude, II,
142; her rivalry with Pisa,
II, 34, 62; alliance with Pisa,
II, 64ff.; war with Salinguerra,
II, 133, 140, 142, 143; aid of
Treviso, II, 120ff., 133, 135.
- Biblioteca Marciana, manu-
script in, 35; commissioners
for the protection of strangers,
II, 232; *Consoli de' Mercanti*,
II, 146; doge of, II, 46ff., 55,
96f.; ducal head-covering, II,
47f.; Ducal Palace, II, 43f.;
Fondaco dei Tedeschi, II, 232;
Maestro dei Cavalieri, II, 57;
money-changers of, II, 232;
pugne dei ponti, II, 58; S.
Giorgio Maggiore, II, 85; S.
Marco, II, 43f., 46f., 147, 150f.,
209f., 217f., 318; S. Samuele,
II, 146; *Sposalizio del Mare*, II,
217f. *See Rivoalto*; Vinisse.
- Vens, aspres, 136f., 138, 153,
157f., 187, 244f.; II, 94. *See*
Winds.
- Vérart, Antoine, 39, 44ff., 496.
- Vercelans (Vercelli), II, 330, 336,
342f.
- Verona, eponym of Verona, II,
106.
- Verona, 49, 130 (Verone); II,
106ff., 124, 136, 140, 141, 155f.,
182. *See* Marmour.
- Versus Merlini*, II, 153f.
- Vertiger(s), Vertigier(s), 115, 206,
423f.; II, 31; tour de, 46, 195,
244; II, 319; wife of, II, 337.
- Vicenza, II, 107, 108, 110, 123,
134, 135, 136, 140, 156.
- Vico, Da, II, 65.
- Victor IV, antipope, II, 162, 217,
219.
- Vi(c)tre, Nice, Nitre, Virre, la
mer de, 153f., 300.
- Vie du mauvais Antechrist*, II,
205.
- Villa Gaudii, II, 104.
- Villains, les, 333, 386.
- Villani, Giovanni, quoted, II,
19, 20, 51, 64, 74, 75f., 169,
345.
- Villehardouin, de, Geoffroy, maré-
chal de Champagne, II, 98;
Geoffroi I, Prince of Achaia,
II, 98; Guillaume I, Prince of
Achaia, II, 98ff.
- Villgach, Vi(g)lac, Vilgloc, Viti-
glac, quens de, 254.
- Vincent de Beauvais, II, 214f.;
quoted, II, 199, 201.
- Vincestre (*see* Hui(s)cestre), Vin-
cestre, Vinciste, Wi(n)cestre,
28, 172, 180, 184, 197, 209,
223, 372, 373, 389, 390, 397;
cimetiere de, 262, 263, 264,
462; pierres d'Irlande a, 126,
261, 264; Saxon attack on,
131, 264, 378, 385, 387, 389,
391, 398f., 400, 403, 406; II,
272; le tornoiement de, 207,
247, 434, 435, 436, 437f.,
439f., 448; II, 279f., 281f.,

- 283, 284, 285, 290, 291, 293.
 Vinisse, Venisse, Venice, 288, 466 ; l'église Saint-Marc, 241.
See Venice.
 Virgile, Vergile, 133, 162 ; II, 37, 130, 299.
 Visconti, Tedaldo, II, 176. *See* Gregory X.
 Visigoths, II, 49.
Vita Karoli Magni, quoted, II, 74.
Vita Merlini, quoted, II, 301f.
Vita S. Heliodori, quoted, II, 49f.
Vitae Gregorii Papae X, quoted, II, 176.
 Viterbo, II, 15, 162, 208, 209.
See Dragon de Vitterbe.
 Vitex, la mer de, 80.
 Vitre, *see* Victre.
 Vitterbe, *see* Dragon de; Viterbo.
 Viviane, II, 297.
 Vlisiri, II, 102.
 Vuirisera, 335 ; II, 102.
 Wace, II, 31.
 Walther von Birbech, II, 206.
 Ward, H. L. D., 1 ; II, 5, 233, 239.
 Winds, four destructive, II, 51, 200 ; magic, 373. *See* Vens.
 Ybernie, *see* Bernie.
 Ypocrites, 224, 272ff., 476f. ; II, 278.
 Ypotis, II, 301.
 Yseut, Iseut, d'Yrlande, la blonde, 192 (une dame que Tristan amera), 214 (cele roine qui dorra la poison a Tristan), 232, 376, 377, 383, 384, 404, 415, 443, 444, 446f. ; II, 255, 266 (la roine), 275, 276, 294.
 Ysles Mescongneues, les, II, 287f.
 Ystria, II, 40.
 Yvain, 159, 397 ; II, 221, 271.
 Yvain li aoutres, 422.
 Zara, II, 66, 89, 93, 94.
 Zavarroni, *Bibliotheca Calabria*, quoted, II, 208.
 Zelanti, the, II, 185, 211, 223, 224.
 Zeno, Ranieri, doge, II, 48.
 Ziani, Sebastiano, doge, II, 217.
 Zorzi, Messer, 47.
 Zufredus, paduanus, II, 112f.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

In spite of the habitual care of the printer the typographical errors corrected below are chiefly due to the displacement of type after the final proof had passed out of my hands. Similar mistakes of minor importance are not included here.

PART ONE

Page viii, l. 22,	<i>for</i> Bibliotheca	<i>read</i> : Biblioteca
— xxxvi, l. 5,	— feu-qui	— feu qui
— — l. 9,	— mauvais	— mauvaise
— 6, ll. 14, 15,	— arrangement	— arrange-ment
— 26, l. 13 of Table,	— 8,	— 8-
— 28, l. 8 of text,	— CLXXXVI	— CLXXXVII
— 36, l. 15 of text,	— da Romano	— and the Roma- nos
— 37, l. 15,	— ist	— its
— 52, l. 17,	— admitted	— admitted
— 57, notes, l. 10,	<i>delete</i> * after estoit	
— 64, notes, ll. 10,		
— 11,	<i>interchange</i> the final comma and hyphen	
— 70, rubric,	<i>for</i> grande	<i>read</i> : grant
— 76, notes, l. 8,	— cf.	— f.
— 121, LXI, l. 1,	— 117	— 117 ^b
— 128, LXIX, ru- bric,	— 83 ^e	— 83 ^c
— 162, CXXI, ru- bric,	— devait	— devoit
— 178, 2, rubric,	— Genieve	— Genievre
— 181, notes, l. 13,	<i>delete</i> ff.	
— 210, l. 9,	<i>for</i> emperree	— emperree
— 232, l. 4,	<i>delete</i> *	
— — note 3,	<i>for</i> Ins.	<i>read</i> : B, ins.
— 242, notes, l. 6,	— ot troiez	— ottroiez
— 243, notes, l. 2,	— .m.c. lxxxv.	— .m. c. lxxxvi.
— 244, l. 10,	— e	— el
— 253, last line,	(— quens	(— <i>perhaps</i> , queus, or Que (n) (u) s
— 254, ll. 2, 6, 9,		
— 264, l. 21,	— com	— com-
— 281, CCXLIII, ru- bric,	— qui	— que
— 303, CCLXVIII, rubric,	— emporterent	— emporteront
— 309, l. 19,	— [qui]	— (qui)
— 311, l. 18,	— d'ou	— dou
— 319, l. 25,	see below, the note on II, 326, note 5	
— 322, l. 1,	<i>for</i> Sages Clerc	<i>read</i> : sages clerc
— 336, notes, l. 1,	— Brixia	— Brixia

Page 374, notes, l. 2,	<i>for</i> There	<i>read</i> : *There
— 384, last line,	— odging	— lodging
— 391, l. 15,	— is aura	— i saura
— 425, l. 10,	— plante	— plante, c
— 445, l. 22,	— .ii.	— .ii.
— 461, l. 30,	— l'	— 'l
— 490, l. 32,	— bu'	— qu'

PART TWO

Page 7, notes, l. 1,	<i>for</i> II ;	<i>read</i> : II, and in the Index, s. v., "Roma- nos" ;
— 11, l. 28,	— s	— is
— 13, l. 12,	— coutumacy	— contumacy
— 14, l. 35,	— Perouse	— Perose
— 17, l. 18,	— o	— to
— 18, notes, l. 9,	— Rondon	— Rondoni
— 20, notes, l. 5,	— 461 :	— 461) :
— 25, l. 5,	<i>delete the hyphen at the end of the line</i>	
— —, l. 18,	{ <i>for</i> Tornoient	<i>read</i> : Tournoient
— 26, l. 28,		
— 30, notes, l. 11,	— Giudici	— Giudice
— —, —, l. 16,	— romana, II	— romanza, III
— 41, l. 24,	— fron	— from
— —, notes, l. 1,	— CCLXXXII	— CCLXXXI
— 44, notes, l. 14,	— Ore	— Oro
— 55, l. 10,	— Egidius	— Egilius
— 64, l. 10,	— Riprafratta	— Ripafratta
— 69, l. 26,	— the next chapter	— Chapter LXXXV
— 82, notes, l. 18,	— ser	— series
— 86, ll. 7ff.	It may be that "ci devant" refers to Chap- ter CLXXV, in which the exploits of Charle- magne (li bons champions) are predicted, and that the entire sentence, "Et ce avera... ci devant," is inserted here merely to draw a parallel between the expedition in which Domenico Michiel took part and the renowned crusade of Charlemagne.	
— 88, l. 4,	<i>for</i> ate	<i>read</i> : fate
— 91, l. 20,	— father	— brother
— 93, notes, l. 6,	— Archimais	— Archemais
— 96, ll. 22ff.	A prophecy for the year 1310 in 1498 (I, 465) may perhaps refer to the same event.	
— 111, l. 11,	<i>for</i> Dalesmani	<i>read</i> : Dalesmanini
— 123, notes, l. 2,	— Ansesidio	— Ansedisio
— 125, l. 15,	<i>for</i> XI	<i>read</i> : ix
— 127, l. 6,	— Montclers	— Montclars
— 131, note 2.	The opening verses of a poem by Lovato de' Lovati (published by Novati, <i>Studi medie- vali</i> , II, 49ff.), written between 1268 and 1293 (see Griffiths, <i>Li Chantari di Lancelotto</i> , 1924, p. 20, note 1) should be compared with this prophecy :	

*Fontibus irriguam spatiabar forte per urbem,
Que tribus a vicis nomen tenet.*

If Novati is correct in saying (*l. c.*, p. 42) that they refer to Treville, the "ville qui desus les fontainnes fu fete" may possibly be Treville. The sentence, "Mes leur pechies ... seront ostes," is clearer in the Italian text (*V*, fol. 67a): "Ma perche harano pianto li loro peccati serano liberati da quella subjectione." Repentance for their sins with tears has already been predicted for the people of the Marche Amoureuse in general as well as for the Trevisans in Chapter xcvi; the prophecy might therefore apply to the inhabitants of Treville as belonging to the Marche.

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|-------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Page 134, notes, l. 26, | for psius | read: ipsius |
| — 139, notes, l. 4, | — y | — by |
| — 149, ll. 5, 6, | interchange the final hyphen and comma | |
| — — ll. 9, 10, | interchange the final comma and hyphen | |
| — 152, l. 11, | for da | read: of |
| — 159, notes, l. 1, | — 3 | — 6 |
| — 171, l. 35, | — thet welfth | — the twelfth |
| — 175, notes, l. 5, | — Gulielmo | — Guglielmo |
| — 185, l. 28, | — Zelati | — Zelanti |
| — 187, l. 17, | On the authorship of the <i>Evangelium Eternum</i> see Tocco, <i>L'eresia</i> , pp. 471ff; Denifle, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 57ff. | |
| — 188, l. 4, | for Uni | read: Uni- |
| — — l. 8, | — novorum | — novissimorum |
| — 205, l. 11, | — Salomon | — Solomon |
| — 209, l. 9, | — Sorbonne | — Sorbon |
| — — notes, l. 9, | — o | — of |
| — 210, notes, l. 10, | — F rigida | — Frigida |
| — 213, l. 3, | There is perhaps a trace of symbolism in the figure of the squire of Goliath. Abelard, for example, was called Goliath by St. Bernard, and Arnold of Brescia, the armor-bearer of Goliath. See for references Hanford, <i>Speculum</i> , I, 55. | |
| — 215, ll. 26, 27, | for ultimis temporibus | read: periculis |
| — — notes, l. 7, | — 459 | — 469 |
| — 216, notes, l. 3, | — gileries | — gileries, gilieres |
| — 217, l. 28, | — Ziano | — Ziani |
| — 221, notes, l. 5, | — cclv iand | — cclvi and |
| — 227, last line, | — o | — of |
| — 244, note 6, | Cf. with the passage from the <i>Aventures</i> the prophecy of the "bon chevalier qui istra du linage de Benonic," I, 165. | |
| — 247, note, 1, l. 1, | for <i>ibid.</i> , 118 | read: <i>ibid.</i> , 86, 118 |
| — 248, l. 2, | — erhaps | — perhaps |
| — — l. 3, | — hat | — that |
| — — notes, ll. | | |
| — 18, 19, | — Ar-hurian | — Ar-thurian |
| — 254, ll. 32ff. | The <i>Tournament of Sorelois</i> and <i>Alisandre l'orphelin</i> (see p. 268) are also contained in a | |

- manuscript of the *Tristan*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, 316, in a version that is virtually that of 99. See E. Vinaver, *Le roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory*, 1925, p. 61, a book that appeared after the present chapter was in type; for the relation of Malory to the French sources for these two episodes, see *ibid.*, pp. 59ff., 191f., 193.
- Page 254, note 3. Since writing this note I have verified the date given by Paris, 1453, from the manuscript, which (fol. 775 vo.) reads 1463. It therefore antedates 112 by seven years, not by seventeen, as is stated below on page 259.
- 271, notes, l. 7. for ertenement read: certenement
 — 274, l. 28, — ppert — appert
 — 278, notes, l. 17, — 3 — 31
 — 279, l. 12, — Lancelot — Galehad
 — 283, l. 12. The author is not consistent in his use of the names Pandragon and Uter Pandragon in connection with the cemetery; see I, 261, 262, 263.
- 286, note 3, l. 2, for Rustician read: Rusticiano
 — 288, note 1, — Carlo Faustino — Faustino Curlo
 — 292, note 5. The influence of the *Tristan* is seen also in the name given to Dinadan, the Chevalier aux Dix Gardes, and its explanation in Episode 5 (I, 433); cf. the passage from Bibl. Nat., fr. 334, fol. 327, quoted by E. Vinaver, *Études sur le Tristan en prose*, 1925, p. 95.
- 297, l. 26, for Santa read: Sancto
 — 301, note 1. J. J. Parry, *Vita Merlini*, 1925, p. 63, follows the interpretation of Paris and Lot.
- 304, l. 4, for agreat read: a great
 — 312, l. 6, — o — of
 — 313, l. 36, — ois — fois
 — 318, notes, l. 11, — à — a
 — 321, l. 2, — destruction of — destruction by
 — 325, l. 14. For a different explanation of the title see Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, 112.
- 326, note 3. The reading of 350, *Add.*, and *B* in the last sentence of Chapter cxcii (I, 237, note 10) might be interpreted as implying that Perceval achieved the quest, but elsewhere throughout the *Prophecies* Galehad is essentially the hero of the Graal.
- — note 5. In *V* the story of the jealous knight is not given, and the book is naturally in the possession of Helias, since he has written it as the scribe of Merlin. There is no suggestion of another authorship for it. The question of Meliadus and the reply of Merlin, which in Chapter ccxcvii (I, 319, ll. 25ff.) are introduced with complete inconsequence into the midst of prophecies which the Sage Clerc

is reading from the book of Merlin (Chapters ccxcivff.) are in *V* appropriately exchanged by Helias and Merlin. For the obviously incorrect reading of *R* in line 25, "Diex aide, fet Meliadus," we find, "Dio ne aiuti, disse el santo Elia a Merlino quando scrivea questa prophetia." *E*, *M*, and 1498 give the following variants for the same passage: — P. 319, l. 25, *for* fet Meliadus, *read*, [fet] [1498, dist] Merlin a soi meesme. — P. 319, l. 26 — p. 329, l. 1. : 1498, *om.* que... que; *E*, *M*, *om.* fet Merlin. These texts thus make the inquiry merely a rhetorical question of Merlin, which he himself answers. Such a question rarely occurs in Merlin's prophecies, yet in Chapter cccvi (I, 326) there is a similar example; "N'auront il les bestes, etc." This latter reading then is admissible, while that of *R* is explicable as a scribal distortion that necessarily led to the introduction of the words, "fet Merlin," into the answer to the question. *V* accordingly gives not only a simpler version of the history of the book than the French sources, but also a consistent reading for a passage where none of their variants are wholly convincing. A presumption might thus be created in favor of the theory that *V* preserves the original story of the authorship of the book, were it not for the clear evidence in the text of *V* that it is abridging its source in the sections that give an account of the book. To this abridgement its failure to mention the jealous knight and its attribution of the book directly to Helias may be due.

Page 331, note 2,
— 338, l. 14,
— — last sentence.

for 223 *read*: 233
— Alfonso — Alphonso

Carlo Martello is more probably called "Re de Franza" because of his descent from Charles d'Anjou (Cf. *Paradiso*, VIII, 71f.) than because of a possible confusion with Charles Martel, the son of Pepin d'Héristal.
for Catalonia *read*: Catelogna
— either, — ,either

— 339, l. 3,
— 347, l. 7.

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